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PAGAN RACES

OF THE

MALAY PENINSULA

McGregor.

THE LAIR OF MOWGLI.

Vol. I. Frontispiece. View from an aboriginal clearing on Lanjan Hill, looking towards Klang, Selangor.

PAGAN RACES

OF THE

MALAY PENINSULA

BY

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AUTHOR OF 'MALAY MAGIC' AND 'FABLES AND FOLK-TALES FROM AN EASTERN FOREST'

AND

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LATE OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS CIVIL SERVICE

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS SPECIALLY TAKEN FOR THE WORK

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

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A LAND
OF OLD UPHEAVEN FROM THE ABYSS BY FIRE . . .
WHERE FRAGMENTS OF FORGOTTEN PEOPLES DWELT.

TENNYSON.

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TO HIS MAJESTY

CHULALONGKORN

KING OF SIAM OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH

SOVEREIGN OF THE LAOS, MALAYS, ETC.

IN GRATITUDE FOR HELP

EXTENDED TO

THE CAMBRIDGE EXPEDITION OF 1899-1900

THIS RESULT OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION AND GOODWILL

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

PREFACE

The line between comparative and descriptive ethnography is now very definitely laid down, and in spite of the occasional citation of illustrative parallels here and there, especially in the footnotes, it is to the second class that the present work claims to belong.

The work is essentially a compilation from many sources, but differs from most books of that kind, first, in being based to a very large extent on materials hitherto unpublished, and accessible only through private channels of information, and secondly, in having been constructed with special knowledge of the subject and in a critical spirit. The need of such a work has long been felt by all who have interested themselves in the subject, and will be obvious to any one who glances over the Bibliography contained in the present volume.

The method pursued by the authors, and the peculiarly heterogeneous nature of the materials at their disposal, have made it impossible to present to the reader an invariably harmonious and ordered narrative in a uniform and attractive style. Instead of this, he will, however, have within the compass of a pair of volumes the whole substance of what has

been written about the Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula by dozens of explorers and observers in scores of more or less inaccessible or obsolete books and periodical publications, supplemented by and critically collated with a great mass of the most recent original material collected on the subject. He will find in this book many facts, but few hypotheses: at the present stage of our study of these races the collection of definite data seems to be the most immediate duty, and such theories as are here put forward are intended to suggest lines of research for future explorers and students.

The work has grown under the hands of its authors. Both had spent some years of their lives in districts partly occupied by Pagan tribes in the South of the Peninsula, and had been attracted to the study of their peculiarities primarily by the fact that some of these aborigines spoke strange non-Malayan dialects. In default of any record of their antecedents, it seemed that the problem of the past history of these races could be approached most readily from the linguistic side; and though a more comprehensive survey of their physical and cultural characteristics has somewhat modified this view, there is no doubt of the importance of the evidence of language in this connexion. Both in speech and in blood the races dealt with in the present work are, however (except in small and comparatively circumscribed areas), mixed and diverse, and it is only by unravelling the different strands which enter into their structure that we can hope to understand them.

With this end in view, the several parts of the book dealing with their racial and cultural characteristics, which had originally been arranged under the headings of the various subjects dealt with, were entirely rewritten upon a phylogenetic system, so as to throw into relief the differences which separate one race from another; and in the part dealing with language, the several distinct elements of which their dialects are made up have been analysed in considerable detail. One great difficulty which besets a student of this subject is how to reconcile the sometimes apparently conflicting testimonies of anthropology and philology: while not assuming to have found the explanation, the authors of the present work claim that in laying bare some seeming contradictions in the evidence, they are clearing the ground for the reconstruction on a sound basis of the early history and ethnology of an important part of South-Eastern Asia.

It is not, therefore, solely as a monograph on the particular tribes specially dealt with that the present work claims to be regarded, but also as a necessary preliminary to a general scientific survey of the races of Southern Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula. Resident as they have been for untold centuries in the Peninsula, these pagan tribes nevertheless have much affinity with some of the wild races of Indo-China, and thus form a link between these two regions. Moreover, the Malay population of the Peninsula presents characteristics which vary very distinctly in different districts, and in some parts it contains a strong strain of aboriginal blood, so that

an investigation into the wild races is an essential preparation towards a scientific study of the Malays themselves. The authors hope that the material they have collected will serve as a basis upon which may be reared a more systematic and accurate study of all the races of the Malay Peninsula. There is great need of a thorough survey of the Peninsula as a whole, from the point of view both of geographical and ethnological science and of industrial and economic development.

Such a work should be undertaken by the Governments of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, disposing as they do of ample revenues which they have always shown themselves ready to spend freely on objects of material utility. Whereas the Governments of British India, the Netherlands Indies, French Indo-China, and even that enterprising novice among colonial administrations, the American Government of the Philippines, have done, and are doing, a great deal in the way of promoting the scientific study of their respective countries and peoples, the Governments of the Malay Peninsula have as yet done very little in that direction. The matter appears to have been overlooked, owing to the pressure of other business. Yet, apart from the high scientific value of such investigations, there are not wanting signs of the times that point to the supreme importance to European Governments in the tropics of intimately studying and carefully considering the peculiarities of the alien and less civilised races committed to their care. There has

been, of late, in more than one quarter, a dangerous tendency to elaborate and Europeanise administrative and judicial machinery, and *pari passu* to lose touch with native ideas and customs, to push the native gently but firmly aside, and to impose upon him all manner of well-meant but complicated regulations, which he cannot in the least understand, and which often run counter to his social and religious principles. A more intimate study of the people of the country and their habits of life and thought is urgently required in order to avoid the growing danger of estrangement and want of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled.

In such a survey of the Peninsula it is to be hoped and expected that the Government of Siam, as the suzerain of the Northern Malay States, would co-operate. Indeed, some of the preliminary work in that quarter has already been done by the Cambridge Expedition of 1899-1900, which visited the Siamese Malay States by the special permission and with the active and generous assistance of His Majesty the King of Siam. It was during the course of that expedition that the whole of the recent information relating to the Negritos of the Northern States, and now embodied in this work, was collected, as well as the material contained in the progress reports of the expedition to the British Association (Anthropological Section, 1900, 1901), and a very large mass of other anthropological matter, as yet unpublished.

The title of the present work, which had been provisionally fixed as "Wild Tribes" or "Wild Races of the Malay Peninsula," was finally cast into its

present form because it was felt that the point of religion (as between Mohammedan and non-Mohammedan) was perhaps a better dividing line, on account of its definiteness, than the vague, indefinite, and perhaps undefinable, quality of wildness.

The title-page bears the names of two authors, but by far the greater part of the book (including the Introduction) was written by the one whose name stands first, the special task of the other having been confined to writing the part dealing with Language, together with the Appendix relating thereto, in the second volume. Each author has, as far as possible, revised and checked the work of the other, but the ultimate responsibility of each is to be apportioned to his own share of the book.

Moreover, though the authors themselves have contributed the greater part of the original material which the book contains, they are indebted to others for a considerable amount of hitherto unpublished information, which has greatly enhanced the value of the work. Their acknowledgments are particularly due to Messrs. D. F. A. Hervey, C.M.G., H. Clifford, C.M.G., F. Emeric, A. Grubauer, C. D. Bowen, N. Annandale, H. C. Robinson, G. B. Cerruti, and H. Ling Roth, the Rev. H. E. Luering, Father W. Schmidt, Professor Rudolf Martin, and the Councils of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society respectively, for information relating directly to the aborigines of the Peninsula and their languages; and to Messrs. A. Cabaton, A. Lavallée, the

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For the illustrations, which form a notable addition to the value of the work (the greater part having been taken specially for the occasion), the authors are also indebted to the help of many hands. Mr. T. J. M^{c}Gregor has contributed (at his own charges) the largest part of the original photographs; others have been lent by Messrs. L. Wray, A. D. Machado, A. Hale, G. B. Cerruti, W. P. Hume, F. W. Douglas, T. Gardner, F. F. Laidlaw and Professor R. H. Yapp (the two last being members of the Cambridge Expedition), F. M. Elliot, R. F. Arnott, and others, who cannot all be mentioned;

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To these and many other willing helpers the authors hereby express their most hearty thanks; and they venture also to anticipate on behalf of their readers a high appreciation of the unselfish and public-spirited manner in which these numerous collaborators have contributed valuable material towards a work that has not been undertaken in a commercial spirit but for a scientific purpose.

Lastly, acknowledgments are due to the publishers and printers for undertaking the work in the same spirit, and executing it in a manner which it must be left to the reader to appraise. The date of publication has been repeatedly postponed by the recurring ill-health of one or other of the authors, and this has, of course, thrown an additional burden on the publishers, to whose forbearance under these trying circumstances the authors feel that special recognition is due.

W. W. SKEAT.
C. O. BLAGDEN.

August 1906.

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THE LANGAT RIVER NEAR THE HOT SPRINGS, DUSUN TUA (SELANG'OR)

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THE SILVER CASCADE AT LAKE KEITH FOR NORTH NEVADA.

UPPER REACHES OF THE KLANG RIVER, NEAR SAKAI HOUSES AT TWELFTH MILE FROM KUALA LUMPUR.

McGregor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE authorities enumerated in the following list are of course of a varying value, into which the personal equation to a large extent enters, nevertheless it is possible to make a rough classification which may be of service to intending students. To begin with, it should be perfectly evident that, although the work done by those writers who have actually had local experience is of immeasurably greater importance in questions of fact than any, even the very best, work of home-staying writers can be, yet in respect of deductions from, or in the scientific treatment of those facts, the home-staying student, with his easy access to libraries, museums, laboratories, and other scientific machinery, holds the field at a very great advantage. It is necessary to draw attention to this point, because the full measure of credence to be given to any particular part of the material here got together cannot otherwise be properly arrived at. Broadly speaking, then, the entire series of writers here recorded may be briefly classified as follows :—

(*a*) Writers with local experience, including not only government officials but European missionaries (chiefly French Roman Catholics), planters, and miners, to whom may be added a few scientific men who have acquired some local field-knowledge.

(*b*) Scientific men who have no local field-knowledge, but who possess other advantages, as above.

(*c*) Travellers without any scientific training, and at the same time without any adequate local knowledge. These might well be expected to be mere discoverers of "mare's-nests," but taking their work as a whole, I am glad to be able to state that, though they have made some bad blunders, there are fewer of these than might be expected.

The foregoing remarks being duly borne in mind, I have next to point out that the modern study[1] of the Wild Races of the Malay Peninsula may be divided advantageously, from an historical point of view, into three main stages or periods of development :—

The first of these stages covers, roughly speaking, the first half of the nineteenth century, from 1800–1850. This period contains the name of no systematically trained anthropologist, and the evidence collected pending its duration rests upon the observations of various able but, from a modern point of view, comparatively untrained European observers, among whom may be mentioned, Sir Stamford Raffles, the founder of Singapore, William Marsden (author of the History of Sumatra, a Malay-English and English-Malay Dictionary, and other works), John Leyden (translator of the Malay Annals), John Crawfurd (a most prolific writer but much inclined at times to spread himself in mere speculation), John Anderson (author of the "Considerations"), P. J. Begbie, and Lieutenant Newbold, all of whom did much good pioneer work in the early days.

The second period runs from the year 1850 to about 1890. At the very outset of this period the (for his time, remarkably) critical, accurate, and voluminous writings of J. R. Logan, based in the main on his own personal investigations, placed the study of these races on an altogether higher plane. At the same time the reports of travellers like Miklucho-Maclay, Miss Isabella Bird (the latter in a

[1] In this "modern study" are not, of course, included the few scattered notices from Dutch sources (before the time of Raffles), or from early Portuguese writers such as Goudinho de Eredia, who is the only one of these early authorities that is really worth quoting. It will of course be remembered that the Portuguese domination which commenced with the capture of Malacca by d'Albuquerque in 1511, was terminated by their loss of Malacca to the Dutch in 1641, who ceded it in turn to England by treaty.

more popular way only), Montano, and de Morgan, together with the great store of valuable information collected on the one hand by French Roman Catholic missionaries, such as P. Favre and P. Borie,[1] and on the other hand by officials of the local governments, amongst whom may be mentioned Leech, Maxwell, Swettenham, (Major) M'Nair, Hervey, G. Bellamy, Hale, J. A. G. Campbell, and Lister, arrested the attention of European anthropologists and filtered through various channels into the works of Waitz, Réclus, De Quatrefages, and A. H. Keane.

The third period, which may be described as having lasted from about the year 1890 to the present day (1906), is distinguished by the fact that during its course some of the most eminent anthropologists of Europe, more especially of Germany, have themselves either personally or through their agents taken an active part in the work of inquiry. At the same time the excellent work done by the official element during the two preceding periods was continued and greatly extended by Clifford, Leonard Wray, Ridley, Kelsall, A. D. Machado, and Cerruti; whilst as a representative of the non-official element during this period should be specially mentioned the name of Mr. Nelson Annandale, late of Balliol College, Oxford, and now Curator of the Indian Museum at Calcutta. Mr. Annandale first broke ground in the Peninsula as a member of the Cambridge Expedition of 1899, and has since collected much valuable material on his own account, the results of his work being given in Fasciculi Malayenses. From the point of view of mere bulk, however, the greater proportion of the ethnographical material and notes collected during this period was got together by Vaughan-Stevens, and as it is in a just and reasonable estimate of this very material that one of the chief difficulties of dealing with this period consists, I propose here to discuss the matter in detail. In 1891 Vaughan-Stevens, whose Christian name is given (by his German editors) as Hrolf, was commissioned by a group of the leading anthropologists of Berlin (the Rudolf Virchow Stiftung, headed by Virchow himself), in combination with the Berlin (Government) Ethnographical Museum, to undertake a systematic study of the Wild Races of the Malay Peninsula. From the very outset Vaughan-Stevens' work was to some extent shrouded in mystery and doubt, and his mode of action and even his character were criticised and assailed. He arrived under the ægis of one of Europe's greatest anthropologists, and he styled himself, or at least passed as a "professor," yet he himself possessed, as his own work shows, no scientific or linguistic attainments, and could have had no right to any sort of academic title. Mr. H. N. Ridley, who knew him well, and with whom he stayed, gravely doubted, in conversation with myself, whether his name were really Vaughan-Stevens at all, and told me that he had at least an *alias*, presumably of Norse origin, *i.e.* Svensen. His dialect was a variety of the "cockney," apparently of the Islington variety; he was uneducated and ignorant in many ways to a quite remarkable degree. On the other hand, he had travelled extensively in many parts of the world, and he was a fair observer. Martin, who was at great pains to follow up Vaughan-Stevens' tracks in the Malay Peninsula, with the express object of testing his veracity, charges him with the love of exaggeration for its own sake, and makes no less serious reflections in connection with some of his statements as to the extent and difficulty of his wanderings and methods of collecting specimens (see Martin, page 170 *seqq.*). These exaggerations were no doubt due to the natural vanity of the man, and his love of self-glorification, and in the case of the latter he

[1] There has frequently been in other parts of the world a tendency to discredit all reports of this kind when made by missionaries, but I am able to say that in the Malay Peninsula the work done by them has in the main (in spite of one or two exceptions dealt with in the text) been accurate, unbiassed, and helpful. This has also been the case in British North Borneo and Sarawak, where the same sound pioneering work accomplished by the missionary element has been testified to by Brooke Low (*v.* Ling Roth, *op. cit.*).

may himself have been deceived. But what has most detracted from the credit he has earned as a serious student is his reputation as a teller of after-dinner "yarns," which certainly had something of the true Gilbertian ring about them, and it is no doubt this fact that has most adversely affected the opinion of his work held by more than one authority of standing. Some of his stories, I have been informed, were capital, and Vaughan-Stevens was a born *raconteur*.[1] Yet even Rudolf Martin (page 174) himself hesitates to deny that there may be still some value in Vaughan-Stevens' "voluminous" communications (of course with the proviso that they must be most carefully and critically handled and sifted from an expert point of view, before they can be safely regarded as material for the comparative ethnologist); and his conclusion is, that if we eliminate from the material left behind by Vaughan-Stevens what may be styled the "accretions" of his own fancy, there must yet always be left over a foundation of valuable facts the collection of which will remain Vaughan-Stevens' permanent contribution to the subject of our inquiry.

It is with this view (which is also that of Blagden) that I desire to associate myself, but I may here explain that in order to assist the reader and the student I have taken the precaution of having the uncorroborated or more doubtful portions of Vaughan-Stevens' material (such as his remarks on "totemism," which, though to my mind hopelessly wide of the mark, are too important to omit) set in smaller type, except in cases of isolated facts or portions of a particular context, in which instances attention is drawn to the doubtful or inaccurate portion in the footnotes. An exception to this treatment had to be made in the chapter on "Decorative Art," where to avoid the perpetual alternation of small and large type, the doubtful and uncorroborated passages have been enclosed in square brackets, as has been explained in the text. It should also be here noted that I have, as a general rule, throughout my own (*i.e.* the non-linguistic) portion of this work (Parts I.-III. inclusive) taken the opportunity of correcting mistakes and misspellings, and of unifying the spelling of native words, though otherwise adhering as closely as possible to the exact wording of the texts quoted. With regard to the references, it should be borne in mind that in dealing with the Semang of Kedah, the Pangan (where so stated), the Blandas and Besisi of the Kuala Langat district in Selangor, I am writing from my own experiences; no foot references therefore are given,

[1] A few instances of the tales so embroidered by Vaughan-Stevens are given as evidence well known to residents in the Malay Peninsula: In New Guinea a whole tribe he was staying with were massacred by a rival tribe, Vaughan-Stevens himself escaping to the Fly River and floating down it for three weeks clinging to a drifting log, and feeding on raw fish that he caught with his hands as he drifted by.—He was sleeping in the king's hut in a cannibal island in the South Pacific, and expecting treachery, slept with his feet wide apart on the pillow, and his head where his feet should have been; his foresight was justified, as at midnight an axe-head crashed into the unoccupied part of the pillow, and jumping up, he found himself presenting his pistol at the head of his royal host.—He was in Bombay, and got himself carried, disguised *as a corpse*, into the sacred and inviolable enclosure of the Towers of Silence in order to have the opportunity of selecting at leisure the skull of a Parsee; being refused permission to return, he made the doorkeeper drunk with a bottle of whisky that he had by him. And so forth, and so forth. Small wonder that his professional reputation went by the board, more especially as he brought from Ceylon the name of an artist in fiction scarcely, if at all, inferior to that he earned in the Straits. Yet examples of professional men who have done good work, although they may have suffered from a similar weakness have not been uncommon, and if we compare one part of Vaughan-Stevens' work with another, and the whole with the work of other observers, we shall find sufficiently conclusive proofs of his general good faith in the facts that he recorded.

In all other cases, the reference to the authority quoted is given at the foot of the page, though in the case of an obviously continued passage or narrative the reference has not of course been put at the foot of every page but at suitable intervals only, which will easily explain themselves. The work, however, has grown considerably under my hands, and here and there it has been necessary to make corrections, or even to add material in a footnote, which should, strictly speaking, have been incorporated in the text. For this and for any other shortcomings in dealing with the material I can only plead that I have done my best, subject to the very great and severe limitations that have conditioned the work from start to finish. It must not be forgotten that part of the material in this book has come from rare old pamphlets and journals written by travellers in nearly all the important languages of Europe, some of which contain numerous typographical errors and other mistakes due to their ignorance of Malay, which have here been corrected.

It only remains to mention the most eminent and distinguished of all the anthropologists that science has yet sent out to study the many vexed questions connected with these races. I refer to my friend Rudolf Martin, whose monumental and epoch-making work (Die Inlandstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel), the first of its kind, was published at Jena by Gustav Fischer during the past year.

W. S.

The following main references to Martin's work corresponding to certain main references in this book are given for the benefit of students, it being premised that Martin deals with the aborigines chiefly from an anthropological, the present authors chiefly from a cultural and linguistic point of view; moreover, Martin's book is arranged according to subject, ours is founded on a phylogenetic or tribal basis: the two works thus stand in a complementary relation to each other.

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[1] Cp. also Martin, pp. 678-679.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN PARTS I.-III. INCLUSIVE OF THIS WORK.

Ausland.—*Das Ausland*, Munich, etc.
J. E. A.—*Journal of Eastern Asia* (one number only issued).
Ethn. Notizbl.—*Ethnologisches Notizblatt.*
J. A. I.—*Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*
J. I. A.—*Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia* (otherwise known as "Logan's Journal").
J. R. A. S.—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
J. R. A. S., S. B.—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch.*
Man's *And.*[1]—MAN, E. H. *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andamanese Islands.*
Sel. Journ. or *S. J.*—*Selangor Journal* (formerly published at the Government Press, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor).
V. B. G. A.—*Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie.*
Z. f. E.—*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.*
Vaughan-Stevens, ii.; *Vaughan-Stevens*, iii.—*Veröffentlichungen aus dem K. Museum für Völkerkunde:* Bd. ii. (3-4 Heft); Bd. iii. (3-4 Heft).

Note.—The abbreviations of names of authors or works occurring in the text are given in the Bibliography itself. Where there are several works by the same author, the abbreviation indicates which work is referred to. Thus "Hale, p. 300," refers *solely* to that author's paper "On the Sakais" in vol. xv. of the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, after which entry in the bibliography the abbreviation ["Hale"] is shown.

All articles on or by editors of Vaughan-Stevens' material are given under the heading "Stevens, Vaughan-," not under the name of each individual editor.

This list includes a number of works of a general nature which contain incidental references to or descriptions of the races here dealt with.

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1881. ANONYMOUS. The Ipoh Tree—Perak. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch, No. 8, p. 161. [Miscellaneous notes.]

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[1] To distinguish it from the publication called "Man" issued by the Anthrop. Inst. of Great Britain and Ireland, which latter is printed *Man.*

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1894. Blagden, Charles Otto. Early Indo-Chinese Influence in the Malay Peninsula. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch, No. 27, p. 21 *seqq.*

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1903. Blagden, Charles Otto. The Comparative Philology of the Sakai and Semang Dialects of the Malay Peninsula. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch, No. 39, p. 47 *seqq.*

1861. Borie, H. ["Borie (tr. Bourien)"]. Notice sur les Mantras, tribu sauvage de la Peninsule Malaise. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde. Deel x. p. 413. Translated by Bourien, P. On the Wild Tribes of the Interior of the Malay Peninsula. Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, N.S. vol. iii. p. 72 *seqq.*

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INTRODUCTION (Environment)

One of the most important of the geographical aspects of the Malay Peninsula (which we may take as running from Tavoy to Singapore) is its shape, which is that of a long-necked bottle or an Indian club, narrow towards the upper extremity, bulging at the centre, and tapering again at the lower extremity. The neck of the bottle or club at its narrowest point in the north (the Isthmus of Kraw) measures but thirty-five miles from sea to sea; at its broadest (the belly of the bottle), it is still under two hundred miles across; hence, in spite of its great length of roughly about a thousand miles from north to south, there is no spot, even in the far interior of the Peninsula, which is as much as a hundred miles from the sea. The result is that the Malay Peninsula, though distinctly forming a part of the Asiatic mainland, takes on the characteristics of an island rather than those of the continent to which it incidentally coheres, and in most respects should be properly regarded as forming an integral part of the Malay Archipelago. Regarded from another aspect, the Malay Peninsula is at once a causeway of colossal proportions, and a breakwater. In the former capacity it connects the land forms of the fauna and the flora (and even the geological strata) of the Asiatic mainland with forms occurring in the islands of the Malayan Archipelago, with several of which, including Rio and Lingga, Banka, Billiton, and Sumatra, it is known to have been once geologically connected. In the latter, it deflects what might be the normal course of the trade of the Far East, some hundreds of miles to the south-eastward, towards the equator and the cluster of great tropical islands of which the Malay Archipelago consists. The actual course of trade therefore follows the coast-line of the Malay Peninsula through the Straits by way of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, the first and last of which certainly appear to be as convenient spots for vessels proceeding by this route as any that could have been chosen. At the same time the descriptions of the ancient glories of Malacca, even if we allow for considerable exaggeration on the part of the chroniclers, leave no doubt as to the reality of its former importance, and but for the silting up of its harbour there appears but little reason why the former Queen of those seas should now sit brooding over her ancient fame. But apart from these three ports, which, after all,

are to a great extent more of the nature of ports of call than termini, and apart, too, from the fast-growing commercial importance of the Federated Malay States, by far the greater portion of the Peninsula is still much cut off from the world, and knows as little of it as, to quote the homely Malay simile, the "frog under a coconut-shell." Hence, in spite of the recent great developments both of planting and mining, perhaps two-thirds of the entire country is still "unopened," and remains covered with the tropical growth of centuries, forced to its utmost development by the hot and humid climate resulting from its insular character and equatorial position.

With regard to the character of the country itself, a glance at the map will show that the backbone of the Peninsula consists of a range, or rather system of ranges, the source of the innumerable small rivers and streams which drain and irrigate the country from end to end, and the chief of which give their names to the several States of Kedah, Perak, and Selangor on the west coast, to Patani, Kelantan, and Trengganu on the east, and to Johor at the southernmost extremity. The hills, which are steep and savage, being clad with jungle to the very sky-line, terminate in not a few places in rugged and precipitous peaks, several of the highest of which are upwards of 7000 to 8000 feet high. Their formation is chiefly of a granitic character, with quartz and quartzose veins, which on decomposition yield the extensive stanniferous, and to a minor extent auriferous deposits that have been worked with such conspicuous success in the alluvial plains. It is chiefly on the foothills, where these are unoccupied, that the wild aborigines make their home. They are, however, also found in small scattered communities on the hills of the main ranges, up to a height of even 3000 feet and more. Though caves are fairly common, especially in isolated limestone masses in the northern part of the Peninsula, the aborigines do not as a rule frequent these, preferring the rock-shelters, which are not infrequently the haunt of the Semang. The alluvial land, which lies at the foot of the hills and in stretches along the coast, has every appearance of having been formerly covered by the sea, and indeed in this respect the observations of science are at one with aboriginal tradition, which asserts that the sea in former times washed right up to the base of the mountains. The alteration of the coast-line itself is continuous and extraordinarily rapid. On the eastern coast, which is subject to an annual bombardment from the rollers of the China Sea, hurled against it by the full sledge-hammer force of the north-easterly monsoon, the fierce tides that race up and down the coast are continually forming long, narrow bars of sand parallel to the coast, each end of which keeps growing till it reaches a point at which the coast-line curves to meet it, when a narrow mouth perhaps is all that is left. The result is an extraordinary phenomenon like the Inland Sea of Singora, which has

been formed exactly in the manner described, and measures about sixty miles in length by about twenty in the broadest part; the upper part of it is fresh water and the lower part salt, and in most parts it is so shallow as to be difficult of navigation, except for the native canoes or boats specially constructed. The Cape of Patani is another example of one of these long sandy peninsulas. It measures about four miles in length.

The western coast is protected from the full force of the south-western monsoon by the Island of Sumatra, which forms a natural breakwater, and gives to the Straits of Malacca the character of a vast river or lake. With every tide the Straits fill from the open sea, the tides rising to a height of between twenty and thirty feet. Here and there, at intervals along the western coast, *e.g.* for many miles along the coast of the Malacca District, as well as at the northern and southern extremities of the coast-line of Selangor, extend magnificent expanses of sandy beach, fringed here and there by coconut palms, but more generally by what looks at first sight something like a row of larches, in reality the *Casuarina*, or "she-oak" tree of Australia. Here, more especially on the shore of Kuala Langat, their favourite haunt, wander from time to time rare scattered parties of the Sea-Jakun, the women fishing for the small fry in the hot and shallow waters, the men spearing razorshells, or digging out mussels with a quick twist of their jungle-knife from among the roots of the "api-api" trees, or collecting cockles and other bivalves whose tracks and haunts revealed themselves to the initiated eye alone in the bright and smoking sands.

In spite of these and other most welcome breaks in the monotony of the mangrove, however, there is less open coast on this side of the Peninsula than there is on the eastern, and almost anywhere the serried ranks of mangrove trees can be seen, working their way out from the river-mouths into the sea, their network of prong-like roots checking the dispersion of the soil continually eroded and carried down by the wash of the tidal rivers, and building it up with continual accretions and by sensible gradations into higher and firmer banks. One of the chief causes of this alteration of the coast-line, which although it is gaining on the sea in places, is in others losing ground with equal rapidity, is undoubtedly the velocity of the tides and the continual alteration in the set of the marine currents. For the alteration of the geographical character of the interior, however, the chief factor is undoubtedly the climate, which has a temperature varying from about 68° to a little above 90° in the shade in the plains, and the torrential rainfall (varying from about 90 inches to 130 inches per annum)—a combination which naturally tends to turn the greater part of the country into a forcing-house calculated to promote the most rapid development conceivable of every form of vegetation.

What is this vegetation like, and what is its effect upon the various forms of life that depend upon it? This is a question which has been answered in many different ways, in accordance with the temperament of the questioner. To one the very name of the tropical jungle implies something horrible, haunting, monstrous, the oppressive darkness of a perpetual smothering gloom, teeming with pestiferous disease and death. To another it implies everything luxuriant, gorgeous, glowingly beautiful, a feast of form and colour; to a third it brings the absorbing interest which attends every fresh self-revelation of nature, every new half-glimpse into the region of her awful mysteries. At all events the jungle is not, when taken as a whole, a sort of improved botanical or zoological garden. Its trees (even the largest) are not invariably curtained about and festooned with a fantastically twisted network of serpentine creepers and parasites, nor is it even invariably difficult to penetrate. Brilliant plumaged birds and butterflies of all the hues of the rainbow do not flit in myriads from tree to tree. No carpet of the choicest and gayest hot-house flowers is spread under foot. On the other hand, the country is not a mere collection of malarial swamps, exhaling mephitic and poisonous vapours; there is not at least one tiger behind every tree, at least one snake in every clump of grass. Splendours such as we read of are certainly not wanting, and their beauty is not exaggerated, but their occurrence is occasional, sporadic, isolated, and irregular, and hence (but for the rare exception of a chance encounter with a wild beast) they come upon the traveller with the sense of a delightful surprise and relief which may occur at any moment, and which is never long absent. But the colour scheme of it is on the whole sombre, and even monotonous, with rare splashes of bright colour, usually from some gaily-marked tree-stem, or from light shining through an opening in the forest. It is on the topmost branches that the flowers, buds, fruits are generally displayed, and therefore the butterflies and the birds congregate; it is but rarely that these can be seen from below, though in the underwood and brushwood the case is often different. The most densely matted, and as a rule the gayest, part of the jungle is always at the edge of a clearing or along the banks of the rivers. In such places and in the underwood it is often all but impenetrable, and if a mile a day be taken for the cutting of a jungle-trace, it may be put down as very good progress. But throughout by far the greater part of the Peninsula no great trouble will be experienced in penetrating the undergrowth, if the approved method be adopted of following the Malay forest-paths, which are often those of wild beasts, and of the races of which we write, who are scarcely less wild than they.

The tropical vegetation of the Peninsula is of many kinds, and each region (whatever its area) has its own often highly specialised character. Inland the deep primeval or virgin forest ("rimba"), the

underwood or "secondary growth" ("bĕlukar") generally the result of abandoned plantations of rice or other products, the bamboo jungle, the "mahang"-tree swamp, the tamarisks and the subtropical vegetation of the highest mountain peaks, the "dusun" or half-wild fruit-orchard of the aborigines (with its towering durian trees, covered with their great green globes of prickly fruit, that look for all the world like Brobdingnagian chestnuts, and the less stately, but not less welcome fruit-trees that cluster together about the durian's foot, the mangostin, the "rambutan" with the blood-red hairy fruit-clusters that give it its name, the smooth white creamy "langsat," the "rambai," "duku," mango, jack, and many others), the low scrub or brushwood ("sĕmak"), the mangrove swamp and the sandy stretches along the sea-coast that are fringed by the *Casuarina*, one and all have their own distinctive herbs and plants and to some extent their distinctive fauna. The same remark may in fact be made of the relatively small area where the jungle has been completely outrooted and killed, such as that in the neighbourhood of deserted tin-mines, to which the heaped-up overburden gives the air of a burial-place of giants, the Malacca hills, where tapioca once flourished, now clad with tall jungle-grass, the wide rice-plains of Kedah and Perak and Province Wellesley, and the pasture-lands kept for the plough-buffaloes in and near the villages of the rice-cultivators themselves.

One and all of these regions reveal emphatically the working of the law of development in correspondence with environment. In the deep forest, for instance, where the vast tree-trunks, impelled by the universal struggle for light and life, rise to about four times the height of our ordinary English oaks, the eye is at once attracted by the fact that so many stems rise bare and branchless for a hundred feet (and upwards) from the soil. These are most frequently, perhaps, the hardwood timber-trees that depend upon the depth of their roots for safe anchorage against the tropical tempests. Others, whose roots strike less deeply, or which for some special reason require additional support, are buttressed about with huge "struts" (the bane of the woodcutter), that taper and converge upwards continuously till they merge in the mighty bole at a height of some twelve yards or more from the tree-foot. In either case the branches, flowers, and fruit are mostly developed as near the crown of the tree as may be, since it is there, and there only, that they can obtain the necessary amount of air and light and warmth, and even of rain, that they require for their self-nourishment. The rush of the trees towards the light, in fact, is a struggle for life, a contest *à outrance*, in which the defeated have scant chance of surviving, for beneath the thick branch-canopy of the big jungle there is dim twilight even at broad noontide. This life-and-death struggle, moreover, produces yet greater modifications in the structure of plants other than trees; it is to this that we may ascribe the interminable array of parasites,

orchids, ferns, fungi, mosses, lichens, and of plants that climb (guttas, rattans, peppers, ficuses, to mention a few that are obvious), some by utilising their stems (serpent-fashion) for twining round their sturdier neighbours, others by use of their leaf-stalks, by modification of the leaves themselves, by adventitious roots, tendrils, "suction-pads," suckers, curved hooks, and all other imaginable grappling devices and developments of which the botanical world is capable.

Next to this struggle for light, heat, and moisture, which is terrible in its almost passionate intensity, comes the need for self-protection, and to some extent, perhaps, as a corollary of this, the need for the efficient propagation of the species. To the first of these two causes we owe the huge number of prickly, thorny plants, shrubs, and trees that seem in places to turn the forest into a vast natural vegetable armoury (the rattans, a great number of palms, many creepers, and trees with prickly fruits, such as the durian, belong to these); the plants with bitter or poisonous sap, the glass-like spicules of the leaf-cases of the bamboo, and the stings of the giant tree-nettle, the terror of man and beast, under the branches of one of which I have myself ridden on elephant-back. To the second cause we owe such curiosities in the history of dispersion as the "fillcup"-fruit, whose "sail" gives it a rotatory motion that enables it to bore into the ground at the tree's foot, and the great pincushion-like (albeit barbed) heads of the spinifex grass on the east coast of the Peninsula, which goes bowling over the sand at the rate of an express train, till it catches against a fallen branch or log or similar obstruction, where it is most likely to find the depressions that collect the moisture.

In the animal kingdom of the Peninsula this specialising tendency is not less distinctly marked. For instance, the colour of the black leopard (or panther, as it is variously called), which is an exclusively nocturnal animal, furnishes it with a most effective means of concealment, and when we observe how cunningly its sable hue (which might otherwise become conspicuous, as a mass, from its very uniformity) is in one species at least mottled and diversified by greyish rosettes, which produce, with an almost startling fidelity to nature, the effect of moonlight shining through leaves, it becomes impossible to withhold our admiration of the design. The striped colouring of the tiger and civet, the mottled skin of the yellow, spotted panther and tiger-cat, are undoubtedly due to the same instinctive selection for stalking, or what may be called "strategic" purposes. So too in the colour of the crocodile, which has no enemies to fear in its own domain, we have an admirable example of "strategic" colouring, for it is the exact counterpart of the tidal mudbanks, and especially of the slime-covered logs that lie scattered about them, the "deception" being so complete that even the mouse-deer, monkeys, and other small game which go down to the water

either to drink, or to feed on shell-fish, at ebb-tide in the heat of the day, are completely deceived, and not infrequently pay the penalty for their want of care in adventuring too near their lurking enemy, by being swept into the water after the manner described in the Besisi jungle songs, by one swoop of the crocodile's lashing tail.

On the other hand, the grey-blue "slaty" colour of the elephant, buffalo, rhinoceros, adult tapir, and wild boar, which (with the possible exception of the elephant, though it too may at least be described as being to a large extent a water-animal) very closely matches the colour of the forest-mud in which they disport themselves during the heat of the tropical noonday, is clearly intended to afford them whatever protection may be possible when they are immersed in their wallow, and for the time being, therefore, entirely defenceless, and is therefore protective. Similarly the piebald colouring of what is called the striped squirrel, and (as Ridley has pointed out) the striped and spotted skin of the young tapir, roe-deer, and wild boar, with the prevalence of russets and chestnut browns, browns and greys, among many species of deer, squirrels, smaller monkeys, and wild dogs, are in various ways admirably adapted for the protection of the species, the browner shades in particular being very difficult to see in the dusk of the evening, which is the time when the majority of these animals seek their food. A still more interesting case is that of the white fauna of the immense limestone caves of the Peninsula, of which the Batu caves in Selangor, and the Biserat caves of Ulu Patani, are well-known examples. These caves are frequented by myriads of bats, which produce deep deposits of guano, and among the fauna which live either upon the bats or the guano, are a white snake, a white rat, and even a white cockroach! Among the apes and monkeys (especially the larger ones) which, owing to their extreme agility and strength are in little need of any specially protective colouring, the correspondence of colour to environment is less marked; it may, however, be worth pointing out that the spectacled monkey (*Semnopithecus obscurus*) is called "lotong" by the Malays, who have evidently observed the close correspondence of its colour to the bark of the immense forest-tree called "jĕlotong" (*Dyera Maingayi*, *D. costulata*), which abounds in the forest where it lives.

In the cases we have mentioned the protective or "strategic" colouring of the animal, when once modified, has been permanent; but the Peninsula yields more than one example of an animal which can change its colouring from time to time for the purpose of still more effective concealment. Such are the "sumpah-sumpah" (*Calotes*), which, though not a true chamæleon, has yet received that name from its sharing the chamæleon's most remarkable characteristic, and in a lesser degree, certain tree-lizards and tree-

frogs, which latter I have seen turn an almost milky white when exposed to full sunlight.

In all the foregoing cases, as indeed in all of which we have hitherto any record, the specialisation of the animal, whether of an aggressive or prophylactic character, takes the form of a modification of colouring in conformity with its most usual surroundings for the purpose of concealment, and the principle of the importance of colouring thus developed is, of course, very marked among the lower orders of creation, among the birds, snakes, and various forms of the insect world (more especially the well-known leaf and stick insects), with the all-important modification that among all these latter classes the influence of an additional purpose is observable, viz. that of colouring for sexual attraction—a feature of which no example whatever is known among the higher animals of the Peninsula. But colour-modification is, of course, by no means the only form of specialisation that occurs, for form-modification, combined with that of colour, is found in a host of Malay insects, of which the leaf-insect and stick-insect are the best known examples; while the shield of the many varieties of tortoise, the scaly mail of the manis, and the lance-like quills or *chevaux de frise* of the porcupine, all afford notable examples of animals provided with special forms of armour because they are ground animals and have no other way of escape.

But we approach what is still far the most significant and characteristic section of the fauna of the Peninsula when we consider the immense proportion of the denizens of the jungle that have learnt to live in trees. Among these are the bear, the leopard, and panther, and all other representatives of the cat kind (with the sole exception of the tiger), the bear-cat and the civet, and an uncounted army of squirrels, apes, monkeys, snakes, and lizards. By far the most numerous part of the sylvan population of the Peninsula is, in fact, distinctively arboreal, and the most interesting section of these are those bizarre creatures—half-animal, half-bird—which in the Malayan jungles continually afford some fresh and delightful surprise. These are the flying-foxes and fruit-bats, flying squirrels, flying lemurs, flying lizards, flying frogs.

Some of these, of course, such as the flying-foxes, which owe their name to the vulpine character of their head, are true bats, and really fly, but many of them progress on the principle of the aeroplane, by taking off from the trunk of a tree at a considerable height from the ground, gliding downwards to the next, and then climbing up from the point at which they alight, and repeating the glide as before. The flying squirrels and flying lemurs, which travel by this method, make use of a fold of skin between the fore and hind leg on each side of the body, the membrane when tightly stretched performing the work of a parachute. Of the large flying lemur, or "kubong,"

which is locally plentiful, there are at least two varieties, one of which has a soft, most beautifully delicate silvery grey fur, the other being of a reddish-brown colour. There is also a species of flying squirrel, which is very much smaller, its body being little bigger than a rather large mouse. The flying lizard, or Draco, which is most brilliantly coloured, has the membranes with which it flies stiffened by slight processes, which enable it to use them to a limited extent as wings, its flight producing an impression similar to the "buzzing" of the wings of some large insect. In flying it inflates the gorgeous golden pouch beneath its throat (by means, as it appeared to me, of a spine which it erected and depressed at pleasure), and in full sunlight produces the strangest and at the same time most fascinating effect imaginable.

The flying frog, which is said to glide through the air by means of an abnormal development of the webs of its feet, is well known from the description given by Wallace, but I think it is worth while adding that there are other tree-frogs in the Peninsula, which do not appear to be flying frogs, their feet being merely provided with suction pads, resembling those of the Malayan house-lizard.

In another department of animal life, that of the fishes, there are in the Malay Peninsula many good examples of specialisation that should not be passed over: these are (to take some of the most conspicuous) the frog-fish called "tĕmbakul," which may be seen in great numbers skipping over the sloping banks of tidal rivers at the passing of a boat or steamer; the "aruan" or "snakehead" (*Ophiocephalus*), a kind of walking mud-fish resembling a perch, which may be seen progressing over dry land towards a pool by the opening and shutting of its gill-cases; and a small fish called *Toxotes jaculator*, which is able to shoot a fly off a leaf above the stream by means of a drop of water forcibly expelled from its mouth, a remarkable fact, which, as I have ventured to suggest in a later part of this book, is necessarily a matter of common knowledge to the aboriginal inhabitants of the Peninsula, to whom it may not inconceivably have suggested the blowpipe.

We have seen how powerful has been the effect of the joint insular and climatic conditions upon the fauna and flora of the Peninsula, and how the peculiar character of the vegetation has affected the fauna. This latter idea leads us naturally to the question, in what way and to what extent have the indigenous races of the Peninsula been themselves affected by the climate and the character of the country? Throughout the world this physical specialisation is far less marked in man than in the lower animals. This, however, is probably not due to the fact that he is incapable of such development, nor is it due to his being, comparatively speaking, a late arrival on the earth, but simply to the fact of his possessing mechanical ability to a degree that lifts him far above the

other members of the brute creation, above the orang-outang, for example, a comparison worth making because, according to native tradition, a variety of it, called the "mawas," once inhabited the Peninsula, as it still inhabits the neighbouring islands of Borneo and Sumatra, to the latter of which at least the Malay Peninsula was once (as already pointed out) geologically united. That it is not due to any incapacity for such development, is clear from the immense number and variety of ways, as in the blind, deaf and dumb (or in special trades for instance), in which one or other of his senses becomes quite abnormally developed through constant use, to say nothing of isolated phenomena, such as the cases of web-foot connected with East Anglia since the days of the Gyrvii. That it is not due to his late arrival will appear when we reflect that the most wonderful development does continually occur in the life-history even of a single individual. Probably we should be quite safe in saying that of all animals man is best able to accommodate himself to new or strange surroundings, even to those which appear most certain to threaten his very existence. But since he is able to obtain this end by the use of special implements and devices, we shall find that (as might almost be expected) it is these mechanical appliances that he improves rather than his own members. Hence even in the Malay Peninsula, which must certainly be one of the most densely wooded countries in the world, although the Sakai has been driven by the dangers that threaten him to build his huts in trees, he shows no tendency to develop into a really arboreal type; and although he is quite capable of walking up the stem which forms the approach to his aerial abode, he still prefers to make use of some rude kind of ladder to go up and down by (just as, in Les Landes, the French fenlander has kept to his stilts). So too the Orang Laut, although he has lived in his boats from the cradle to the grave, as far back as history will carry us, has never developed, however expert in diving he may be, anything remotely approaching amphibious characteristics. It is therefore not so much in the sphere of physical development, great as in certain ways this undoubtedly is, that we must expect to find the full effect of the wild man's geographical surroundings, but in the use that he makes of those surroundings, and the development of his character.

In what relationship, then, does the wild man of the Peninsula stand to, and what use does he make of the flora and fauna that have been described? It is certainly owing to the dangerous proximity of wild beasts, such as elephants and tigers, that he has taken to living in the high tree-huts just referred to. For the wild elephant of the Peninsula in particular is very rascally, and will pull even a tree-hut to pieces if he can reach it (as, in one case that I remember, an elephant in the Langat river demolished, for sheer mischief's sake, a Malay dug-out canoe). But nevertheless

both tiger and elephant are hunted, killed, and eaten at times, and there is hardly any animal, bird, or reptile in the jungle (except perhaps the toad, scorpion, and a few snakes and insects) that does not at some time or other, and in some district or other, form part of the aboriginal *menu*. Monkeys, wild pig, deer of all kinds, squirrels, porcupines, flying-foxes and flying lemurs, argus pheasants and peacocks, blue herons and hornbills, tortoises, lizards, rats, and snakes, these provide some of their favourite dishes, and if one or two concessions are made to the prejudices of civilisation, there would perhaps not be much to which we should be inclined to take exception. But the catholicity of their tastes necessitates at once a most thorough and accurate knowledge of the habits of the varied denizens of the jungle, and a considerable amount of ingenuity and mechanical skill in the contrivance of traps, pitfalls, springes, and nooses for securing their quarry, and this knowledge, skill, and ingenuity the wild races certainly possess in a very marked degree.

The Besisi method of securing the argus pheasant, described in the text, is the outcome of close observation, as is their method of "splashing" with the tip of their rod in the water to catch the "sĕmbilang" fish; their springes and traps for monkeys, wild pigs, and other small mammals and birds, are frequently most complicated devices. But, cleverly designed as these are, they will catch nothing unless the trappers have a sufficiently intimate knowledge of the haunts and habits of their intended victim to foresee the exact spot at which the latter will inevitably pass, and in passing release the catch that starts the mechanism: their knowledge of the presence and movements of game, even at a considerable distance away in the jungle, amounts to an instinct: their lungs (though this is a matter that has not yet been investigated) must be enormously developed and improved to enable them, at (comparatively) great distances, to exhibit such skill with the blowpipe, as they are known to possess: their sight, whether longer or not than that of the average European, is unquestionably so much better trained, that they can instantaneously distinguish quite small birds or squirrels even when partially screened by thick foliage, where a European would, for some time at all events, be totally unable to perceive anything at all: their sense of smell, by which they are able even to track snakes, is unquestionably keener, and certainly far better trained, than that of an European, or even than that of an ordinary town-bred (and therefore as a rule in every way degenerate) Malay, though it may not be materially better than that of the Malay who has been bred to the jungle.

With regard to the vegetation of the Peninsula, it may be safely said that the wild races make use of everything that can in any way be regarded as even remotely edible and capable of sustaining life, for they not only employ every edible fruit, seed, root, tuber, stem, bark,

leaf, young shoot, bud (not to mention ferns and fungi) that comes their way, but even make use of plants that are highly poisonous, until they have been treated, such as the fruit of the "pĕrah"-tree, which is poisonous unless cooked, and some of the wild yams, which they eat after washing out the poison. Of the number of edible fruits in the jungle, the lists of their names given in the text will give some faint idea, though even these lists must not be taken as in any sense complete, and if they should (to take a very rare contingency) be in any manner of doubt as to the edibility of any particular fruit, the birds and the monkeys will be their guide. Even the despised mangrove swamp, regarded by Europeans as the *ne plus ultra* of all impenetrable and unproductive forms of vegetation, contributes its quota of edible fruits, such, for instance, as the "pisang-pisang" and "bĕrĕmbang," of both of which I myself have eaten. Water is obtained by tapping the "kait-kait" and other wild creepers, and from the stems of certain large bamboos, which not infrequently hold water in their hollow internodes. But the most important plants and trees, from an ethnological point of view, are undoubtedly (after mere food-producers), the upas tree, the upas creeper, the tuba or fish-poison creeper, and a species of bamboo called *Bambusa Wrayi*. Of these it will be sufficient to remark (since they have been treated very fully in the text) that the first three are the main ingredients of the famous dart-poison of the aborigines, which, like the *wourali* poison of the South American Indians, is in some of its compounds, at all events, almost immediately fatal, whether to man, bird, or beast. The fish-poison (so called because it was formerly much used for poisoning the small streams in the Peninsula and thereby stupefying the fish) is used in combination with both of the other two main ingredients of the dart-poison, whether tree or creeper. And the last of the category, *Bambusa Wrayi* or *longinodis*, is an extremely rare bamboo, which has exceedingly slender internodes that grow to quite six feet in length, and which, though only known to grow on two or three mountains in the Peninsula, has been nevertheless singled out by the aborigines to serve in the production of their jointless blowpipe.

In the foregoing pages we have glanced at that inexhaustible (and after all indescribable) profusion of nature by which the ancestors of these races found themselves surrounded in that dim and unrecorded past, when first their toilsome wanderings, prolonged through generations, brought them face to face within the narrow confines of the Malay Peninsula. At whatever period this was, and in whatever order they may have arrived, we can now recognise with sufficient clearness the Semang, Sakai, and Jakun as three distinct and separate races; the Negritos or Semang, with their woolly hair and round bright eyes, the darkest, the best-developed, and at the same time the most markedly nomadic of all the races in the

Peninsula; the Sakai, who are the lightest, with their often interesting features, reminiscent may be of their old Dravidian ancestry, though modified by the effect of their somewhat narrow-lidded half-closed eyes, hair of a distinctly wavy character, and their generally somewhat emaciated appearance; and the Jakun or aboriginal Malayans, with their smooth blue-black hair, a race hard to distinguish, because of its admixture with the other two main stocks, but who must nevertheless be accepted as a type, if the physical evidence of skull and skull-features, skin-colour and hair-character are not to be utterly denied. In each case the fate of their scanty bands must have been very similar—a never-ending struggle for existence first against the forces of nature, against hunger, disease, and a hundred forms of death, and later against the persecutions of man, thus faithfully mirroring the battle of the gigantic vegetation and dangerous beasts among which they lived. The shadow, the hall-mark of the primeval forest—at once their protector, their sustainer, and their grave—is burned into them, and shows itself in the restless motion and hunted expression of their eyes, and even in their very gait, for the great height to which they raise the foot in walking (a habit acquired in circumventing the continual obstacles that meet them in the undergrowth), and the careful deliberation with which they plant it on the ground, remain even when they come out into open country, and expose them to much ridicule and cheap witticisms on the part of the Malays. It was the forest that supplied them with food, shelter, clothing, ornaments, implements of every description, with drugs and simples when they were sick, with materials and subjects for their dances, feasts, songs, instruments of music. Their strongest asseveration was to say, "May a tree fall on me,"—an expression that fully brings out the extent to which this particular terror dominated their lives. It was the forest that received their dead into its kindly bosom; indeed, to be laid to rest in the cool outstretched arms of the great forest-trees was the highest honour that could be paid to their departed chiefs, whose spirits they so pathetically prayed to 'pay heed only to their dead ancestors, for their living friends would find food.' Their simple idea of the delights of a future state was after all but a glorified "Avilion," an "Island of Fruits," from which all that was noxious and distressing to man (and therefore to man's soul) had been eliminated, and the very entrance to which lay over the natural bridge formed by the trunk of a fallen tree.

Yet, surrounded as they were by possibilities of harm, they quitted themselves like men, and as iron is welded into steel, the very hardships of their life only served to throw into relief their higher qualities—their ingenuity, dexterity, open-heartedness, sincerity, and well-developed common sense—qualities which, I must confess, I never yet met so generally diffused in any other tropical

race of which I have had experience, and had never expected to meet outside the fabled frontiers of Arcadia. Yet this is the universal testimony of all who have known them well, and I need only add to my own a single testimony, that of a Malay (who was of all men best qualified to speak), who himself once remarked to me in tones of deep disdain, "What stupid animals these Sakai are, they don't know how to tell a lie!"

It is a fact that, as a natural consequence of their inherent honesty, unselfishness, and single-mindedness—the undoubted result of their natural and unluxurious mode of life—these despised, persecuted, and (in a worldly sense) ignorant savages, without the guiding star of even the most rudimentary form of letters, philosophy, or history, have yet given us a practical example of the ideal social state in which liberty, equality, and fraternity are not mere names but real and living forces, and in which, since a moderately communistic system of property prevails, there is no room—so simple is their form of life—for the disintegrating influences of theft, murder, fraud, greed, or any other of the grosser sins that plague the conscience of civilised humanity, influences which, whenever the experiment has been tried among Europeans of establishing a community on the same lines, have been (and are long likely to remain) the inevitable causes of its failure. The facts, viewed in this light, are striking, and perhaps mortifying, but probably all that they mean is that the stage of development reached by those races is a rudimentary one, the exact counterpart of that golden age of innocence to which all civilised and semicivilised races regretfully look back, and which ceases when once the golden apple of commerce is thrown into their midst. "Why rushed the discords in but that harmony should be prized?" Yet surely, if for no other reason than for their possession of these high qualities, the needs of these rude, uncultured, but not all-unenlightened tribes now subject to our sway, should stir the real and ready sympathy of all who believe in our manhood, and in our imperial worth as champions of the weak.

The most important factor that remains to be mentioned in the development of these races, is the subject of the relations between them and the Peninsular Malays. Which of the three races was the first to arrive in the Peninsula, is a point that in the nature of things cannot be decided. As an equatorial race we may perhaps suppose that it was the Negritos. All that we can say for certain is, that in the mediæval period, when all three races were already established there, the Peninsula appears to have been occupied in some force, first by some old Indo-Chinese race[1] of

[1] It is of interest to note the fact that when I was in Bangkok H.R.H. Prince Damrong, a keen and progressive ruler, drew my attention in

comparatively high civilisation, whose language has left its trace on the aboriginal dialects (but of whose domination there is no clear record in history), and later by colonies of Malay immigrants from Sumatra—a people also of some civilisation (of a Hinduised type) whose immigration has continued to the present day, and whose influence on the aborigines is naturally much more marked. The conversion of these latter settlers from their more tolerant Hindu beliefs to the militant and missionary faith of Islam (which took place less than 600 years ago), was a most critical event for the aborigines, its ultimate effect being to drive these unfortunate tribesmen into the hills of the interior and reduce them to the condition of hunted outlaws, to be enslaved, plundered, and murdered by the Malay chiefs at their tyrannous will and pleasure.

This condition of things lasted some five centuries, and naturally enough branded itself, in unforgetable fashion, deep into the memory of the victims. The Portuguese domination of Malacca (which commenced with the taking of that city in 1511 and lasted for 130 years), and that of the Dutch, who became their successors on the capture of Malacca in 1641 and held it till 1795 (and who were able besides to establish trading factories in several parts of the Peninsula), did nothing to rescue the aborigines from their state of serfdom. It was not indeed until the establishment of the British Protectorate, which raised them to an equality with their oppressors, and thereby righted an historic wrong, that they regained the right and the power to live as men. Indeed, even in the earlier days of that protectorate itself, and so long as the power of the Malay pirate in these seas remained unbroken, their condition improved but slowly, and indeed for many years after they had acquired some measure of security for life and property, they were still most outrageously imposed on by the Malay, who traded upon their naïve simplicity, and at the same time upon their unrivalled knowledge of the jungle, to acquire for his own purposes immense quantities of gutta, camphor, eagle-wood, rattan, damar, and other valuable jungle products, for which he paid the collectors the merest fraction of their real value. These methods and many other forms of oppression have since been almost completely suppressed by the strong arm, but we are now confronted by the yet graver question, whether our system of protection is to become more fatal to our *protégés* than even the Malay slave-raids that we so strenuously put down, the effect of which was, after all, though individual members might be lost to the community, to keep them a race apart, whereas

particular to the words of command addressed by the mahouts, in the north of the Malay Peninsula, to the elephants under their charge, and pointed out that some of these words at all events were neither Siamese nor Malay. The answer to this suggestive inquiry of Prince Damrong has been given at the end of vol ii., in the chapter devoted to "Language."

to-day (though there is as yet no marked decline in their numbers) they are fast tending to become assimilated and absorbed, losing their language, their customs, their purity of blood and (worst loss of all) their natural truthfulness and honesty. Probably at the present stage it is too late to avert wholly the natural trend of events, and the only palliative appears to be (in the best interest of the aborigines themselves as well as of their former oppressors) to encourage and develop the systematic study by our own officials of native thought, law, and custom, and to encourage and develop the ideas of the natives themselves through the means (some of which I am glad to say have already been tried) of their own industries and culture (barbarisms and babuisms, of course, excluded). By thus giving them an assured status and the stimulus of a new and higher form of self-respect, we may at least develop and improve that most important class of the race (as distinct from his degenerate fellow-countryman of the towns), the genuine Malay peasant, inured to the hard vicissitudes of the jungle or the sea. Whatever can be achieved in this direction, be it little or much—and the writer is one of those whom experience has convinced that much can be done—will be in its ultimate result of immeasurably greater benefit to the unsophisticated alien races over whom the Malay genius for assimilation is so soon destined to prevail, than any system of forest reservation or even the most paternal vigilance over their affairs.

PART I

RACIAL CHARACTERS.

The Names of the Tribes.

In discussing the affinities of the various races and tribes of wild men in the Malay Peninsula, it is important to get a clear idea of the exact meaning of the names which the Malays apply to them, and which are taken, for the most part, either from the natural (geographical) features of the country in which the particular race of "wild men" in question live, or from the stage of civilisation at which they happen to have arrived.

The commonest of these names, with their English equivalents, are as follows :—

Malay Name.	Translation.	Remarks.
Orang Utan . .	Men of the Forest . .	Used of all the tribes.
,, Bukit . .	Men of the Hills . . .	Of Inland Tribes only.
,, Paya . .	Men of the Swamps.	
,, Darat . .	Men of the Dry Land .	Land Jakun.
,, Laut . .	Men of the Sea . . .	Jakun of the coast, especially the Bĕsisi of the Selangor coast, and the Johor and Singapore tribes, sometimes called "Sea-gypsies."
,, Dalam .	Men of the Interior.	
,, Ulu . .	Men of the Head-waters.	
,, Tanjong .	Men of the Capes . .	*I.e.* Men of the "river-bends."
,, Liar . .	"Wild" Men . . .	Of wholly nomadic tribes who are rarely met with.

Malay Name.	Translation.	Remarks.
Orang Jinak . .	*Lit.* "Tame" Men . .	Of all tribes either settled or less absolutely nomadic.
,, B'la . .	"Kept" or "Domesticated" Men	Used especially of slaves and dependants (="Bila" of some old writers, *e.g.* Logan).
,, Sahbat .	Friendlies	From Arabic "Ṣaḥabat"="Friend."
,, Rayat . .	Subjects or Serfs . . .	From Arabic "Ra'iyat." Used especially of the sea tribes (Rayat Laut).

Of the foregoing names, the term "Orang Utan" (or "Hutan") is perhaps the one which is most generally used in the Peninsula. The correct meaning of "orang" in Malay is "man" (*homo*), and "utan" means "jungle." Hence "Orang Utan" simply means "Man of the Jungle," *i.e.* "Wild Man," and the phrase has (in modern Peninsular Malay) no other meaning. The application of the name "orang-outang" in Europe to a kind of ape was probably due to the mistake, or the jest, of some early traveller. It goes back to 1631, when it occurs in a passage in Bontius, quoted by Yule, *s.v.* "orang utan." The mistake was repeated, as has since been pointed out, in 1652, when Tulpius, in giving a representation of the *ape* (not the *man*) wrote underneath it "*Homo Sylvestris*, Orang utang."[1] The term "orang utan," as has just been said, has practically come to mean nothing more than "Wild Man" (or "Men") in Malay, and hence it is even used of the sea tribes, as in the case of the Orang Utan S'letar (the "Jungle-men of the S'letar" river), who form a branch of the Orang Laut.[2]

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 831; and *Nic. Tulpii Observ. Med.* Amsterdam, 1652, p. 284. The original specimen of the *Homo Sylvestris* of Tulpius is now in the British Museum. We must note that Malay "Orang utang" (not "utan") = "debtor"; *v. L'Homme*, iii. 43.

[2] It seems, however, that in Sumatra

On the other hand, the following names are applied to definite local groups or hordes of wild men, with, in some cases, a vague amount of racial connotation, this being especially the case with "Semang" and "Sakai":—

Name of Group.	Racial Connotation (if any).	Remarks.
I. SĔMANG	Negrito tribes of the Malay Peninsula generally (also especially of West Coast Negritos)	Also called Mĕnik, Mĕni', or Mĕndi' by themselves (= Martin's "Mendi").
Pangan	East Coast Negritos (*i.e.* "East Semang")	V.-Stevens has "Panggang" *passim*, erroneously.[1]
II. SAKAI	Dravido-Australian (?) tribes of the Malay Peninsula generally	Occasionally used by mistake for Semang. The "Blandas" of V.-St.; "Senoi" of Martin.
Sĕnoi	"Central Sakai" tribes	The term used by some *pur sang* Sakai of themselves. It is said to mean "Man" in Sakai.[2]
III. JAKUN	Aboriginal Malayan tribes generally	Formerly spelt Jacoon (Raffles, Jokong), etc.
Hill Jakun or Orang Bukit	Aboriginal Malayan Land tribes	Including the Bĕnua (Logan) = Bĕnar (V.-Stevens).
Sea Jakun or Orang Laut	Aboriginal Malayan Sea tribes	S'letar, Săbimba, Bed. Kallang, Muka Kuning, Akik, etc.
BLANDAS	Certain mixed tribes of the Interior of Selangor and S. Ujong	Wrongly used as synonymous with Sakai by V.-Stevens. Called Landas by themselves.
BĔSISI	Certain (Malayan?) Sea tribes of the Selangor and Malacca Coast	Also called Bĕrsisi (V.-Stevens), and 'Sisi (by themselves).
MANTRA	Certain (Malayan?) tribes of Interior of Malacca	Also Mĕntĕrā' and Mintira (Logan).
UDAI	A certain mixed tribe (?Semi-Negrito) of Johor	Unidentified.

the expression is actually used to denote the anthropoid apes. In Borneo the word "Maïas" is used to denote the "orang-outang," of which the "Mawas" of the Peninsula is probably a tradition. In a letter of November 3rd, 1901, Mr. Hale informs me that the term "Orang alas" (an old Malay phrase for "jungle-men") is used in the Kinta valley as the equivalent of "Mawas."

[1] The word is properly spelt Pangan, and has nothing to do with Malay "panggang," "to roast," as V.-St. oddly imagined, the two words being pronounced quite differently. Mr. Charles Hose has suggested that it may be akin to a North Bornean word "pangan," which means "friendly"—a much more likely suggestion.

[2] De Morgan (viii. 225) mentions a hill called "Gunong Sĕnoi" ("Sönoi"), a place-name, but this probably means "Hill of the Sĕnoi" or "Wild-men's Hill." Cp. Luering's *Vocabulary of the "Ulu Kampar" Dialect*, *s.v.* "Man."

The term "Semang" has never been satisfactorily explained. The term "Sakai," on the other hand, has been (unjustifiably, as I think) explained as meaning "dog"; a more possible derivation, as Grünwedel points out,[1] being from the Sanskrit "Sakhi" = "Friend," in which case its use would be paralleled by the alternative Malay name "Sahbat" or "Sabat" (from Arab. "Ṣaḥabat" = "Friend" or "Friendly"), though even this is hardly a likely explanation.

The word "Sakai" is also used in Malay (as is "Semang") in the sense of retainer or follower of a native chief. It is thus more or less analogous to Rayat or subject. This last term is commonly applied by the Malays to the Mantra and Besisi; but these last two tribes prefer to speak of themselves as "Hill Men" (Orang Bukit), or "Men of the Interior" (Orang Dalam), and "Men of the Sea" (Orang Laut) respectively, or else simply as "Jakun."

Finally, the term "Sakai" has not unfrequently been used, like the expression "Orang Utan," as a generic term for *all* the wild men of the peninsula. It is also frequently used by the Malays in combination with many of the terms given above (*e.g.* Sakai Liar, Sakai Jinak, Sakai Bukit, Sakai Rawang, Sakai Laut, Sakai Ulu, Sakai Dalam, Sakai Bla), but not as a rule with the other words mentioned in the list. The word "Semang" is also occasionally used in a similar way. But the majority of the names applied to these tribes by the Malays are purely place-names, *e.g.* Orang Kinta (from the Kinta valley in Perak); Orang Klang and Orang Rawang (from places in the "Klang" and "Langat" districts of Selangor), and the numerous tribal names of the Orang Laut, such

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 830. "Sakei" is an alternative spelling.

as the "Sābimba," "S'letar," "Muka Kuning," and many similar titles.

In the following work the name "Semang" will be used principally for all Negrito tribes, whether those dwelling on the West Coast or those on the East, the latter of whom are generally called (as has already been explained) "Pangan."

It will also be used (culturally) of the mixed Semang-Sakai tribes amongst whom, either on account of their use of the bow or for other reasons, the Semang element has been assumed on the whole to preponderate.

The name "Sakai" will be similarly ear-marked for the second ethnical group (Dravido-Australian?), whether pure or only preponderatingly Sakai.

The name "Jakun" will, in the same way, be applied to the southern tribes, composing the third ethnical group, for which the name "Bĕnua" (Orang Bĕnua = Men of the Country or "Aborigines," as opposed to the immigrant Malays) was used by European writers at least as far back as 1613, although it does not now appear to be used by the natives themselves.[1]

Finally, I may say that the names of the fabulous tribes, *e.g.* Orang Ekor or "Tailed" People, Orang Gergasi or Giants, Orang Mawas or "Orangoutang" People, referred to by Vaughan-Stevens,[2] Orang Pĕri or Fairies, etc., etc., will be treated of in the chapter on Religion, to which they more properly belong.

Vaughan-Stevens asserts that the term "Udei"

[1] At the same time it should be observed that certain modern writers (among whom is Logan) apply the name "Benua" to a particular Jakun tribe in Johor, who will be here called "Benua-Jakun." Goudinho de Eredia (*Malaca*, Brussels, 1882) mentions the Benua in a work written in 1613.

[2] *Vide* Grünwedel in *V. B. G. A.* xxxiii. 830, and elsewhere.

("Udai") is used by the Orang Pangan as an expression of contempt for the tribes dwelling near Belum in Perak, and that its meaning is equivalent to "bastard." He also alleges it to be applied by the Malays in the north to the Orang Jinak, *i.e.* the more settled ("Tame") Semang. His explanation of the word, however, is certainly incorrect.[1]

RACIAL AFFINITIES—GENERAL.

The Older Views.

The descriptions of these tribes by the older writers were based on very inadequate knowledge, and were often extremely speculative and misleading. De Quatrefages, De Morgan, M.-Maclay, Vaughan-Stevens, and others held what may be called the Pan-Negrito theory, *i.e.* the belief that all the wild tribes were of Negrito origin, and attempted to account for the anthropological difficulties involved by premising the intermixture of these tribes with Malays and certain other races, selected apparently at random, such as Siamese, Papuans, and African negroes, to account for the presence of whom the "wrecked slave-dhow" theory was introduced, without the slightest regard to the obvious geographical objections, or to the remarkable racial discrepancies between the races compared. We have it, for instance, on the authority of Mr. H. N. Ridley, that Vaughan-Stevens at one time regarded the Semang as descendants of "escaped negro slaves brought over by Alexander the Great"!

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. Heft. 3-4, p. 100.

Even some of those sounder authorities who recognised the fact that the identity of origin of all these tribes could not be maintained, spoilt their case by attempting to identify the Semang with the African negro, an attempt which the marked diversity of type between the two races concerned would alone render little short of absurd.

An allied theory (that of the Papuan origin of the Semang) has been completely confuted by a succession of modern anthropologists, among whom it will be sufficient to mention Wallace, Waitz, Hamy, and others, whose researches may be considered to have fairly established the following propositions :[1]—

(1) That there were not less than *two* clearly distinguishable, if not contrasted, racial types among the wild aborigines of the Peninsula.

(2) That the characteristics of the Negrito type found among the Semang showed no more trace of derivation from the true negro than they did from that of the Papuan.

A.—The Semang Problem.

As regards the former (Pan-Negrito) theory, it should be noticed that even Vaughan-Stevens and his followers unconsciously divide the Semang from the Sakai.

Thus Vaughan-Stevens, while strongly postulating

[1] Wallace, for instance, clearly distinguishes between the Semang as Negritos, and the Jakun as "savage Malays."

Hamy, after admitting the existence of Negritos in the Peninsula, goes on to say, "Les Indonésiens (the 'savage Malays' of Wallace) . . . relient Formosa à Malacca."

Waitz distinguishes two clearly separate types—the Semang whom he declines even to call Negritos—apparently for fear of implying Negro affinities—and the Benua or savage Malays.

their common Negrito origin (according to the "Pan-Negrito" theory), divides the tribes into two well-marked main groups—(1) The Sakai or "Blandas" (including the "Tembeh," the "Keni," the "Senoi," "Besisi," and "Kenaboi"); (2) the Orang Menik, whom he subdivides correctly into Pangan and Semang, the latter comprising the tribes of Kinta, Kensiu, Belum, and Bong Districts.

In the first of these two groups the names Tembeh, Keni, and Kenaboi are probably nothing but place-names;[1] Tembeh, which Vaughan-Stevens spells Tumior or Tummeor, and which he would derive from Timor—the name of an island at the opposite end of the Malay archipelago!—is certainly identical with the Tembe of Clifford, in spite of Vaughan-Stevens' description of them as being "dark of colour" and "tattooed,"[2] two facts which would, if established, appear to indicate a proportion of Semang blood, though no doubt much mixed with Sakai.

In the second group the names of the subdivisions are mostly names of places, Kensiu being in the north of Kedah; the Kinta, a tributary of the Perak river; Belum in Ulu Perak; and Bukit Bong, a hill in Ligeh. All the tribes in this second group belong to the Negrito stock, and Vaughan-Stevens, in spite of his preconceived theories, could not help noticing the difference between them and the Sakai tribes.

The third (Malayan) element Vaughan-Stevens

[1] "Kĕnaboi" is the name of a stream in Jelebu. "Tĕmbeh": other spellings are "Tĕmbir" and "Tembe," the form employed by Clifford. For a parallel compare the word "gambier," which is (correctly) pronounced "gambir" at Klang in the central part of the Selangor coast-line, "gambior" at Kwala Selangor (north of Klang), and "gambeh" at Sepang, south of Klang, upon the same coast. I may add that there is, in N. Selangor and Perak, a strong tendency to pronounce this same word as "gambiok," or even "gamiok," a form which accounts for the form "Tĕmiok," which is also found (Martin).

[2] *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 831.

apparently attributes exclusively to modern (civilised) Malay admixture.

So, too, De la Croix,[1] though professing his adherence to the "Pan-Negrito" theory, nevertheless distinguishes to a great extent the Semang from the Sakai.

De Morgan distinguishes between the "Sakai" peoples to the south of the river Plus, a large tributary of the Perak river, and the Semang who live to the north, and remarks that these two tribes are hostile to each other; but yet concludes that all the wild men of the Peninsula belong to a single race which he identifies with the "Negritos of New Guinea"!

It is not, I think, necessary to deal at length with the statements of all the writers who hold this view, though mention should certainly be made of the work of Miklucho-Maclay,[2] who states that both the "Orang Sakai" and "Orang Semang" (two radically different types) are "*pur sang* Melanesians"![3]

[1] *Rev. d'Ethn.* vol. i. No. 4, 1882.

[2] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 2, p. 208.

[3] On the other hand, it is only fair to point out that both Miklucho-Maclay and Meyer (following M.-Maclay) regarded both Negritos and Papuans as one stock, and were apparently unable to see the difference of type between them, in which connection Keane writes, "It will be enough to insist, with Wallace and Flower, on the fundamental differences (between the Papuan and the Negrito type) . . . the two have in fact little in common except their dark colour and frizzly or woolly hair, features which they share also with the African Negro" (Keane in *J. A. I.* ix. p. 285).

The only kind of ultimate connection between these races that appears, anthropologically speaking, at all possible, would be that outlined in a suggestion put forward by the late Sir William Flower, who thought that the Negrito might represent the undeveloped type of an aboriginal race, of which both Negro and Papuan might be the highly specialised derivatives.

For an opposite opinion, see A. B. Meyer's *Negritos*, p. 83. It may, however, be still taken as true that no satisfactory proof of the connection of the two races has yet been formulated, and that Sir William Flower's brilliant hypothesis still remains an hypothesis.

It should be noted that the existence of the Negritos was definitely known early in the nineteenth century (Crawfurd, Raffles, Anderson, *circa* 1810-1825), and at the same time it was distinctly understood that they were distinct from the Orang Benua of the South. These early writers had no opportunity of seeing the central (Sakai) tribes, because, until the year 1875, the Northern States were practically a *terra incognita*.

Relationship of the Semang to other Races.

In the Appendix will be found a table which is, perhaps, the most compendious way of enabling some comparison to be made between the various branches of the undoubtedly pure and allied Negrito races now known to us, though the number of measurements in most cases is far too small to be at all conclusive, and the intention is not to *prove* the connection, but merely to show the nature of the unsolved problem.

The net result is to show that the African pygmies (Bambute, etc.) observed by Sir H. Johnston may be rather shorter than either the Andamanese or the Negritos of the Philippines and of the Malay Peninsula, whereas these last three races are practically of the same height. All four are brachycephalic,[1] and have actually woolly hair, and their skin-colour varies from a dark copper or chocolate to a glossy black.

A curious point about this group is that it still remains a moot question—as our most recent authorities declare—whether any Negritos occur in Borneo, which would naturally be the connecting link between the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines.

B.—The Sakai Problem.

According to the older writers, all traces of non-Negrito blood among the wild tribes of the Peninsula were due to admixture between these tribes and civilised Malays. The types of those two races (Semang and Sakai) are, however, fortunately so

[1] The Semang are said to vary from brachy- to dolichocephalism, but the writer believes it will ultimately be found that the purer Semang (*e.g.* in Kedah) are mainly brachy- or mesaticephalic, their head-length increasing in Perak and elsewhere through admixture with their dolichocephalic Sakai neighbours.

Man.

NEGRITO TYPE—ANDAMANESE.

Wray.

NEGRITO TYPE—SEMANG OF PERAK.

(See also Appendix.)

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Martin.

ABORIGINAL DRAVIDIAN TYPE.—VEDDAS OF CEYLON.

Cerruti.

SUGGESTED ABORIGINAL DRAVIDIAN TYPE—SAKAI OF PERAK.

(See also p. 55, Appendix, etc.)

strongly contrasted that their separation is not a very difficult matter. The existence of a separate Sakai type had long been suspected, and theories to this effect had been more than once promulgated (first, I believe, by Clifford), but the honour of proving the fact by scientific demonstration and measurements has fallen to Germany in the person of Professor Rudolf Martin, of Zürich, who has made a careful study of the Senoi tribe, and in his recent pamphlet on the relationship of these tribes has pointed out the need for isolating the second element in this complex racial problem.[1] With this fact well established, the Sakai problem has entered upon a new phase, the most burning question connected with it at present being that of the probable relationship of the Sakai to certain races in the same region who are to some extent of a similar habitus.

Briefly, it may be said that two alternative theories now hold the field. One of these theories, which has recently been advanced by P. W. Schmidt in his brilliant paper in the *Bijdragen*, seeks to identify the Sakai with certain tribes of Mon-Annam origin.[2] His argument is based partly upon the admitted linguistic affinity between the Sakai dialects and those of the Mon-Annam family, and partly upon an old description by Thorel[3]—(1) of the Annamese;[4] (2) of the Cambojans or Khmērs;[5] and (3) of the wild tribes of the interior of Camboja (Stieng, Bahnar, Sedang, etc.). Linguistic evidence, how-

[1] The scientific proof of the statements made in the pamphlet has appeared in Professor Martin's larger work, which was published by Gustav Fischer at Jena in the course of the current year (1905), and which is entitled *Die Inlandstämme der malayischen Halbinsel.*

[2] *Bijdragen*, etc., 1901. No. 52 (6 Volgr. deel 8), pp. 399-583.

[3] *Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine:* Garnier, Paris, 1873, vol. ii. p. 289 *seqq.*

[4] *L.c.* p. 290 *seqq.*

[5] *L.c.* p. 294 *seqq.*

ever, when taken by itself, is notoriously an unsafe guide, and though of the three races described by Thorel the third group mentioned certainly approach the nearest to the Sakai type, the points of divergence between the two are nevertheless much too great to allow of an unhesitating assent to this identification. The tribes-folk (of Thorel's third group), for instance, are described as being "above the middle height," whereas the Sakai, as proved by the measurements to hand, do not in the least correspond to Thorel's description. The second difference is in their skin-colour, which is described by Thorel as darker than that of the Malays, whereas the colour of the Sakai, though very variable, is in fact, as a rule, except when mixed with Semang blood, a good deal lighter.[1]

Again, the eyes of the Stieng, Bahnar, Sedang, etc., are described as being very rarely a trifle oblique, whereas the eyes of the Sakai are certainly horizontal.

None of these difficulties taken separately would, perhaps, appear insuperable, but when taken together they must be sufficient to cause us at least to suspend our judgment, and to regard the Sakai problem as still awaiting solution.

The alternative theory comes to us on the high authority of Virchow, who puts it forward, however, in a somewhat tentative manner.[2] It consists in regarding the Sakai as an outlying branch of a racial group formed by the Vedda, Tamil, Korumba, and Australian[3] races, to show the nature of the connexion between which a table (for which see Appendix) of

[1] It is unfortunate that Schmidt omits mentioning these first two important points in quoting Thorel.

[2] Virchow in *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. 152 *seqq.*, and elsewhere.

[3] Assuming the Australian Blacks to be a non-homogeneous group, it is the type which approaches the Dravidian that is, of course, alluded to here.

1 4

Wray.

ABORIGINAL MALAYAN OR JAKUN TYPE—"SAVAGE MALAYS" OF PEKAN, IN PAHANG (HEATHEN).

Nos. 1 and 4 are the best types.

Lent by Hale.

CIVILISED MALAY TYPE—CHIEFS OF NEGRI SEMBILAN (MOHAMMEDAN).

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comparative measurements has been drawn up by the writer.

Relationship of the Sakai to other Races.

The possibility of there being some ultimate relationship (such as has just been referred to) between the Veddas, Tamils, Australians, and Sakai was foreshadowed by Virchow in 1896,[1] the main points of comparison being the height, skull-character, skin-colour, and hair-character. Of these, to go by the comparative table, the height is variable, but in all four of the races compared it is certainly greater than that of the Negrito races. The skin-colour, again, it is true, varies to a remarkable degree, but the general hair-character appears to be uniformly long, black, and wavy, and the skull-index, on the other hand, appears to indicate consistently a dolichocephalic or long-shaped head.

C.—The Jakun Problem.

The third of the three great problems which confront us in dealing with the wild tribes of the Peninsula is that of the relationship between the Malays and the Benua or mixed tribes in the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula.

By the Pan-Negrito theorists the Jakun were regarded as tribes of Negrito origin, more or less modified by admixture with the civilised (Mohammedan) Malays. Both Crawfurd, however, and, more particularly, Favre long ago pointed out the reasons which oblige us to regard the Jakun as aboriginal tribes, and as having been settled in the Peninsula since

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. 152 *seqq.*, and elsewhere.

a period long anterior to the conversion of the Peninsular Malays to Mohammedanism. "In course of time the early Arab trading vessels brought over priests from Arabia, who made a number of converts to Islam; those of the Benua (*i.e.* Jakun) who declined to abjure the customs of their forefathers, in consequence of the persecutions to which they were exposed, fled to the fastnesses of the interior, where they have since continued in a savage state."[1] In other words, part of them remained wild, and part adopted the civilisation of the immigrant Malays. So, moreover, Logan, following Newbold, goes a step further, and comes to the conclusion that the physiognomy of the Jakun of Johor (with some exceptions) points to a "Tartar" extraction—an expression for which I think we are justified in reading Mongol or Mongoloid.[2] In this sense it has certainly been accepted by later writers, such as, for example, Waitz and A. R. Wallace, the former of whom describes the Benua (*i.e.* Jakun) as "primitive Malays," while the latter explicitly describes the Jakun as "savage Malays"; moreover, many writers (*e.g.* Miklucho-Maclay, in writing of the Mantra, etc.) describe their remarkably close resemblance to the Malays, whilst attributing it solely to (civilised) Malay admixture. The view taken by the present writer is to a great extent in accordance with these writers, with the proviso that the isolation of the "savage Malay" element is not the key to the whole of the mystery with which we are here confronted. The Jakun, in fact, as will appear in this work, form a composite group, consisting of tribes which, though largely Jakun or aboriginal Malayan,

[1] Favre in *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 240.

[2] Besides this, Logan talks of their "strong family likeness to the Malays."

are also in some cases partly Semang and partly Sakai, the crossing between these various elements making it impossible at present to adopt any proper classification beyond specifying both Land and Sea Jakun as for the most part aboriginal heathen Malays.[1]

Relationship of the Jakun to other Races.

Our statistics unfortunately at present are far too incomplete even to admit of such a comparison being made between the two types specially concerned, as was possible in dealing with the Semang and Sakai. The difficulty is, moreover, largely increased by the fact that the influence of the civilised Malays has in this part of the world been very widely spread, and hence it has hitherto been the custom to label as Malay many non-Malayan crania. It must not be forgotten that the *true Malay should always bear some relationship to the Mongolian or "Tartar" type*, and that it is only on measurements obtained from countries where the Malay stock is relatively pure (*e.g.* in the centre of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula) that a table of statistics of any practical value can be founded. Meanwhile the most important evidence of aboriginal Malayan influence in the Peninsula consists in the aboriginal Malayan dialects still spoken by the Jakun, though even in the case of the Jakun the matter has been complicated by the uncritical practice of attributing their Malayan vocabulary, as well as their physical characteristics, to admixture with civilised Peninsular Malays. Whereas, as a matter of fact, both the dialects and the general characteristics of the Jakun may perhaps rather be

[1] *Cf.* Hamy, p. 25 *n.*, *ante*. Though no single Jakun tribe may now consist *solely* of aboriginal Malayans, I doubt if any Jakun tribe exists which does not contain *some* such individuals, and I believe that in many cases they amount to over 50 %.

compared to those of the Malay Archipelago than to those of the civilised Peninsular Malay. The table in the Appendix, incomplete as it is, will, however, perhaps be of some use here as showing the kind of information which is required to clear up this part of the still unsolved Malayan problem.

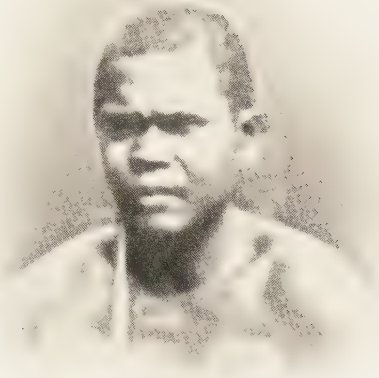
At present all that can be said is that we might expect the civilised Malays to be at least as tall as, if not taller than, the Jakun, their uncivilised cousins. This condition of things does not appear to be borne out by the table, but we must wait for fuller information before this point can be decided. The skull-index of both races is as nearly as possible identical (brachycephalic). The hair-character, moreover, is absolutely identical, but the skin of the Jakun, doubtless through exposure to the weather, is a shade darker, as a rule, than that of the Malays.

General Results.

The synoptical table to be found in the Appendix will, it is hoped, provide certain standards by which to test and classify the three main ethnical groups of the Peninsula. It need perhaps scarcely be added that although many individuals are to be found in the Peninsula who conform pretty closely to one or other of the three types indicated, the least degree of intermixture (either as between themselves or as between them and their civilised neighbours) will tend immediately to produce some divergence from these standards.

Generally speaking, however, and bearing in mind these necessary qualifications, the three types may be roughly described as follows :—

A. Semang Type.—Height of men about 1491 mm. ; of women, 1408 mm. ; skull-index brachy-



Skeat.

NEGRITO TYPE—HEAD OF SEMANG MAN, KEDAH.

Wray.

NEGRITO TYPE HEAD OF SEMANG MAN, PERAK.

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Wray.

SUGGESTED ABORIGINAL DRAVIDIAN TYPE. HEAD OF SAKAI MAN, PERAK.

Knocker.

ABORIGINAL MALAYAN, OR "SAVAGE MALAY" TYPE—JAKUN OF SUNGEI UJONG.

Vol. I. p. 35.

cephalic (or bullet-headed) to mesaticephalic; skin of a dark copper or rather chocolate-brown colour passing into a "shiny black";[1] hair (which is generally shaved off) woolly, like that of the Negro and the Papuan; forehead low and rounded; nose remarkably broad and flat or "spreading"; cheeks full, but with the cheek-bones not very prominent; eyes round, wide-open, and straight (*i.e.* not "oblique" like those of Mongolian races); chin feebly developed (*i.e.* rounded off, and frequently almost unmarked); mouth variable, but rather large as a rule, the lips, which are also variable, being generally well formed, but sometimes turned outwards or "everted"; beard, none to speak of, as a rule, but when found, thin and straggling, or, occasionally, woolly, like the hair itself.

B. Sakai Type.—In height the Sakai are, I think, without doubt, a slightly taller race than the Semang or Negritos. The shape of their head, on the other hand, is in marked contrast to that of the Negritos, as they belong in type to the dolichocephalic, or long-headed, races. Their skin-colour varies more remarkably than that of any of these tribes, being in some extremely dark brown, in others a remarkably light yellowish-brown, much lighter than that of the Malays. Their hair, too, is long, black, and wavy in character, sometimes with a slight reddish tinge in reflected light. Their forehead is flat, and projects remarkably over the root of the nose, which latter is, as a rule, somewhat fine and small, and often slightly tilted at the tip. The cheek-bones are very broad, especially when considered in relation to the rest of the features. Their eyes are a very dark brown, small, horizontal, and often half-closed, as different as

[1] See *J. I. A.* vol. iv. p. 428.

can be from those of the Semang. Their chin is long and somewhat sharp and pointed. Their mouth is of small size, with lower lip full, loose, and often conspicuously projecting. Their beard is, as a rule, almost non-existent, but a few individuals occur who are fairly well covered with hair.

C. Jakun Type.—In height the Jakun appear to be, if anything, a little taller than the Sakai (in which case they would be the tallest of the three aboriginal races). Their head is brachycephalic, or "bullet"-shaped. Their skin is generally of a dark coppery colour, not unlike that of the Malays, but with a tendency to darker shades, which are, doubtless, due partly to exposure and partly to their manner of living. Their hair is long and straight, or "smooth," and of a dark bluish-black tint, such as is invariably found in the hair of Mongolian races. Their forehead is usually well developed. Their nose is, as a rule, thick, flattish, and short, with wide-open nostrils, though it must be noted here that a more developed type occurs. Their cheek-bones are very high and well marked, like those of the Mongolian type. The face, as a rule, is inclined to be flattish. Their eyes are dark brown, of moderate size, and rarely with some slight tendency to obliquity. They have, as a rule, a strong chin and somewhat square jaws. Their mouth, as a rule, is large and broad, though frequently moderate and with well-formed lips. Their beard is of the scantiest.

The establishment of these types may, I think, be considered to justify the classification based on hair-character which Martin proposes. The Semang he describes as Ulotrichi, or woolly-haired tribes, who are to be clearly distinguished from the Sakai, who are wavy-haired (Cymotrichi). In the third (composite)

group, for which I propose to retain the generally used native name of Jakun, I have merely to suggest the recognition (for our present purposes) of the Jakun (or aboriginal Malayan) type as Lissotrichi, or smooth-haired individuals, in the place of Martin's mixed tribes that cannot be classed. With this slight modification, I may say that the present work is based entirely on Martin's plan of classification, which in this modified form may now be given as follows :—

Group.	Hair-character.	Name of Tribe.	Known in the present work as
I.	Ulotrichi, or Woolly-haired tribes.	Sĕmang, Mĕnik, or Pangan.	Sĕmang.
II.	Cymotrichi, or Wavy-haired tribes.	Sĕnoi or Sakai.	Sakai.
III.	Lissotrichi, or Smooth-haired tribes.	(*a*) Land Jakun or O. Bukit.	Jakun.
		(*b*) Sea Jakun or O. Laut.	Orang Laut.

This list is, as I have just said, merely a classification of racial *types* or standards, and does not include mixed tribes such as the Kenaboi, Blandas, Besisi, and Mantra, which will be included culturally under the general title of Jakun, the Malayan aborigines, who form a sub-group of the Jakun, being divided into the Hill or Land Jakun (Orang Bukit) and Sea Jakun (Orang Laut) respectively.

Numbers.

It is extremely difficult to form any idea of what the real numbers of the aboriginal population of the Peninsula may be. What Favre remarks of the Jakun applies equally to all the wild races of the Peninsula, whose number, as he says, is very difficult to ascertain, because part of them are a nomadic

people, so that the same family, and in fact the same individuals, appear to-day in one place and next week some two or three miles further on; next month they will remove again, to roam the forest or to come back to their first habitation, so that those who perceive them here and there imagine that they are fresh persons, and in their calculation they count the same individuals two or three times over. Their number, as reported to him, was always much more considerable than the number he found upon visiting the places themselves.[1]

The most recent (1901) census report of the Federated Malay States, though containing at least one clerical error,[2] and often doubtless falling far short of the truth, is yet our sole guide to the real numbers of the aborigines :—

Aborigines of Perak.	
Larut	
Matang	
K. Kangsar	1021
Upper Perak	515
Kinta	1681
Lower Perak	189
Batang Padang	2808
Krian	
Selama	37
New Territory	1731
Total	7982

Aborigines of Negri Sembilan.	
Seremban	157
Coast	174
Jĕlĕbu	125
Kuala Pilah	700
Tampin	221
Total	1377

Aborigines of Selangor.	
Kuala Lumpur	219
Ulu Selangor	470
Klang	172
K. Langat	899
K. Selangor	1
Ulu Langat	114
Total	1875

Aborigines of Pahang.		
Ulu Pahang	K. Lipis	2467
	Raub and Bentong	669
Temerloh		1598
Pekan		2391
Kuantan		215
Total		7340

Grand Total	18,574

[1] See Favre in *J. I. A.* vol. ii. pp. 253-255. Against this statement must, however, be set the inveterate tendency of these tribes to hide themselves in the forest upon the approach of a European.

[2] In one of the Perak districts immigrants from India are included as aborigines.

MIXED GROUP OF ULU JELAI SAKAI, PAHANG.

1. Semang-Sakai type; 2. Sakai; 3. Semang-Sakai; 4. Sakai; 5-7. Semang-Sakai type; 8. Sakai; 9, 10. Semang (with slight Sakai admixture).

See p. 1.

1 4 6 7 9 *Machado.*

GROUP OF ULU JELAI SAKAI, PAHANG.

1, 3, 4, and 5, Sakai type; 6 and 7, Semang type; 9, Sakai type

Allowing 25,000 as a probable minimum for the "F.M.S.," the Straits Settlements, Kedah, East Coast States, and Johor should swell the total to at least 35,000 or 40,000.[1]

Mixture of Races.

According to Vaughan-Stevens, the Sakai ("Senoi" or "Blandas," as he calls them, giving a quite unwarranted extension to the term Blandas)[2] are a Negrito tribe with a very large admixture of civilised Malay blood, which he supposes to have obscured the original characteristics of the tribe. This view (the Pan-Negrito theory) is, however, as has already been said, quite untenable, since it is obvious that whatever else may happen anthropologically, the fusion of two brachycephalic tribes, or even two mesaticephalic tribes, could not possibly produce a mixed tribe which was mainly dolichocephalic.

Vaughan-Stevens leaves out of sight, moreover, the extremely potent cultural and religious barrier which divides the civilised Mohammedan Malays from the rude heathen tribes of the jungle. In the case of a Malay mating with one of these heathen women, the children as a rule follow the religion of the father,[3] and become merged in his race, the only important exception being the case of Malay traders living with Sakai women in the Sakai country, and then deserting them and their children, in which case the children remain with the tribe. Hence it is the civilised Malay, and not the uncivilised aboriginal race, that is most

[1] For fuller details, showing distribution of the sexes, see Appendix.

[2] Blandas or Bĕlandas. It is probably a mere coincidence that Ptolemy speaks of a river Palandas (apparently the river Muar) and a town Palanda in the same neighbourhood.

[3] Among the jungle tribes themselves it seems that the tribal name follows the male line; sons-in-law join their father-in-law's settlement.—Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 90, 94.

affected when the two live in close proximity (as indeed has been observed in Kedah by Logan, and elsewhere). On the other hand, unions between Malay women and heathen tribesmen, although they are certainly known to occur,[1] are nevertheless of the rarest description; and whereas in former days a woman who so disgraced her family as to mate with one who was regarded as little better than the brutes that perish, would have paid the penalty with her life, she still has to undergo an extreme form of social ostracism, which must inevitably act as a strong deterrent. Hence the most appreciable admixture of blood is only as between one wild tribe and another.

This, which I believe to be the normal state of things, has one very important exception, for in various parts of what is known as the Negri Sembilan, but especially in Johol, a number of small groups of Sumatran Malays (principally of Menangkabau origin) have amalgamated with the local groups of aboriginal tribes on what were (nominally at least) honourable and equal terms, under which the Batins or chiefs of the Jakun even retained, for a time at least, their full share of authority in the mixed government thus established.[2]

The late Martin Lister, in writing of the Rembau

[1] Mr. C. O. Blagden informed me of a case at Malacca which was reported to him by the woman's family. Mr. Hale supports the view expressed in the text by writing, that in his many years' experience he has *never* met with a case of the kind (*i.e.* of a Malay woman marrying a Sakai man). He explains this by saying that the Mohammedan naturally does not like his women, who are virtually his slaves, to get out of his control, and that when the daughter of a well-known S. Ujong chief went to live with a Chinaman at Malacca, although she had previously been the mistress of more than one white man, she died suddenly soon after. And such cases have not been uncommon. The fact that there is the same objection to an alliance between a Malay woman and a Chinese or a Tamil, clearly shows that this prejudice is based on religious scruples.

[2] Thus Mr. Hale writes me that the "Waris" tribe in Rembau was divided into two sections, called "Beduanda Jawa" and "Beduanda Jakun" respectively; and that the paramount chief of Rembau (called "Penghulu" or "Un-

Machado.

BUJO', A YOUNG JAKUN, MIXED WITH STRONG NEGRITO STRAIN.

Caught young, and now living with the To' Raja of Jelai, taken at Batu Pahat, Johor, but originally from Ulu Lipis, Pahang.

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Machado.

HEAD OF BUJO' IN PROFILE, SHOWING MARKED PROGNATHISM.

Machado.

YOUNG SAKAI GIRL IN CENTRE (MIXED TYPE SHOWING STRONG NEGRITO STRAIN).

Caught when young in Ulu Lipis, and now in the To' Raja of Jelai's household. The other two are Malay children.

Malays,[1] gives reasons for this remarkable divergence, pointing out that whereas the rest of the Peninsular Malays at the time of the Menangkabau immigration were, speaking generally, mere piratical freebooters bent on conquest and rapine, the Menangkabau people, on the other hand, were peaceful agriculturalists who had been forced to emigrate through the pressure of population in their own country. Hence all that the latter desired was land for cultivation, and this they were quite satisfied to obtain by peaceful means. And hence in the case of these Menangkabau colonies there has been a true amalgamation between them and the Jakun of Rembau, which has not been the case elsewhere.

It must not be forgotten, as I have already said, that large masses of the *soi-disant* Malay population in many parts of the Malay States from Kedah to Singapore are undoubtedly the descendants of savage tribesmen who, by intermarriage with the civilised Malays and by the adoption of the higher level of culture which in these parts accompanies conversion to the Mohammedan religion, have in the course of a few generations become barely distinguishable from the ordinary Malay inhabitants, of the western and southern portions of the Peninsula.

Traces of such absorption, in which the metamorphosis is not quite complete, are certainly to be found, for instance, in the State of Kedah, in which, some years back, it was noticed by Logan that the Malayan population approximated in their general appearance to the wild Negrito tribes of the interior.

dang") was chosen from each of these sections alternately. "Originally the Batins (*i.e.* the Jakun chiefs) had a say in the matter, but now they are squeezed out of it." And yet "all over the Negri Sembilan, aboriginal descent is claimed, in order to prove the ownership of land."

[1] In *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 32, p. 300.

The descendants of aboriginal slaves would, of course, form a large factor in the problem.

This process of absorption is, moreover, still proceeding with quite as much rapidity as in the past, and where it appears that the numbers of the aborigines are dwindling, we may rest convinced that, in the majority of cases at all events, their gradual disappearance is rather due to conversion and absorption than to the proximity of civilisation, which in the case of these tribes does not appear to have produced such deleterious effects as it is said to have done in other parts of the world.[1]

In spite of this important exception, however, the amount of admixture of Malay blood, even in the Jakun group (to say nothing of the Sakai or Semang groups, where the mixture is admittedly less), has been undoubtedly very much exaggerated, especially by writers who failed to recognise the "savage Malay" element, and regarded every approach to the Malay type of features as evidence of civilised Malay admixture.

In conclusion we may say that, except in the northern and some of the central states, where the circumstances were different, the "civilised Malay" element has not appreciably affected the racial purity of the wild tribes of the Peninsula, the main admixture (which in many places is obvious enough) having been among themselves. Hence the chief forms of admixture that are worth considering are as follows :—

[1] See p. 30, par. 35, of the recent (1901) Federated Malay States Census Report, where we are told that the returns show that there is little tendency on the part of the aborigines to decrease, and that they now number (in the Federated Malay States alone) 18,574 persons.

Mr. Hale writes me that the point of religion often means nothing but the ceremony of circumcision, and that converted slaves of this kind often reverted to the jungle (on emancipation).

McGregor.

JAKUN WITH MARKED SAKAI STRAIN, SELANGOR.

McGregor.

JAKUN OF MIXED TYPE, BUKIT PRUAL, SELANGOR

(1) Semang + Sakai, or "Semang-Sakai,"
(2) Semang + Jakun, or "Semang-Jakun,"
(3) Sakai + Jakun, or "Sakai-Jakun,"

and further crosses arising from the various mixed races thus produced.[1]

I.—Race-Characters of Semang.

The Semang country runs (roughly speaking) from Chaiya[2] and Ulu Patani (Singora and Patalung) to Kedah in the north of the Peninsula, and thence to mid-Perak and Northern Pahang.

Wallace[3] states that the height of the Semang varies between 1266 mm. and 1416 mm. This latter figure is, however, certainly too low.

Martin lays stress on the fact that the sexual difference in height is actually greater in tribes of small stature (*i.e.* Semang and Senoi) than it is amongst taller tribes of the wild races, especially, *e.g.*, among the Blandas. His rough estimate of the average height of a male Semang is about the same as that of a Sakai (1500 mm.). De Morgan says the Semang are the taller, but the fact is doubtful.[4]

The following account of the physical characters of the Peninsular Negritos includes measurements[5] taken by Mr. Laidlaw and myself in the Ulu Lebih district of Kelantan, and by myself at Jarum :—

[1] That the foregoing statement of the case is the true one, appears even from the remarks of Vaughan-Stevens himself, when he says that "Half-bloods, with Malay or Chinese fathers, are quite unknown among the *wild* tribes, but that such admixture is *permitted, although not liked*, by those clans who live in close contact with the Malays" (*V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 833). Mr. Hale, on the other hand, informs me that among the Malays in N. Sembilan it was an accepted belief that any stranger who, while staying in a Jakun house, was able to talk the husband off to sleep, acquired thereby an acknowledged right to usurp his marital privileges for the time being.

[2] W. Smyth's *Five Years in Siam*, ii. 76.

[3] Quoted by Lane-Fox, *J. A. I.* vii. 437 ; cp. *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 7.

[4] For measurements, see *L'Homme*, ii. 552 ; and Wray, *Per. Mus. N.* iii. pp. 33-35.

[5] Given *in extenso* in Appendix.

The average height of five adult males that we measured was 1491 mm. (about 4 feet 9 inches), that of three women 1408 mm., or some $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches less.

The face was round, the forehead low, rounded, narrow, and projecting, or, as it were, "swollen." The nose was short and flattened, the nostrils much distended, and the breadth of the nose was remarkably great, five adult males having an average of 101.2, and three adult females an average of 97.4. The cheek-bones were broad, and the lips were sometimes full and turned outwards, or "everted," but not as a rule thick.

The jaws often protruded slightly, but I did not see any case of marked prognathism. The ears were small. The six front teeth in the upper jaw were often filed so as to present a concave surface anteriorly, in imitation of the common Malay practice. The teeth as a rule were white and good, except in advanced age. In one or two cases only they were discoloured with betel-juice, and in one case caries was present. The milk-teeth of a child when examined were perfectly normal and regular. The shoulders were comparatively broad. The forearms, with two exceptions, appeared not to be so long relatively as they are in the Andamanese. The exceptions were two Pangan at Jarum, whose arms were so long as to present a pithekoid character. But the number of persons observed is too small to separate them from the Pangan of Kelantan. The person was usually well developed.

The head measurements taken by ourselves give a mesaticephalic index as an average; for five men the average was 78.9, for three women 81.1. This feature, however, is clearly variable, as one of the men (Pandak) had an index of 73.8, and a Pangan at Jarum one of 74.4, as against an index of 85 in the skull

Machado.

YEOP SANDAH, WIFE AND CHILD, ULU JELAI SAKAI WITH NEGRITO STRAIN, PAHANG.

Vol. I. p. 11.

Machado.

SAKAI GIRL (SHOWING NEGRITO STRAIN).

Living at Batu Pahat Johor but originally fro n Ulu Lipis Pahang. Carrying a bamboo cylinder for water.

Vol. I. p. 25.

collected by Grubauer, which means an index of about 87 in the living person.[1]

Martin again states that all the Mendi' (= Semang) measured by him were mesaticephalic, with a strong tendency to dolichocephaly.

The following notes on a male skeleton found by myself in Kedah, and averages of measurements taken from living Semang (Pangan) in Kelantan and Patani, may be of interest. I am indebted for them to Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth, of Jesus College, Cambridge, who has also described a Semang skull recently collected by Dr. Grubauer.[2]

The skull viewed in norma verticalis is ellipsoid and mesaticephalic. The glabellar prominences are very moderate in amount. Muscular ridges are feebly developed, and the zygomatic arch is slender. The nasal profile is comparatively flat, but the nasal spine is large. Prognathism of the subnasal and dental type is well marked. The nasal bones are large and rather flat, the aperture pyriformis is cordate in outline. The palate is hypsiloid, the teeth large and blackened. The anterior surfaces of the upper incisors and canines have been filed. Chin-prominence slight, ascending ramus of mandible short. The skull should be described as mesaticephalic, metriocephalic, mesognathous, chamæprosopic, microsemic, platyrhine, mesoprosopic, and mesocephalic, and on the whole probably represents an intermediate form between the dolichocephalic and brachycephalic types.

The vertebral column shows no particular marks of inferiority. The scapulæ are small and relatively very broad, the coracoid is large, and the upper border very straight. The clavicles show signs of disease, but have a very remarkable form which can hardly be altogether pathological. The peculiarity consists in the exaggeration of the normal curve (with concavity directed forward) of the outer part of the bone; the two portions of the bone meet at about a quarter of its length from the outer end, at an angle which in the right clavicle is nearly 90°.

The pelvis affords the best indication of the sex of the skeleton. The crests of the ilia are not so much incurved anteriorly as in the European pelvis. The femurs are rather straight in the shaft, with distinct accessory adductor tubercles.

Generally speaking, the characters of the skull are not such as to enable us to refer it to any well-recognised type without hesitation. Certain marks of inferiority, which may be regarded not as racial peculiarities, but as constituting retentions of conditions normal in infancy, should be noticed. These, which often occur in lower or primitive races, and are spoken of, with others, as "infantile" features, are the rotund contour of norma occipitalis, and the shortness of the ascending ramus of the mandible. The conditions of the cranial suture leave no doubt as to the skull having reached maturity.

The conformation of the skeleton of the nose, and the type of prognathism, constitute resemblances to skulls met with not unfrequently amongst the negro races, especially the races of Central Africa, rather than amongst Oceanic negroes.

[1] In mesaticephalic subjects the possibility of Sakai admixture should, I think, be discounted.

[2] See Appendix.

The lack of characters usually determining sex in the skull is also in favour of this view. On the other hand, no definite resemblance in respect of the cranium can be traced to the Bush natives of South Africa, whereas the facial features resemble certain crania from Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and one from the Andamans. Again, the size and proportions of the scapula are not unlike those of the Bushman of Africa ; an accessory adductor tubercle appears on the femurs in both, and in both the lower ends of the femurs are slender. Differences, however, obtain in the sacra, and on the whole the Semang's bones are the larger. The great length of the forearm said to characterise the Andamanese is absent in the Semang.[1]

Sir William Turner describes a skeleton from Pahang,[2] which differs notably from the above. It is microcephalic and brachycephalic. There is, however, no precise evidence as to whether this skeleton belonged to an undoubted Semang, and as brachycephaly is a mark of certain tribes belonging to the third group of Martin's classification, it might perhaps equally be referred to one of these. Another skeleton described by Virchow (quoted by Turner, *loc. cit.*) shows also differences in other directions.[3]

Hair.

The hair of the Semang that we observed was in most cases characteristically Negrito—crisp, short, and very curly, in fact, actually woolly in the purer types of the tribe. In colour it was of a brownish-black, not a bluish-black like that of Malays (and other Mongoloid races). In section it varied from an oval or ellipse at the thicker or basal end, to almost a circle near the tip. In other words, it possessed a Negrito character in respect of section ;[4] and the measurement of the spirals was about 15 mm. The chin-hairs were few and straggling, and in only two

[1] For a fuller description of this skeleton see W. L. H. Duckworth in *J. A. I.* vol. xxxii. (1902), p. 142 *seqq.* ; and for his description of a brachycephalic Semang skull purchased by the Royal College of Surgeons, see Appendix ; and for other Semang measurements, see note by Dr. Duckworth at end of Part I. and also the Appendix of this book.

[2] *Trans. R. S. Edin.* vol. xl. part i. No. 6.

[3] See Appendix.

[4] For a detailed description of this hair kindly supplied by Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth, see Appendix.

cases did we see a Semang with even the slightest beard,[1] which in one of the two cases was closely curled and woolly, in the other thin and straggling.

In another passage Vaughan-Stevens is quoted as saying that the half-breed Semangs are the only members of these tribes who could be considered as comparatively well provided with hair, and that even in their case the hairiness stands in almost direct relation to the mixture of blood.[2] The E. Semang (Pangan) when of pure blood has so little beard or whiskers that he is ashamed for his little scrubby beard to be seen, and therefore plucks it out. Yet he tries to retain the moustache, so that it may "distinguish him from a woman" (*sic*).

Elsewhere we are told that "The hair of the Semang (Menik) is less inclined to turn grey in old age than that of the Malays, grey hair being in fact regarded as quite exceptional."[3]

Skin-colour.

The skin was of a dark chocolate-brown in the Semang that we measured in Kelantan, approximating in the case of some of the Kedah Negritos to the glossy black mentioned by Anderson.[4] In the old people it was much scarred and sometimes diseased, the disease most prevalent being that called "kurap" by the Malays, but of a mild type. The colour of No. 3 of Topinard's scale corresponded very closely with the colour of most of the Eastern Semang measured by myself. In the younger individuals the skin was smooth and clean and the body physically well de-

[1] For a fuller account see *J. A. I.* xxxii. 151. For hair-sections see Montano, Pl. xxxi. In another place Vaughan-Stevens remarks as follows :—

"The peculiar spirally tufted ('pepper-corn') hair of the E. Semang (Pangan) has kept its influence up to the present day in that district in Pahang where the half-breed descendants of the E. Semang (Pangan), Tembeh (Temia), and Sakai (Blandas) were settled as prisoners of the Rawa Malays ever since their pure-blooded forefathers were first sold to the Malays of Pahang. In a family of this mixed type it often happens that one or several of the children show in this respect either a complete reversion to the E. Semang (Pangan) type, or at least so decided a tendency towards it that the source cannot be mistaken, although the hair of the rest of the family may more nearly approach the Sakai (Blandas) type. The pure types of either kind are very seldom seen there ; but rather they overlap and produce intermediate groups, which show in some cases more and in others less of a tendency to possess the curly hair referred to."

[2] In other words, the hairiness is due to the presence of the Sakai element.

[3] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 178.

[4] J. Anderson, quoted by Col. James Low, states that the Semang of Trenganu were not of such a "*jet-black and glossy appearance*" as those of Kedah (*J. I. A.* vol. iv. p. 428).

veloped, but in older individuals it was often much scarred, and in two or three cases slightly diseased.

With regard to the skin-colour of the Negritos, Vaughan-Stevens remarks that among the wilder Semang, or "Menik" (the men of which tribe wear nothing but a cord or girdle and the women a waist-fringe that lets the light through), the colour of the skin is very uniform. The W. Semang (? Semang-Sakai tribes), however, offer nearly as great a variety as the Malays. The Semang (Menik) did not regard the lighter-coloured Sakai (Blandas) as superiors (!). Their god Ple was dark like themselves. Although the Semang is of darker colour than the Sakai (Blandas), and appears to be less influenced by heat, he (V.-St.) was still of opinion that this capacity for bearing heat arises rather from his constitution, than from the darker colour of his skin (*vide* remarks on this subject as affecting the Sakai, *infra*).

The pronounced nomadic character of all these tribes makes it impossible to arrive at any conclusions as to the effect produced by altitude, soil, shade, dust, or clothes upon the texture and colour of the skin. The family or tribe lives perhaps for a month upon a hill at an elevation of some thousands of feet above the sea, next month at the foot of the same hill; at one time in the thick, dark jungle, and at another in the hot, open plains.

According to the Malays, the Negritos never wash themselves, and therefore possess as a rule a powerful odour, and the statement is certainly a true one. When, for instance, for the sake of the experiment, he (V.-St.) had induced the E. Semang (Pangan) to wash themselves with soap, they did not appear to retain any particular smell afterwards. But when, immediately afterwards, he accompanied them on a rapid march, and after going some distance from them had again returned to their company, the odour was distinctly noticeable.[1]

Sight.

The eyes of the Semang that we examined, which were round, wide-open, and horizontal, were uniformly of a very rich deep brown in colour; in one case only, that of an old man, they were of a greyish-brown tint. The Semang as a race were far from being unpleasant-looking people, the most striking peculiarity in their appearance being a certain wild look about the region of the eyes, probably due, in part, to the great width between them, and to the curious depression of the upper part of the nose, as well as to a natural restlessness of the eyes themselves, which these tribes possess in common with wild animals. Their eyesight appeared to be good of its kind, and in the few cases that we tested the colour-vision was normal.[2]

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 174-176.

[2] A few sight-statistics of Semang are given by Wray, *Per. Mus. N.* iii. p. 38.

The eyes of the E. Semang (Pangan), when they are of pure blood, have the conjunctiva of a deep yellow colour; whereas the Sakai (Blandas) do not (*v. supra*).[1]

The E. Semang (Pangan) show no traces of short-sight and are "at the top of the scale" in quickness of observation; this quality, however, standing in inverse ratio to the progress made by their tribe in civilisation.[2]

Hearing.

The ears of the Semang that we observed were distinctly small, and their hearing appeared ordinarily acute. In one case, however, that of a youngish man, slight deafness was noticeable.

The sense of hearing among the E. Semang (Pangan), though not so acute as among the Jakun, is nevertheless sharper than among the more civilised W. Semang, Sakai (Blandas), or Tembeh (Temia).

On the other hand, exceptional sharpness of hearing occurred more frequently among the W. Semang than among any of the other tribes mentioned.[3]

Hands and Feet.

There is no doubt that these wild nomadic tribes frequently meet with accidents. Out of the few men that we measured, one suffered from a deformed finger, and another had lost the little toe of his left foot.

It is very difficult to answer the question concerning the usual position of the palm of the hand, *i.e.* whether it is directed forwards, or backwards, or sideways. The hands are so constantly occupied in the case of both sexes that they are very seldom at rest. So far, however, as he (V.-St.) had been able to observe it, the palm was held sideways by the Negritos, *i.e.* directed towards the leg or a little towards the front, whereas by the Sakai (Blandas) and Jakun it was directed backwards.

The aborigines were at first much perplexed by being asked whether when their fist was closed they could still stretch out one finger of the hand without unclosing the others. Both the Semang and Sakai (Blandas) could, however, do this very easily when it was explained to them.

In measuring the width of the span between the thumb and the little or middle finger, he (V.-St.) was struck by their inability to open their fingers freely.[4]

The most noticeable point about the feet of the Semang is the remarkable inward curve of the hallux,

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 176.
[2] *Ib.* p. 181.
[3] *Ib.* p. 182.
[4] *Ib.* pp. 190, 191, 194.

as shown in the tracings of Pangan feet which we took in Ulu Kelantan.

The following passage from Vaughan-Stevens about the walk of the aborigines in general ("Orang Utan") applies perfectly to the Semang :—

"I have tried to obtain some data on the walk of the Orang Utan, but I find that this is scarcely possible, from reasons related to the great variability of their environment. In the first place, it is very rare to find a man who is free from cuts, cracks, or thorn-pricks; for according to their custom they go barefoot in spite of the roughness of the land and of the obstacles and dangers with which the thick vegetation threatens them. This influences their walk in one respect. In the second place, they are appreciably influenced by the character of the jungle through which they have been wandering for some weeks previously. From habit they adapt their walk to the peculiarities of the way by which they have to travel. A path (for instance) where thorns that have fallen from the trees and creeping plants surround him causes the man to walk carefully and slowly, and at each step to delay a moment before he trusts the whole weight of the body to the foot; and this method of walking is retained some days from mere habit, even when the thorny jungle is left and the path is once more smooth and level.

"After observing a man for a whole day, I found that he employed no fewer than eight different ways of walking, which varied with the nature of the ground to be traversed. And the ground to be traversed suffers such constant changes throughout the life of the Orang Utan that I really do not know which of these ways of walking I should describe as his most usual method. Contrary to the European in general, he has few or no level paths to go by, and hence the gait which he adopts on such a path would not be his usual way of walking, but would be precisely the method which he employs most rarely.

"The footsteps of the Negritos, I am prepared to maintain, are almost straight in the majority of cases, whereas all those of the Orang Utan (?) turn outwards. In all races, however, there is so great a difference in the [usual] angles that it is impossible to say which angle is the real standard."[1]

Locomotion.[2]

With regard to strength and endurance in walking, the wild E. Semang (Pangan) stand in the front rank. Then come the Jakun and the civilised (W.) Semang; and, last of all, the various tribes of Sakai (Blandas and Tembeh).

The Semang are bad runners, but they are as quick as an eel or a snake in getting through marshy swamps or forest, their small bodies being very pliant and supple. In getting fast through bushes or mangrove jungle they are better than the Sakai (Blandas), although the latter have the better sense of direction in unknown forest.

Climbing.

The following remarks, from the dialectal forms, evidently refer to the Semang :—

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 191, 192.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 193, 194.

Climbing, which in general is called "Lu-ig" ("Looig"), is designated by three different names, according to the method employed :

1. "Chidwad" ("Chidward"), in which the foot is straight, exactly as in the position of the Sakai (Blandas) in the photograph I sent you.

2. "Tinbon" ("Tinborn"), in which the feet grasp the tree with the inner side of the sole.

3. "Ti-Nangan" ("Tee-Nungarn"), in which a rope is used (precisely as in Ceylon), or in which the stem is embraced by the arms and legs at the same time (European fashion). The grasp of the hands is called "Ma-Cheb."

A specimen of rope sent to Berlin by Vaughan-Stevens was labelled as follows :—

"Nangan ('Nungarn'), the rope used in climbing, for fastening the ankles together, whilst the inside of each foot is pressed against the tree."

In the same passage Vaughan-Stevens speaks very contemptuously of the Semang as climbers—

"The Semang are bad climbers ; an ordinary school-girl would excel the best of them. For climbing a straight, high stem, the Sakai (Blandas) is the better. The Semang is nervous when high up in the air, especially if the wind blows a little. The winds are for him the messengers of diseases ; he does not like to be unprotected in their domain at the top of a high tree." [1]

This description, however, is most unfair to the Semang, many of whom, at least, can climb almost like monkeys. I myself once saw two of the Kedah Semang run several yards up trees by putting the flat of their feet against the trunk and their arms round it.

Swimming.[2]

The Semang are very bad swimmers, but the majority of them know how to swim, which is called "Kijuaij" ("Keejooije"), and in water which only reaches up to the breast they splash merrily about. They swim exactly in the same way as the Northern Malays, swimming on the breast and paddling with the hands like dogs, and drawing the legs vertically upwards from the knees, and then straightening them vigorously, thus making a great splashing. Of deep or rushing turbid water they have superstitious fears ; they are afraid, as a child is afraid of the dark, as they "do not know what their god Kari ('Kee,' *sic*) may send to draw them down into the depths."

Throwing.[3]

In throwing the ["tame"] Semang is as clumsy as a European woman. The action is the same, *i.e.* with the shoulder instead of with the wrist and elbow.

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 199. [2] *Ib.* p. 198. [3] *Ib.* p. 200.

Sensitiveness to Pain.

The Semang appear to be less sensitive to pain than the Sakai (Blandas).[1]

Physiognomy.

The open mouth is sometimes covered by the hand, or the latter is carried up to some part of the head.

When a man is indignant or defiant he frowns. He does not, however, at the same time clench his fists.

In "simple" people the corners of the mouth are very slightly depressed, and the adjacent extremities of the eyebrows raised, by the muscle that the French call the "grief muscle."

In the more intelligent the eyes sparkle, the skin round and under them being wrinkled, and the mouth slightly drawn back at the corners.

When one man sneers or jeers at another it rarely happens that the corners of the upper lip over the canine or eye teeth are raised on the side facing the man whom he addresses.

A dogged or obstinate expression can be very easily recognised among the Semang.

It is uncertain whether any gesture of contempt exists.

Disgust is expressed by a sudden expiration of the breath, something like incipient vomiting.

In the case of extreme fear the Semang children remain quite quiet. The met sit down quietly and frequently utter a sharp hissing noise. Both men and women open their mouths and eyes.

To show that he cannot prevent something being done, or cannot himself do something, he slightly raises his eyebrows, and keeps his mouth somewhat open.

The children pout markedly when they are sulky, and run away quietly.

To express affirmation the head is thrust forwards, whereas to express negation the eyes are cast down.[2]

Physical Endurance.

Vaughan-Stevens remarks that he did not observe any difference between these races in the power of enduring heat, *e.g.* when they had been exposed through the whole day to the sun on a journey, except as regards their general [*sic*, ? individual] power of enduring fatigue. Elsewhere he remarks that in the sensitiveness of the head to the sun's heat very little difference (between the three races) at first probably existed. [This point, however, is a difficult one to establish, since] the Semang (Menik) wear nothing as a rule but a head-band, and hence scarcely feel any special increase of the sun's heat.

There is never any appreciable degree of cold in the plains of the Peninsula, and even such falls of temperature as occur are never of long duration. The cold wet winds of the mountains are, however, felt more by the E. Semang (Pangan) and Tembeh (Temia)[3] than the Sakai. The wild E. Semang (Pangan), however, can bear such low temperatures as occasionally occur without the least sign of discomfort, when the more civilised tribes are reduced to cowering over a fire with chattering teeth.

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[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 203.

[2] Answers to questions drawn up by Darwin, collected by V.-St., and published in *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. 270-272. The answers referring to the Sakai and Jakun are valueless, the two races being confused by V.-St., and are hence omitted. Even the answers given by Vaughan-Stevens with regard to the Semang are sometimes inconsistent.

[3] Vaughan-Stevens ascribes this greater sensitiveness of the Tembeh to the fact of their constitution having been enfeebled by disease!

The Negritos themselves acknowledge that the Semang (Menik) child generally suffers more when in want of food than the Sakai (Blandas) and Jakun children.[1]

Summary of Semang Culture.[2]

The Semang are the most nomadic of all these tribes, the wilder ones never staying, it is alleged, more than three days in one place. But few of them have taken to agriculture, and they obtain their livelihood by hunting, fishing, and trapping, by digging up wild roots and tubers, and by gathering the various jungle fruits as they come into season.

They are fond of tobacco, but very seldom indulge in betel-chewing, of which, in fact, I never saw an instance among the Semang of Kedah and Ulu Patani. They wear to some extent the loin-cloth of tree-bark (the bark selected being in some cases that of the upas or poison-tree), but their distinctive costume appears to be a mere girdle of leaves, or, as especially on festal occasions, a peculiar girdle manufactured from the long black shiny strings (really the rhizomorph) of a toad-stool!

The wildest of the Semang do not appear *as a race* to tattoo, or scarify, either the face or the body, though in some cases they may have learnt the custom (of scarification) from the Sakai. They (the men especially) often shave the head, and not unfrequently about half a dozen of their front teeth will be seen to have been filed, though this is not necessarily a Semang custom. The women wear in their hair a magic comb which is believed to avert disease and danger. The Semang do not circumcise. Their distinctive weapon is the bow with poisoned arrows,

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 202, 203.

[2] For Col. Temple's comparison of Semang with Andamanese *v.* Appendix.

though many of them have now adopted the blowpipe of the Sakai and Jakun.

Their habitations are of the most primitive description, generally consisting of natural shelters under overhanging rocks, or of the simplest form of leaf-shelters, erected either on the ground or between the branches of trees. The most advanced type of these leaf-shelters was a shelter made long enough to accommodate the entire tribe and furnished with their remarkable bamboo bed-places. They have no boats, but occasionally use rough bamboo rafts for drifting down stream. Their musical instruments are all of bamboo, and consist of simple kinds of "stamping" instruments (intended for beating time rather than for making music), the nose-flute and the Jew's-harp. They have no drums.

They barter jungle produce with the Malays, but do not work for the latter to so great an extent as the Jakun. Their religious ideas are of great interest. They have a kind of deities called Kari and Ple, but these appear, like some of the "high gods" of the Australian "Blackfellows," to be rather of the nature of mythological personages or otiose gods than real divinities, as, although they have many divine attributes, there is practically no trace of an actual cult. The Semang marriage rite is of the slightest, but they are strict monogamists, and both sexes are faithful to the marriage tie. It is said by Malays that they formerly devoured their dead, burying the head only; this assertion may rest on some old Semang practice of disinterring the corpse, but they now invariably bury the deceased entire. They have no great fear of the ghosts of the deceased, such as is shown so strongly by the Sakai and the Jakun.

Wray.

SEMANG OF KUALA KENERING ULU PERAK.

Vol. I. p. 54.

Cerruti.

SAKAI OF S. PERAK.

Vol. I. p. 55.

II.—Race-Characters of Sakai.

The Sakai appear to have their racial focus in the mountain ranges of S.E. Perak and N.W. Pahang. Their district marches on the north (in Perak) with that of the Semang, the dividing line being stated by some observers to be the Perak river, and by others (De Morgan, Hale, and others) to be the Plus river already referred to. There can be no doubt, however, that there has been a considerable admixture; witness the photographs of some *so-called* "Semang" tribes of Perak and elsewhere, which frequently include types that are distinctly Sakai; certainly no really distinct geographical boundary can be drawn between the two races, and on the whole it would seem that the much-talked-of line of demarcation between the Semang and Sakai is (as far as race and culture go) no line at all, but a belt of mixed tribes which run, *e.g.*, through mid-Perak and N. Pahang.[1]

On the east coast the Sakai do not appear to extend far into either Kelantan or Trengganu, though they are found in Pahang, their admixture with Pangans commencing somewhere near Clifford's line, *e.g.*, in the district of Ulu Jelai. Westward of the central chain, on the other hand, they appear to extend through the interior of Selangor, and thence, in the form of a narrowing wedge (and with a rapidly increasing admixture of Jakun blood), through the inland districts of Negri Sembilan, at least as far south as Malacca, and almost certainly as far south as Johor.

[1] For further notes on their distribution, see, for instance, De la Croix's article in *Rev. d'Ethnogr.* vol. i. No. 4 (1882), p. 320; though there is unfortunately no clear proof that the writer is always able to distinguish between Semang and Sakai.

As, however, the exact racial limits of the Sakai have not yet been defined (if, indeed, they will ever be definable), it has been thought best to draw the line between the Sakai and the Jakun at the point where the influence of the latter commences to be fairly certain and appreciable, *i.e.* at Southern Selangor and mid-Pahang.

Passing to the general physical characters of this second group, the Senoi[1] (or Cymotrichi of Martin), I am indebted to Professor Martin for much of my information concerning them. Owing to the fact that their headquarters are in S.E. Perak and N.W. Pahang, no member of our exploring party came across any individuals. Consequently the following account is drawn chiefly from published notes and other material kindly supplied by Martin.[2]

In height the Sakai does not appreciably differ from the Semang.

The average height of the men is 1504 mm., 85 per cent of the individuals measured ranging from 1460 to 1580 mm. Some few individuals were as low as 1380 mm.

The average height of the women is 1437 mm., 53 per cent ranging from 1390 to 1450 mm., and 17 per cent below 1390 mm. The smallest individuals, two adult married women, possessed a height of 1320 mm. only.

The head is chiefly dolichocephalic, whereas the Semang measured by Martin are described as mesaticephalic, with, however, a strong tendency to the dolichocephalic condition.

[1] Senoi = Orang Halas of Newbold. Cp. *J. I. A.* vol. iv. p. 429, where the O. Alas of Ulu Kantu (? Kinta) are described by Col. Low as a tribe of Perak Sakai, who pierce the cartilage of the nose and ears and insert porcupines' quills therein.

[2] To this should be added the measurements of Wray (*Per. Mus. Notes*, iii. pp. 33, 34). Those in *Fasc. Mal.* are taken account of at p. 96 *seq.*, *infra*.

The face is fairly long and broad, but pointed towards the chin. The forehead is, in the male, flat, often far overshadowing the eyes, and causes the root of the nose to retreat far back. Of the men 93 per cent, and 73 per cent of the women, are mesoprosopic. The lips are thick; the under-lip often hangs down and may be described as "swollen." The Sakai are distinctly lighter in complexion than the Semang. The hair is black, but never deep black; in most cases it shows a brownish shimmer, especially in the young, and differs widely from that of the Semang and the Malay.

From the remarks of other travellers who have met with Sakai, as well as from photographs, we may picture the Sakai as a slenderly built race, and as often presenting an emaciated appearance, which is increased by their long, unkempt wavy hair hanging down to the shoulders, and by their large restless eyes.

In evidence of their striking resemblance to the Veddas, it is perhaps worth remarking that one of the brothers Sarasin, who had lived among the Veddas and knew them well, when shown a photograph of a typical Sakai, at first supposed it to be a photograph of a Vedda.[1]

Without wishing to definitely commit myself as to the affinities of this race, I think that it is fairly clear even from the existing evidence that they are at any rate quite distinct from the Semang or Ulotrichi of Martin, as they are also from the Jakun (Lissotrichi) type found among the southern tribes.

A number of other measurements concerning this type are taken from the writings of Rudolf Virchow,

[1] This information was given me by Professor Martin, who himself showed the photograph. Mr. Shrubsall once quite as emphatically remarked to me upon the resemblance of my Sakai photographs to Tamils.

who, in discussing the height of individuals measured by Vaughan-Stevens, gives the figures which are quoted in the Appendix.

In another volume of the *Verhandlungen*[1] Virchow refers to the skull of a Sakai (Senoi) woman, which he describes as orthodolichocephalic, and the full description of which will be found in the Appendix.

The most interesting point about this skull, apart from its dolichocephalic character and certain structural anomalies, is the formation of the nose, which is depressed to such an extent that Virchow was tempted to regard it as pithekoid. Another no less important point in Virchow's paper is the description he gives of the Sakai hair-character, concerning which he says :—

"On the other hand, I must also point to a very pronounced Sakai (Blandas) characteristic. In a recent consignment sent by H. Vaughan-Stevens was found the *lock of hair of a Sakai* (*Senoi*) *man from the north of the Peninsula.* The memorandum sent with it was to the effect that 'the clan to which the man belongs does not cut the hair.' At the meeting of 21st November 1891 (*Verh.* p. 844), I treated the Sakai (Blandas) hair in detail from a large number of specimens of hair sent by Vaughan-Stevens. As compared with those specimens, I may briefly state that the lock of hair now before us exactly corresponds to them. Its *wavy structure distinguishes it completely from the spirally curled structure of the E. Semang* (*Pangan*) *hair* (*Verh.* 1892, p. 443). Its length amounts to rather more than 20 cm., but we cannot decide exactly how long the hair was when entire, as it is not stated at what distance from the scalp the lock was cut off. It is of a blackish appearance, and in reflected light of a slightly brownish and glossy colour ; seen under the microscope in thin sections it is light brown, with a dark and often interrupted medulla. The ends, as is the case with the uncut hair, are pointed, broken at the sides, and frequently split into two or more fragments.

"The contrast between the two races cannot be more sharply expressed. Unfortunately Vaughan-Stevens has neglected to take advantage of his opportunities, and to send us a larger number of specimens of hair from his Semang friends, of which measurements would also be highly desirable. We hope the opportunity will be given him to fill up these gaps."[2]

Elsewhere Vaughan-Stevens, writing apparently of the body-hair of the Sakai (Blandas) tribes, says :—

"The natural growth of the hair is thin and scattered, and in both sexes the direction of growth of the hair (of the body), as well as that at the back of the head and under the arms, is slightly upwards."

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. 154 (cp. *l. c.*, 1894, for further particulars).

[2] *Ib.* xxvi. 359. See also Montano, Pl. xxxi.

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SAKAI GROUP, ULU KALI, ULU SELANGOR.

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McGregor.

OLD SAKAI MAN, 'THE FATHER OF ALL THE SAKAIS," ULU BERANG, EIGHT MILES FROM TANJONG MALIM, SOUTH PERAK.

The hair of the Sakai (Blandas) in old age is less inclined to become grey than that of the Malays, and complete baldness is actually so rare that it is looked upon as a remarkable exception which only occurs occasionally.[1]

The more detailed account of the Sakai (Blandas) hair referred to above as collected by Vaughan-Stevens is as follows, the description of the specimens being in Vaughan-Stevens' own words :—

"*No.* 39. Specimen of hair chosen for me by an old Batin, as a typical example of Sakai (Blandas) hair ; tradition declared it to be the original form. The Sakai themselves unanimously declare that the straight, coarse hair sometimes found among them comes from cross-breeding with the Malays, and themselves call it coarse ('Kasar'). The supposed original type, of which they are very proud, is called Water-hair ('Rambut Ayer') ; it is still to be seen occasionally and has a distinct reddish tinge. Moreover, it does not as a rule turn white, as the coarser hair does. The present specimen is from a Sakai woman 35 years old, and has been cut off as close to the scalp as possible."

No. 40. From a 75-year-old Sakai man, wizened and bent with age.

No. 41. From a 37-year-old Sakai man.

No. 43. From children. The shortest specimen is from a 4-months-old boy ; the next longest from a 2-year-old girl ; the longest from a 6-year-old boy.[2]

To the foregoing may be added Virchow's description of a remarkable specimen of hair (No. 105) sent by Vaughan-Stevens :—

It is an immense shock (*Schopf*) reaching 30 cm. in length, and consists of thick glossy black hairs, which display a somewhat reddish tinge towards the tips.

A fourth specimen of hair (No. 104) sent by Vaughan-Stevens consisted of a beautifully wavy lock of 36 cm. in length, which, taken as a whole, was of a splendid black, with a reddish shimmer in reflected light, especially towards the tips, though otherwise it is coarse but glossy. I find no noticeable difference from the Sakai hair which I have already fully described at the meeting of 21st November 1891 (*Verh.* pp. 844-846).

Not only from these statements of Vaughan-Stevens, but still more from inspection of the hair-specimens sent by him, it is clear that the Sakai (Blandas) cannot be at all nearly related either to Negritos or Papuans. Moreover, the difference of this hair from that of the "Orang Sakai" described by Miklucho-Maclay is abundantly clear.[3]

With regard to the above-mentioned specimens of hair Virchow adds a few remarks of his own, concluding as follows :—

The net results of this investigation lead me to a conclusion similar to the one to which I came at the meeting of the 16th February 1889 (*Verh.* p. 158),

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 178, 179.

[2] Vaughan-Stevens, quoted by Virchow in *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 844, 845.

[3] *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. (Virchow) 149, 150.

with respect to the more ancient races of the Southern and South-Eastern Islands of the Malay Sea. Just as in these islands I could point out a broad zone of wavy-haired people between the spiral-haired Melanesians and the straight-haired Malays, so, too, in Malacca the wavy-haired Sakai race (Blandas) appears to have established itself between the spiral-haired Negritos (Semang) of the North and the lank- (*straff*) haired [Jakuns and] Malays of the South and of most of the coast districts. For the islanders I have again adopted for this race the old and certainly much-misused name of *Alfurós*. It follows that the near relationship of the Sakai (Blandas) to the Alfurós might be inferred from this evidence.

Of the insular Alfurós I remarked that, in respect of their hair-character, they connect up with the Australians on the one hand and the Veddas of Ceylon on the other. Perhaps, therefore, the Sakai ("wild men") of Malacca might be regarded as Dravidians. However, we are precluded from regarding them as entirely identical, owing to the fact that the Sakai (Blandas) are inclined to be brachycephalic, whereas these other races are dolichocephalic.[1] This raises new questions, which can only be decided by further information.[2]

The Colour of the Skin.[3]

According to Vaughan-Stevens, the Sakai (Blandas) of the present time (like the western or domesticated ("tame" Semang) offer nearly as great a diversity of colour as the Malays.

The Sakai is lighter than the Semang, and seems to be more affected by heat than the latter (*v.*, however, *supra*).

Among the Sakai (Blandas), whose colour varies, he (V.-St.) saw nothing that could support the theory that, among a number of individuals, those with darker skins stood exposure better on the march. On the other hand, in this thickly wooded country one cannot walk far without coming into the protection of the shade of the forest.

The Sakai (Blandas) prefer the lighter colour, and are proud of fair-coloured children, in which they possibly follow the Malay view. But in olden times the light colour was not an attribute of their chiefs.[4]

He could not find that there was any relation between a coarse or fine skin texture and its colour, when the coarseness of the skin is not the result of special exposure, or of a disease.

He found among the Sakai (Blandas), when no skin disease was present, no other smell than that which is ever to be observed in cases where the activity of the skin is suppressed, and no cleansing material, such as soap, etc., is employed; for the splashing of water over the body rather answers the purpose of refreshing, than that of cleansing, the skin.

Sight.

The eyes of the Sakai (Blandas) are all alike, and Vaughan-Stevens observed no deviation from shades Nos. 1 or 2.[5]

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[1] There can, however, now be little doubt arising from this particular difficulty, in view of the fact that in the purest strain of Sakai blood dolichocephaly has been shown to obtain. The original dolichocephalic character of the Sakai appears to have been modified owing to their isolation in small numbers between brachycephalic Negritos as well as brachycephalic Malayan tribes.

[2] *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. (Virchow) 847.

[3] *Z. f. E.* xxix. (V.-St.) 174-176.

[4] This statement of Vaughan-Stevens is, I believe, without foundation.

[5] Virchow in *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 840.

McGregor.

MIXED SAKAI-SEMANG TYPE, ULU BATU, SELANGOR.

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MIXED SAKAI-SEMANG TYPE, ULU BATU, SELANGOR.

In colour the eyes of all the Sakai are exactly alike (*Z. f. E.* xxix. 176), and do not have the conjunctiva coloured deep yellow as the Negritos do.

The eyes of their children are extremely well formed, and with their long black eyelashes add much to the beauty of their appearance. There is no trace of the "Mongolian fold," in which the skin of the inner corner of the eye droops over the eye itself; the edge of the upper eyelid is always well formed.[1]

Squinting is certainly known to them, since they are much afraid of the endangering of their padi-harvest by a demon (Hantu), whom they represent as "squinting." The Sakai (Blandas) believe that the visual field of a person who squints is wider than of a person whose sight is normal.[2]

Among the Sakai (Blandas) he (V.-St.) only met with three cases of short-sight, two of which were men and one a woman. On the other hand, however, the far-sightedness of the eye cannot be well estimated in the jungle, thickly shut in as it is by trees and leaves. Much depends on practice and general acquaintance with the objects in the jungle, to which Vaughan-Stevens was, comparatively speaking, much less accustomed. But the jungle men or women would even show him the points of an animal's horns among the surrounding foliage, a thing which it is naturally very difficult to discover, whereas he, with normally good sight (for an European), had to search vainly for a long time before he observed them. Again, everything which was in motion they saw at once, however insignificant it might be in point of size.

The Sakai (Blandas) had, in general, decidedly weak eyes. In their earliest youth, if no accident attacked them, they had good sight for any object moving in the jungle. But, as might be expected in the case of a forest-people, their eyes soon tired in a strong light. On the few opportunities which Vaughan-Stevens had of finding himself with Sakai (Blandas) in a wide, open space, he observed that he could distinguish far-distant objects much better than they could.

He adds that among the Sakai (Blandas), who wore Malay clothing, and were acquainted with the use of needle and thread, he never met with an old Sakai (Blandas) woman who could not thread an ordinary needle without difficulty.[3]

On the subject of sight, Mr. L. Wray,[4] during his travels in Perak, came to the following conclusions :—

"Seven Sakais from Chĕroh came up to carry down baggage, so . . . in the afternoon I measured them and tested their eyesight. I have now tested the sight of between thirty and forty of both sexes, and there seems to be no doubt that they have very good sight as a race. Of those tested in Batang Padang, the shortest distance that the Army test-spots could be seen was 32 feet, and the longest 91 feet. In testing recruits for the British Army 20 feet is considered an average distance for these spots to be read, and a man reading at over that distance is classed as long-sighted, and under as short-sighted. In measuring the women there was great difficulty, as they did not know Malay and could not count. . . . I got over it by giving the subject a handful of matches, and explaining by signs that I wanted a match for each spot on the card held up."

Hearing.[5]

The sense of hearing of the Sakai (Blandas) and Tembeh, though not so acute as that of the Jakun, was about equal to that of the W. Semang.

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. (V.-St.) 176, 177.
[2] Grünwedel in Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 152.
[3] *Z. f. E.* xxix. (V.-St.) 180, 181.
[4] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 21, pp. 148, 149. For fuller statistics and details, *v. Perak Mus. Notes*, iii. p. 36.
[5] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 181.

Hands and Feet.[1]

The Sakai (Blandas), like the Semang, experienced no difficulty whatever in stretching out one finger when the rest of the fingers were closed.

The little toe of the Sakai (Blandas) is much less straight than that of the Jakun, although they never wear boots as we do to deform their feet, but the tip of the little toe is nevertheless bent like ours, and is either comparatively small in proportion or differs in direction from the other toes.

After remarking that the footsteps of the Orang Utan are usually turned outwards, Vaughan-Stevens adds :—

One thing, however, is worthy of remark among all Sakai (Blandas), the setting down of the foot is done with the middle of the foot. The heel does not touch the ground first. But in nine cases out of ten which came under observation the foot was injured by thorns, stones, etc., so that from time to time a more or less unnatural gait was caused.

It is, therefore, very difficult to give an exact description of the walk of the Sakai (Blandas). The body is held upright and very straight, while the whole movement proceeds from the ankles, knees, and hips. At the same time there is only a very slight, rhythmical swing of the arms.[2]

One hand usually carries the blow-gun (Sumpitan), the other being armed with the parang, *i.e.* jungle-knife or chopper, and is always in readiness to give a quick blow to a prickly rattan or other obstacle half hidden among the foliage through which the path of the Sakai leads. This custom has to such an extent become second nature that, even when he walks without a weapon in the open plains, the Sakai holds his arms in the accustomed position. It is difficult to say what is the usual carriage of the head.

In the matter of *strength and physical endurance* the Sakai (Blandas) and Tembeh (Temia) are at the bottom of the scale.

The Sakai (Blandas) are not so clever as the Semang in getting through bush or jungle, though the Sakai have the better sense of direction.[3]

Climbing.

In climbing a straight high stem the Sakai (Blandas) are better than the more civilised Semang. This, however, is not saying much, since the Western Semang are (according to Vaughan-Stevens) very bad climbers[4]—an opinion already combated (p. 51).

When the Sakai (Blandas) want to climb a small tree only, they climb it like the Central Sakai (Senoi). The larger trees usually have climbing-plants and runners hanging down from their branches, or smaller trees in their immediate

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. (V.-St.) 190.

[2] On the very next page (193), however, Vaughan-Stevens remarks that the arms are *not* swung in walking.

[3] *Z. f. E.* xxix. (V.-St.) 192, 193.

[4] *Ib.* p. 199.

Cerruti.

SAKAI BOY WITH BLOWPIPE, ULU SUNGKAI, S. PERAK.

huts. Among the Tembeh the only difference was that the bedroom of the married people was separated off by a low partition.[1]

Physical Endurance.[2]

Sakai tribes which have adopted Malay clothing generally experience discomfort in the absence of headgear to protect them from the sun. On the other hand, the Sakai (Blandas) appear to suffer more from the cold, wet winds of the mountains than the Jakun.

If this power of withstanding change of temperature depended upon the relatively greater abundance and regularity of their food, the Sakai should be less sensitive to such changes than any other tribe. But whether their sensitiveness to such changes was originally greater than that of other tribes or not, the fact that they are now accustomed to clothes and to the protection of better-built houses has rendered them more susceptible to every change of temperature.

The Sakai children endure want of food better than the Semang children (*v. supra*).

The younger men of the Sakai have a game called "K'lupent," which is usually played when they are sitting round the fire in the evening while their womenfolk are plaiting mats and baskets. Each player who is a candidate for the favour of a girl, endeavours to heap disgrace on his opponent and raise himself in the esteem of the women. The game is played with short slivers of rattan, which can by a particular knack be made to draw blood at every stroke, a rapid backward motion of the arm and wrist causing the sharp edge of the rattan to strike the skin like a knife, and cutting it easily. When I asked for its application in earnest, the force of the blow from the knot made me writhe with pain. The instrument is also made from string. The ring (of rattan slivers) is twisted round the hand, the knot at the end of the strips being held between the thumb and forefinger. The arm is then lifted, and as it is brought down the knot is released and descends with a swingeing blow on the forearm of the opponent, whilst at the same moment the arm is drawn rapidly in to the body.

The men sit opposite one another with bare arms. A small stake is deposited by each. He who first acts as striker asks the other how many blows of the rattan he will bear on his forearm without crying out. If he receives the stipulated number without wavering, he puts his opponent's wager into his pocket, and then in turn takes the rattan slivers and challenges the other to name the number of blows he will endure; should any one who receives the blows call out for them to cease, he loses his bet and is loaded by his opponent and the spectators with scorn and jeers (which is the true purpose of the game when, as usual, it is inspired by malice).

The Sakai (Blandas) children are acquainted with a form of the tug-of-war in which one or more children on each side pull a rope in opposite directions. They have probably borrowed the idea from Malay children, who may be frequently seen playing at it.

Summary of Sakai Culture.

The Sakai, though still largely nomadic, and at first extremely shy, are perhaps the most sociable and talkative of the three races, when once their confidence is

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 190.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 201-203.

gained. Like the Semang they not unfrequently live in tree-huts or other temporary forms of shelter. Their men wear the tree-bark loin-cloth, and their women a tree-bark wrapper, except, of course, where they have borrowed Malay clothing. They tattoo the face, the design commonly taking the form of four gradually converging lines drawn from the region of the ear to the root of the nose, with perhaps a sort of pitchfork design incised upon the chin. These designs are sometimes marked out in rows of black and white dots (in lieu of scarification); with these may be connected their black and white bead-necklaces. Both scarification and body-painting take, however, various forms, the latter having been developed into a regular system. They do not circumcise, and seldom file the teeth, but they not unfrequently wear a metal ring or a porcupine quill inserted through the septum of the nose.

Their distinctive weapon, like that of the Jakun, is the bamboo blowpipe, which they have brought to great perfection.

They have no form of boat, nor do they even as a rule use rafts.[1]

Their musical instruments are very fairly similar to those of the Semang, and, like the latter, they not unfrequently engage in the barter of jungle products. Their agriculture is of the most primitive description, their chief implement (for breaking-up the soil) being a pointed stick.

Of their religion very little is at present known—less even than of that of the Semang. There is, however, a kind of deity whom they call Tuhan, and who appears somewhat analogous to the Kari of the Semang. Their alleged totemism is quite unproved.

[1] Hale, p. 286.

Like the Semang they are strict in their observance of the marriage tie, but unlike them they have the greatest possible fear of death, or rather, perhaps, of the ghost of the deceased, and will frequently burn down or desert an encampment in which a death has occurred.

III.—Race-Characters of Jakun.

There remains for consideration the third group of tribes which inhabit the southern portion of the Peninsula. These are the mixed tribes of Martin, and include the Jakun or "savage Malays" of Wallace. They fall into three main and two subordinate groups, the latter of which are without doubt closely allied.

1. Tribes mainly of Semang origin, *e.g.* the Kenaboi (?) and perhaps the Udai.

2. Tribes mainly of Sakai origin, *e.g.* the Blandas and Berembuns (?).

3. The Jakun or Malayan aborigines, comprising—

(*a*) The Orang Bukit, or Land (lit. "Hill") Jakun.

(*b*) The Orang Laut, or Sea Jakun.

Although it is not possible at present to make a proper classification of all the tribes of the Jakun group, it may yet be useful to attempt a rough and general identification of them so far as the very scanty information we possess will take us.

The Blandas properly so called, whose home is in Southern Selangor, have been described by Martin as dolichocephalic, and hence are most likely to prove largely of Sakai extraction.[1] Their exact affinities,

[1] For the "Blandas," see also Newbold, ii. 393, where we are told that they had (in 1839) four Batins or chiefs of the first rank, viz. Baning, Lenggeng, Singa Kuasa, and Pakat, and four Jinangs or chiefs of the second rank, viz. Pawang Pădiching ("Pawampa de Cheyng"!), Ampu

McGregor.

GROUP OF JAKUN, SHOWING NEGRITO AND SAKAI BLOOD, AT ULU BATU, SELANGOR.

McGregor.

MIXED JAKUN TYPE, BUKIT PRUAL, SELANGOR

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however, have not hitherto been traced, and in spite of their dolichocephalic skull-character, it would not be safe, in the absence of more exact information as to their *hair-character*, etc., to attempt to so identify them as such. They have, therefore, been retained in the group of mixed tribes to which the name of Jakun has been given in this book. It may be noted that although their district is conterminous with that of the Besisi, they present a marked contrast to the latter tribe, both in respect of their head-index, which is dolichocephalic as contrasted with the brachycephaly of the Besisi, and also in their language and their customs.[1] No exact measurements of the Blandas have yet been published, pending the appearance of Martin's forthcoming work, and hence they will not be referred to again in the present chapter.

The Kenaboi (or "Sakai" of S. Ujong) may perhaps prove to be a mixed tribe mainly of Semang type (though with some Sakai admixture), as the few facts we possess would lead us to expect.[2] The Berembun, or Birmun, and Pago tribes cannot yet be safely classified. The Udai appear to have a stronger Semang admixture than the tribes surrounding them.

The Besisi and Mantra of Selangor and Malacca are brachycephalic (Martin), and are most probably a mixed branch of the Sea-Jakun—in spite of the fact that the Besisi dialect presents a close connection with

Manis, Palsai (? Pa' Lĕsai), and Rambong ("Rumbong"). Vaughan-Stevens gives a quite unwarranted extension to the term which he generally uses as the equivalent of Sakai. He also states (obviously as a pure guess) that the amount of Malay blood in them is "not less than 2 per cent, and probably more" (V.-St. ii. 94), but the entire passage wants correction.

[1] For further remarks *re* admixture, *v.* conclusions, *infra*.

[2] The Kenaboi is a stream in Jelebu. In a letter of 3rd November 1902, Mr. Hale writes that the "O. Kenaboi" had so harmful a reputation that it was believed that any one who accidentally trod upon their expectoration would suffer severely from boils and blains, if he did not die of it.

the dialect of the Sakai. They have certainly some Semang, and probably a little Sakai admixture, but appear nevertheless to be largely Malayan.

The Beduanda of Naning and Rembau are, as is locally known, mixed with a strong Menangkabau Malay element. The term "Beduanda" is to be applied—

(1) To Mohammedan Malays descended, it is alleged, from Menangkabau men and aboriginal women.

(2) To aborigines (heathen). These latter probably have no right to be considered as descended from Menangkabau, although they do sometimes claim it.

"Beduanda" appears to be a title introduced from without (through Hinduised Malay influence) among these tribes. The Malay Beduanda[1] are the premier "Suku" or clan in their own estimation, and are "sons of the soil," because of their (partial) aboriginal descent. They recognise the aboriginal Beduanda[2] as distant kinsmen who have been left behind in the march of civilisation. The Mantra are Beduanda, but the Jakun are not so recognised.

The Benua of Logan and other early writers, here called Benua-Jakun, cannot yet be classed, but the Jakun and the Orang Laut have a comparatively large Malayan element, though both have in some parts a strong infusion of Semang and Sakai blood.

Labu Tribes.

Reliable accounts of the tribes in the Labu district of Sungei Ujong are so rare that I make no excuse for the following quotation :—

[1] "Beduanda Jawa."

[2] "Beduanda Jakun."

"The tribe settled here (*i.e.* on Perhentian Tinggi estate) consists of twelve men, seven women, six older and five small children. It belongs to a larger tribe of about two hundred souls, which is settled in Batang Labu, Sungei Ujong, under a Batin.

"The Batin, who might have been able to give information on the point, was not here, and from the somewhat indefinite statements of the older men I conclude that this tribe belongs to one of the four great Sakai families, which (according to Martin Lister), coming from the mountains of Skudei, have settled in the States of Johol, Jelebu, Klang, and Sungei Ujong, and, indeed, in that of S. Ujong, as from all that I could hear they have nothing in common with the Sakais (*sic*, [?] Besisi tribes) of Klang.

"According to the observations made up to the present, the height of the men is on the average 1580 mm., of the women 1470 mm. The trunk is long, the legs short and sturdy, the arms long. The shoulders are broad, and the head normal; the face at the temples and lower jaw narrow, but broad in the middle. The colour of the skin is usually 43/44 of Broca's scale; the colour of the hair 41, Broca. The quantity of hair on the head is considerable, in the beard moderate, on the body scanty. The hair is certainly not generally crimped or curly, as many report; for although among the women it is usually so, among the men I found it very variable, *i.e.* both wavy and curly, and yet again straight, as amongst the Malays.

"The colour of the iris is 2/5, according to Broca. The slits of the eyes are somewhat crooked. The nose is small and pointed; the root broad, as are also the nostrils and the bridge. Seen from the side, the bridge of the nose is slightly convex, the root deep, the point slightly bent to the side.

"The lips are thick; the ear small and somewhat prominent; the helix is incurved; the lobule adhesive to the head; Darwin's tip very insignificant.

"The men are generally well formed; the women are remarkably small and slender as a rule. In physical strength they appear to resemble the Malays, though they may perhaps be somewhat tougher; in the handling of the chopper (parang) and adze (bliong) they are acknowledged to be the Malays' superior, though this may perhaps depend upon agility and practice rather than on actual strength. In the felling of trees they always strike the same point with the greatest precision with their heavy narrow axes. It is one of their special characteristics that they do not use the hoe in the same way as other people; instead of making the stroke and bringing back the hoe in the same direction for the next blow, they bring it back to its original position by raising it in both hands over the left temple and over the head, so that every blow gains considerably in force.

"The carriage of the body is, in general, negligent; the shoulders are drawn inwards, the knees and feet turned inwards; in fact, even the strongest men afford an unedifying spectacle. In the jungle, however, they appear to greater advantage, as they are evidently more at home there. They do not strike about them with the chopping-knife (parang) so much as the Malays in clearing a way for themselves, but turn and wind about with much agility in all directions, and in this way move from one spot to another very noiselessly and quickly.

"In physiognomy they generally resemble the Malays so closely (!) that one only recognises them by their look, which is invariably one of surprise and timidity; they have besides a somewhat wilder expression than the Malays.

"Their power of sight was throughout very well developed; but without having taken exact tests, nothing abnormal in this respect has struck me. The same remark applies to their sense of hearing.

"I have not been able to notice any artificial deformities among them; but as natural abnormalities I might mention the unusually broad and inward-turned feet of most of the men, and the quite remarkable pigmentation of the breasts of the women. Of the seven multiparæ which I had the opportunity of observing, two were already quite old and shapeless; the other five, however, were all under twenty-three, and in each of them the extraordinarily light-coloured

areola (Broca, about 40) 'covered the nipple and the greater part of the mamma like a broad flat cover.' The diameter of the areola was never below 5 cm., and in some almost 10 cm."[1]

Kenaboi Tribes.

One of the tribes mentioned by Logan consists of the "Sakai," said to frequent the neighbourhood of Mount (Gunong) Kenaboi. These are doubtless identical with the Orang Kenaboi of Vaughan-Stevens.[2] If it is possible to locate this "tribe," and at present there is hardly any information concerning them, the latter name, *i.e.* "Kenaboi," is obviously preferable to that loosely used by Logan.

Vaughan-Stevens considered them, as already stated, to be a subdivision of the parent-stock of the Sakai (Blandas). This classification, however, requires confirmation, the measurements taken showing a brachycephalic as well as a dolichocephalic element.

Further measurements taken by Vaughan-Stevens will be found in the Appendix.[3]

Berembun and Udai Tribes.

Logan[4] further mentions certain tribes living to the north of the Benua-Jakun, whom he calls the Berembun ("Birmun") tribes, because they have their headquarters about Gunong Berembun and the neighbouring mountains.[5]

The upper reaches of the rivers rising in the Berembun mountains are occupied by the tribe called Udai.

The Udai (who appear to be the same people who are known to the Benua-Jakun of Johor under

[1] W. Rowland in *Mitt. Geog. Ges. Wien.* xli. 706, 707.

[2] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 97.

[3] Virchow in *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 842-844.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] Gunong Bermun appears to be identical with Gunong Berembun, which is situated in Sungei Ujong, 102° 2′ E. by 2° 55′ N.

the name of Orang Pago) are found on some of the tributaries of the Muar. This tribe has less approximated to Malayan habits than the others.[1]

Newbold,[2] on the other hand, makes the following remarks about this tribe :—

The Udai tribe is little known. The Tuanku Putih of Rembau once informed me that the Udai were a race of savages thinly scattered over the states of Jelebu, Pahang, Trengganu, and Kedah, and that they resembled in features the darker variety of Jakun.[3] Their size is represented as smaller, and their habits more savage.

Newbold regards them as distinct from the Benua, under which title he groups the following tribes :— Jakun, Orang Bukit, Rayat, Utan, Sakai, Alas,[4] Blandas, Besisi, and Akik.

Vaughan-Stevens[5] has the following note on the Udai :—

"The term Udai is applied by the Pangan to—

"(1) The pygmy tribes of Belum in Perak.

"(2) By the Malays to the Orang Jinak or 'Tame' Semang.

"(3) And also to a species of demon (Hantu), who was sometimes identified with the whole jungle race, whom many Patani Malays call 'Hantu Pari,' or 'Udai Pari.'"

Belum, as already noted, is in the extreme north of Perak, but the people referred to are Semang, as may also be the Udai of Newbold and Logan. The latter live on the Muar, which rises in the Negri

[1] Logan, vol. i. *l. c.*

[2] Newbold, ii. 381, 382

[3] *I.e.* the Negrito element among the Jakuns.

[4] The "Alas are said to be a tattooed race, living in the interior of Perak" (Newbold, ii. 383). It should be noted that such names as "Orang Bukit," "Rayat," and "Orang Utan" or "Alas," can hardly be considered as tribal names.

[5] P. 101.

Sembilan and in Sungei Ujong. Their alternative name Pago is taken from a tributary of the Muar in Johor which bears that name.

So little is definitely known of these Orang Pago or Udai, however, that it is very difficult to ascertain what is their exact relationship to the other wild people. On the whole, they are probably a race somewhat mixed with the Semang, dwelling in N.W. Johor, the Negri Sembilan, Sungei Ujong, and Jelebu; or they may even perhaps be chiefly of Negrito origin, an outlier, as it were, of the main groups of that race whose principal home is farther to the north. For the present, and until more definite information is forthcoming, the question must remain open.

Besisi.

One of the most important of the tribes living on the southern extremity of the Peninsula are the Besisi. The name always used by themselves is "Sisi"; the Malay explanation (Besisi = Bersisik)[1] is certainly due entirely to Malay popular etymology.

According to Logan (*l. c.*), the Mantra on the north-west "march with the Besisi, one of the most numerous tribes, who occupy all the streams flowing in that direction from Gunong Berembun. It is this tribe which occupies the Sungei Ujong and Linggi, and the lower part of the Langat, with their feeders."

Martin says of the Besisi that they are essentially brachycephalic, whilst the Blandas, like the Sakai (Senoi), are chiefly dolichocephalic. He adds that whilst the Sakai (Senoi) are amongst the shortest of the wild tribes, the Blandas and Besisi show a larger percentage of relatively taller individuals. With them,

[1] *I.e.* the "scaly" people.

curiously enough, the women also are tall (1510 mm.), and the sexual difference sinks with them to 2.4 cm.[1]

Mantra or Mintera.

The Mantra (Mentra or Mintera),[2] the largest tribe, dwell about Gunong Berembun and the adjacent mountains. They possess the higher part of both the western and eastern streams. On the south they frequent the upper part of the Langat, etc. The following notes on the physical characters of the "Mantra" are given by Logan,[3] who gives figures :—

The remarks respecting the Benua physiognomy (*v. infra*) are, on the whole, applicable to the "Mantra." The face of the woman (figured), in particular, although grave, is not dull and sullen. In the case of the most intelligent of the party, the head preserves the general Benua characteristics. The forehead is fine, but as usual the cheek-bones swell out laterally beyond it. The faces of all the Mantra seem to be formed of two parts, separated by a line across the eyes. The upper (part) is the forehead, rising from a base considerably narrower than the line connecting the zygomatic projections. The great bulk of the lower part is horizontally oblong, the external lines having a slight inclination inwards from the zygomatic arches to the angles of the lower jaw opposite the mouth, after which they converge towards the chin, which forms an angle much more obtuse than in the Beduanda

[1] For further measurements see App. According to Newbold (ii. 393) the chiefs of the Besisi included one Batin or chief of the first rank only, viz. Pa' Limpei, who succeeded his uncle Breh ("Breyk !"), a Jinang called Mumin, a Jukrah named Sakĕnal, and a Poyang named Manan.

[2] Often derived from Mal. "Mantra" (a "charm"), I believe wrongly, the word being pronounced Mĕntĕrā' by the Mantra themselves. "Mĕndĕra'" (=a "man" in Semang) seems a better derivation, though the "d" is certainly a difficulty.

[3] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 294.

Kallang.[1] This form is given by the lower jaw not proceeding directly to the ear, but forming an angle below it. The vertical elongation of the upper part of the face is a striking feature. The nose in all is small and slightly turned up, and the mouth large. The hair falls over the shoulders; and, in one of the men, showed a profusion of curls. The toes of the Mantra tribes, like those of all the tribes of the interior with which I have any acquaintance, are spreading, so that the foot is very broad anteriorly in proportion to its length. Other characteristics may be gathered from an inspection of the annexed table.[2]

Elsewhere[3] the lips of the Mantra are said to be "gross and loose," and the profile prognathous.

M. Borie[4] stated that the tribes from Selangor up to Mount Ophir are known as Mantra, and that "the number of Mantra" did not appear to him to exceed 2000, although it was one of the most numerous tribes. To many authors even this estimate appears too great. It is indeed doubtful if M. Borie was right in stating that the Mantra were the most numerous tribe. They distinguish themselves both from the Besisi and the Jakun. M. Borie speaks of the Mantra as extending from Selangor to Mount Ophir, in which case he has evidently included with them the Besisi.

The Catholic mission to the Mantra near Malacca was visited by Miklucho-Maclay, who gives the head-index of the Mantra (15) as between 74 and 89.[5]

Further measurements will be found in the Appendix.

[1] See under O. Laut.

[2] See Appendix. The "profusion of curls" may be due to Semang admixture; in other respects the features described are Sakai.

[3] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 301. The "loose" lips are a Sakai feature.

[4] (Trans. Bourien), p. 72.

[5] Virchow in *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 843.

M.-Maclay strongly supports the Malayan character stipulated for the Mantra, although as he believed that element to be due to admixture with civilised Malays, he fails to see the full force of his facts.

He says that the Orang Mantra, near Malacca, are a small tribe better known than the other Orang Utan, from the fact that, so long ago as the year 1848, Catholic missionaries settled down among them.[1] He visited a number of them at the Ayer Salak Mission near Malacca, and found them, in consequence of the influence of the school and their constant intercourse with the missionaries, "the most uninteresting of all the Orang Utan tribes for the purposes of his particular studies." Their language had been forgotten and had been replaced by Malay, in which all their school-books and religious works were written. The missionaries had done nothing to collect the remains of the old language.

The Mantras whom he saw (most of them children and women) were *almost without exception of a Malay type*; if he had come to see them without knowing that they were Mantras, he would probably have taken them for a number of Malays, badly fed, and brought up in a miserable condition, and he should have doubted the possibility of any mixture of Melanesian blood.[2]

According to Logan, the Mantra were chary of bathing, and their only plaything was a kind of top called "gasing kundē."[3]

Beduanda.

The Jakun of the Rembau and Negri Sembilan states are said to bear the closest resemblance, however, to the Malays of those states. "But we cannot infer from this that they descend from these Malays, as we know by history and tradition that they were in the Peninsula before them; and that the Rembau Malays descend from the Jakun by their mother's side, as we have seen when speaking of the arrival of To' Pĕtēr (Tu Puttair), which explains sufficiently the resemblance we perceive in the [Rembau] Malays to the Jakun."[4]

Favre states that the Jakun—of these states (*i.e.*

[1] The founder of the mission, M. Borie, has written a short paper upon them, since printed in *Misc. Essays on Indo-China*, series ii. vol. i. pp. 286-307. Herr F. Jagor visited the mission in 1878.

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, *S. B.*, No. 2, pp. 218, 219.

[3] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 330*.

[4] Favre in *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 245.

of Rembau, Negri Sembilan, etc.)—were very short, their physiognomy was low, and seemed to announce great simplicity; many of them were ugly and badly made—they had the inferior part of the nose much depressed—but though their lips projected a little they were generally well formed. To the foregoing Favre adds that he had already observed that this class of Jakun bore a *great resemblance to the Malay*; or at least to many of the Malays.[1]

Johor Land-Tribes—Distribution.

The Jakun of Johor were spoken of by Logan as being a taller race than those of Malacca. He found several of them with hawked or aquiline noses[2]—the men were healthy but generally thin; the women, on the contrary, were plump, and though healthy too, were not particularly "stout" (?).

Logan has given the fullest account of the wild folk that inhabit Johor. He divided them into several distinct tribes, the first of which he called the Orang Benua of Johor. These occupied all the interior of Johor properly so called. They also possessed the interior of the most southerly portion of Pahang. The most definite description of their territory, however, was that they occupied the upper branches of the most southern system of rivers in the Malay Peninsula.[3] These rivers, from west to east, were the Batu Pahat, the Pontian, the Johor river, and the Endau. This latter communicates in its upper reaches with the Batu Pahat by a branch called the Sembrong, so that the

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 246.

[2] This, coupled with the greater height, points to some sort of admixture, but it is impossible in the absence of further details to say to what race it may be due. It does not, moreover, appear to be so common as to be typical of the tribe, much less of the race.

[3] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 246 *seq.*

communities living to the west could communicate with those of the east, and *vice versa*.

All these rivers except the Pontian rise in a group of mountains known as Gunong Blumut.

Two rivers in this neighbourhood do not appear to be inhabited by the Jakun; these are the Pulai in the south-west of Johor, and the Sedili, lying just to the north of the Johor river. Logan found no Benua on the Johor river below the junction of the Sayong and Lenggiu (branches of the Johor river). On the north-west they did not extend beyond the Simpang Kiri—a branch of the Batu Pahat. Whether the Pahang tribes—to the north of the Endau—are similar to the Benua, he had no opportunity of ascertaining, but the Benua inhabiting the country indicated undoubtedly formed a separate tribe in themselves—they had no connection with any other tribe and scarcely any knowledge of such.[1]

Race-Characters of Johor Land-Tribes.

Speaking of the personal appearance of the Benua-Jakun (or "Benua of Johor," as he calls them), Logan says[2] that in personal appearance they bore a strong family resemblance to the Malays, and he remarked of many of them, as he had previously done of the Besisi, that the difference was scarcely appreciable so long as they remained at rest and silent. But the great majority were at first glance distinguishable from Malays. The most constant and obvious characteristic was the eye, which, as in the Berembun tribes (noticed below), was soft, mild, and with a liquid brilliancy, very different from the dark, cloudy aspect of that of the Malay. He

[1] Logan, *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 246 *seq.* [2] *Ib.* p. 249 *seq.*

only noticed in two or three of the men that habitually wild expression which occurs more frequently amongst the Berembun tribes. The mouth varies greatly, but in all is open and entirely devoid of that degree of firmness which generally characterises that of the Malay, but which is sometimes wanting in them also. In a considerable number the lips are thick and projecting, and this is sometimes carried so far that they are as prominent as the nose. The lips do not form an acute angle but are often in a line. The forehead has a moderate slope, and in itself is well formed, though small. But it is disproportionate to the face, the middle part of which, between the posterior part of the lower jaw and the upper part of the cheek-bones, expands laterally much beyond the base of the forehead. The nose is always low, whereas in the Malay, although it is frequently of the same description, it is sometimes seen higher and more shapely. The general shape of the head and features of the Benua assimilates to the Malayan, although it is decidedly smaller; but it is not clear whether more examples might not be obtained of approximation to Bugis faces than to Malayan. In many cases the Benua-Jakun face is fat and fleshy and all the features heavy, but in general it is not fat. The greatest breadth is commonly across the cheek-bones, but in several instances where the jaws were prominent the lower part of the face was broadest. Viewed in profile, the jaw-bones are seen to advance more than in the Malays in general, so that the chin, lips, and extremity of the nose are in one line, approaching to the vertical, which forms an obtuse angle with that on which the nose and forehead are placed. Physically they may be considered a link between the Negrito ("negro") and brown races

of the Archipelago. The general expression of the face denotes good-nature, mildness, innocence, content, want of mental energy and reflectiveness, and a predominance of the senses over the intellect. The complexion is generally similar to that of the Malays, but he noticed several who were much fairer than any Malays. The hair is black and in general smooth and lank, and in all somewhat more dry and tangled than in the Malays, arising from the little oil which they use. The children were often dull and fat, and very timid, yet many were lively, bold, and engaging, and his Malay followers everywhere remarked that in appearance they could not be distinguished from Malayan children. The body is smaller and in general shorter than that of a Malay, but it is handsomer and less heavy; the great length of the trunk in proportion to the limbs sometimes destroys the effect of the slighter and neater build. The chest is generally broad and full, and the shoulders narrower and less sloping than is the case with Malays. The pelvis is not so broad, and the limbs in particular are lighter, neater, and often well shaped. They are almost always in excellent condition, without being too fat, although the softer sex has often a tendency to obesity. The comparative shortness of stature, and the smooth, rounded surfaces which the person presents throughout, in a large majority of the Benua-Jakun, add to the Bugis aspect which is often observable among them.[1]

Most of the preceding remarks may be extended to the Berembun tribes.

Miklucho-Maclay, in a brief account of an excursion made long after Logan, in 1875, through Johor, comes to the conclusion that there can be no doubt of the

[1] Logan in *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 250.

existence in Johor of an aboriginal non-Malayan population, not only not of Malay origin, "but probably related to the Papuans" (!).

Here and there[1] he came across individuals whom he could not consider otherwise than as retrogrades to the main aboriginal type. In most of these cases the hair, though not absolutely identical with that of the pure Papuan type, resembled in texture and growth that of the Malayo-Papuan (mixed race) of the West Coast of New Guinea, who are by no means inconsiderable in number. In these individual cases the hair was quite different from the curled hair of the other Jakun ("Orang Utans").[2]

The chief reasons for his decision on this point were deduced from the existence of these reversions from the present to the aboriginal type; the fact that the Jakun ("Orang Utans") were not easily distinguishable from the Malays inhabiting the interior of Johor did not diminish this decision, because these Malays had "by intermarriage partly inherited the Jakun ('Orang Utan') type."

This system of intermarriage had, in M.-Maclay's opinion, been "in practice for centuries," and was likely to have been occasioned "by the flight into the interior of those of the coast Malays who preferred retirement into the jungle to embracing the doctrines of Islam" at the time of the conversion of the country to Mohammedanism.

[1] The italics are mine. The net result of M.-Maclay's remarks is to establish the presence of a small Negrito element among some, at all events, of the Jakun tribes of Johor. Unfortunately M.-Maclay could not get rid of his preconceived ideas, and as he was hunting for what he believed to be the Papuan (!) element, he unconsciously selected Negritos to figure and observe, without paying any regard to the perhaps somewhat less striking characteristics of the Malayan type so general in the tribes through whom he passed. But this weakness, unfortunately, is a very general one.

[2] M.-Maclay, *Journ. East Asia*, i. 97.

Miklucho-Maclay figures a woman of the river Leba, a tributary of the Endau, age about 18 years, and mother of two children; height 1420 mm.;[1] head brachycephalic; index 81. *The hair was frizzled, and for this reason Miklucho-Maclay selected her to figure.* She cannot then be regarded as a typical example of the Wild Tribes ("Orang Liar") of that neighbourhood — who are in all probability identical with Logan's Benua-Jakun,—as Maclay speaks of meeting with individuals with frizzled hair only "here and there."

A male Jakun ("Orang Utan") from Garib, on a tributary of the Endau, is also figured by the same author. His height is 1500 mm.;[2] cephalic index 79; age about 18. "The face is remarkable owing to the small forehead, a broad, slightly projecting nose, thick lips, narrow under-jaw, and receding chin. The hair is of Malayan type."

The third person figured, a woman of the Jakun ("Orang Utan") Sletar, belongs to a branch of the Orang Laut.[3]

It is difficult to form any estimate of the numbers of the Benua-Jakun of Johor.

Maclay remarks that these tribes are gradually becoming extinct, and attributes it to the constant advance of the Malay and Chinese population, and to frequent intermarriage between the Malays and the Jakun ("Utan") women; the latter race is becoming intermixed into the former, and this mixed race is fast increasing.

But it would have been more consistent had he said

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[1] In orig. 1.42 inches (*sic*).

[2] In orig. 1.50 inches (*sic*).

[3] For other illustrations of the O. Sletar see Lapicque, *Tour. du M.*, N.S. ii. (1896), 1ière sem. pp. 58, 59.

that the "aboriginal non-Malayan population" was being swamped by intermixture with Malay blood, assuming his view to be correct, for the "aboriginal population," according to his own theory, already largely consists of individuals of mixed parentage.

Hervey, writing six or seven years after Miklucho-Maclay, states that the settlements of the tribe under discussion, whom he calls Jakun, on the Sayong and Lenggiu, on the Benut, Pontian, and Batu Pahat, as well as those on the Madek, a tributary of the Sembrong, and the upper Endau (Indau), may be described as Orang Ulu Jinak, or "tame tribes of the interior." He believes that there are within the limits of Johor a few representatives of the Orang Liar, or wild men, amongst the Segamat hills, near the source of the Endau.[1]

The "Madek tribe" was visited by Hervey, who says that their numbers are very limited, comprising no more than thirty souls. They are not uniform in type, even their limited community presenting several varieties, which is accounted for by the intermarriage with Malays; the Chinese have, he believes, had little, if any, intercourse with them.

In the Appendix will be found Virchow's remarks on the Jakun material (measurements, etc.) collected by Vaughan-Stevens.

Under the same reference will be found Virchow's description of three Jakun skulls sent home by the same collector, the main points of interest in which are as follows:—

The first of these skulls was that of a young woman, and was very light, the second, that of an old man; yet both, in fact, were characterised by

[1] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 8, p. 100 *seq.*

Virchow as being, in point of size, a dwarf skull (nannocephalic). The skull shown in Fig. 3 belonged in shape to the bullet-head type, but was high in proportion (hypsi-brachycephalic). The nose was very broad, the bridge being deeply incurved and short, its position, together with that of the teeth (which were thickly encrusted with betel), agreeing very well with the extreme prognathism of this specimen. The second skull (that of the old man) was a little broader in proportion than that of the young woman (ortho-mesaticephalic). The features were large and heavy, the orbits very large, and the nose broad and flat (platyrhine).

The third (which was stated to be that of a male, but appeared to Virchow to be that of a female) was of yet broader and flatter appearance (eurycephalic). The cheek-bones, as a whole, were depressed, the orbits of moderate size, and the nose resembled that of No. 2. In this skull, again, as in No. 2, prognathism of a pronounced type was present. The proportions of the face in all three skulls were much more constant than those of the cerebral portion of the skull. Nevertheless, in spite of a certain amount of marked variation in the latter, "the racial unity of the tribe cannot be doubted, as the similarities are greater and more numerous than the differences." Virchow proceeds to describe the limb-bones of a female skeleton sent home by the same collector, and in this connection remarks that, although they undoubtedly come from an adult individual, "they are small and delicate like children's bones."

From this Professor Virchow drew the conclusion that "in any case we can congratulate ourselves on seeing before us the most unmistakable *dwarf*

bones offered by ethnology." If, however, by this expression he intends to convey—which appears to be the only interpretation possible—that the Jakun are a dwarf *race*, one can only reply that any such conclusion, especially when based upon measurements taken from a single individual, even if it were otherwise well founded, would be altogether premature, and furnishes an example of one of the curious lapses to which even great intellects appear occasionally liable. We shall have to await, there is very little doubt, a considerable body of fresh evidence before any such conclusion can be either definitely established or refuted.

On the important subject of the hair-character of the Jakun, Virchow remarks that in his opinion the hair of all the Jakuns examined (by Vaughan-Stevens) belonged to the same type, and that the contrast with that of the Semang and Sakai was "as sharp as can be imagined." This was a matter of the more importance "as the relationship of the Jakun to the other tribes has always been a matter of dispute."

The Jakun hair, then, appears to have been, generally speaking, black ("glossy black" in the case of a specimen sent) and straight, and the percentage of Jakuns with wavy or curly hair seems to have been extremely small. There can at all events be no doubt whatever, in spite of the exceptions that admittedly occur, that the former is the real hair-type of the Jakun race.

The skin-colour in general was a yellowish or greyish tint of brown (No. 37 of the Parisian colour-plate being the commonest shade).

The eyes of the Jakun were usually a dark shade of brown (Nos. 2-3), and the conjunctiva

frequently more or less bloodshot. The teeth were good, often slightly projecting, but free from caries; the lips well formed and thin; the ear lobes invariably perforated and much distended.

Hearing.

The sense of hearing was certainly sharper among the Jakun[1] [than among either the Semang or the Sakai].

Hands and Feet.

In the case of the Jakun, especially with the children, it is possible to ascertain pretty exactly, by observing the feet, whether any kind of mixture with Malay or other blood, at least of recent date, has taken place. The little toe of the Jakun, especially in childhood, is very straight in comparison with that of the Sakai (Blandas), and quite especially so in comparison with that of the Malays and Chinese. It has much less of the talon-like crook which is so usual in our own feet. I have, in fact, seen little toes in Jakun children which were as straight and well-formed as any of the other toes of the foot.

When, moreover, the Jakun arrives at manhood, and especially by the time he is upwards of thirty years old, his feet become covered all over with knobs and knots, are stiff, ugly, scarred and diseased. The Jakun never wash, and although their hands and feet are often in water, it is usually dirty, marshy, and unhealthy water, which penetrates into the cracks of the skin, scratches and pricks caused by thorns, etc., and causes the limbs to swell and stiffens them, until they look like the work-worn hands of an old labourer in England who has had to be out in all sorts of weather.

This is one result of the hardships of their life; for the infants and children have small, well-formed hands and feet. The contrast between those of the father and of the youngest child is very great. The hands of the women, however, are beautiful and soft.

The half-blooded Orang Laut are skilful at thieving, especially with the toes. I have been robbed of small objects which lay on the ground, while I have been talking with a man, face to face, and never noticed that he took them off. I have also seen from the corner of the eye how the toes of the foot slowly slid over the desired object and dragged it along with them, till the foot could be raised to the hand, when the thing could be grasped in the fingers and hidden.[2]

Climbing.

The oldest (!) method of climbing employed by the Jakun (or "Benua") consists in binding the ankles with a head-rope (*Kopf-seil*) as the Sinhalese do.[3]

Swimming.

The Jakun (Benua) swim well, and are good divers. They use the Malay method. The Orang Laut is an excellent swimmer. He swims, like the Malay, on the breast, so that his body is in a somewhat sidelong position. He stretches the left and right arm alternately out of the water, and brings them back to the side of the body, like the spokes of a wheel from the hub. The hands are

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 182. [2] *Ib.* p. 190. [3] *Ib.* p. 200.

thus directed backwards with open palms, and the legs are struck outwards at each motion of the body, like those of a frog. The children swim as well as adults, even before they can walk. The Orang Laut are also excellent divers.[1]

Among the Jakuns, two children at a time will take the end of a rattan-rope between the teeth and tug till one has conquered the other; but they have not the Malay tug-of-war.

It amused me very much to see how a small Jakun boy one day diverted his comrades by sitting down in the well-known Indian fashion, with the soles of his feet placed flat on the floor, his legs bent at the knees, and drawn up close to the body, and his body depressed till it almost touched the ground. While he was in this position a short stick of bamboo was placed through his elbows behind his back. Thus handicapped, the fat, tubby little fellow had to bend forward till he touched the ground with his forehead, without letting the bamboo slip out of position. All made the attempt, but this little fellow was the most expert and agile of all.[2]

Sleeping.

The Jakun, whether lying on one side or the other, usually rolls himself together into a "ball" for sleeping. If the night is hot, he soon begins to unroll himself a bit, but in the early or colder hours of the morning one can be quite sure of finding both sexes with knees drawn up to the body. The children sleep from earliest childhood on a mat which is laid upon the ground. Their place is at their mother's breast, between her and the smouldering fire, and enclosed more or less in her arms.[3]

As soon as signs of approaching puberty appear in their children, the Jakuns arrange for them to sleep apart. On land, the boy slept in a separate part of the hut, or in the front part of the boat if he was on water. In the covered platforms on the coast the girls slept with the married people. In the temporary huts with covered platforms used in former times, which the Jakuns visited in their well-known places of assembly on the coast, the bachelors, when they passed the night there, always slept in huts which were separate from the married people.[4]

Physical Endurance.

In illustration of the fortitude of the Jakun, Vaughan-Stevens tells of one who had deep-seated ulcers. "I gave him sulphate of copper (*Blaustein*) and zincoid, showed him how to use it, and expressly warned him to be careful. But as I feared a misunderstanding, I followed him soon after he had left me, and came upon my patient just as he had made use of the *Blaustein*. That had been done very freely, as the earlier neglect of the ulcer prevented him from feeling it at once, although the whole surface of about four square inches was touched with it." The patient squatted on the ulcered leg, and Vaughan-Stevens saw the muscles of the leg quiver and contract into knots in consequence of the pain which the patient felt after a few minutes; but not a movement, not a sound, nor any other sign except a deep breathing was to be observed. "He began to speak in firmly measured tones, and when I remarked that that was called medicine ('ubat'), he calmly replied that the doctor ('bomor') had told him so. He had shown endurance with a vengeance, but as there was no reason to put him to a further test, I gave him a morphia injection, for which he was very grateful."[5]

The question of the Jakun's sensitiveness to heat is difficult to answer, since

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 198. [2] *Ib.* p. 201. [3] *Ib.* 186.
[4] *Ib.* p. 190. [5] *Ib.* pp. 205, 206.

he wears, as a rule, nothing but a head-band to keep his long hair in order, and hence gets so accustomed to the sun's rays that he scarcely feels any special increase in the sun's heat.

The Jakun appear to suffer less from the wet, cold winds of the mountains than any of the other tribes. The Jakun appears to owe his powers of endurance to the relative robustness both of his physical and mental powers, due to his greater tendency to savagery.

He has, moreover, long carried on a rude but persistent form of agriculture, cultivating rice and tubers, though he also consumes much more fish than the others.

The Jakun children endure want of food better than those of the Semang.[1]

Sea-Jakun or Orang Laut—Distribution.

Orang Laut is the name applied to wandering coast tribes whose permanent dwelling is usually in their boats. They are spoken of as Rayat Laut, or Sea-subjects—subjects, that is, of the kings of Johor or Malacca. According to Crawfurd,[2] they are sometimes called Sika, Orang Akik ("Akkye"), or more frequently Bajau or pirates. Their headquarters are the narrow straits between the islands of the Johor archipelago.[3] The same writer says that from this neighbourhood they have spread to the shores of Banca, Billiton, some of the islands of the coast of Borneo, and even as far as the Celebes and Buru, from whence they make voyages to the north coast of Australia. Prior to the introduction of steam-vessels by the English and Dutch Governments these "Sea-folk" are said to have been formidable pirates.[4]

The Johor archipelago is thinly peopled by a number of "tribes" of Orang Laut, known collectively as the Orang Pe-suku-an,[5] a name meaning the people divided into tribes. A list of some twelve of these tribes is also given, and we are told that besides these

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 202, 203.

[2] *Descr. Dict.*, *s.v.* "Orang Laut."

[3] The Johor archipelago consists of the innumerable islands lying between Singapore and Billiton (see *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 336*).

[4] *V.* p. 570 *infra*.

[5] See *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 336*, "Ethnology of the Johor Archipelago."

there are some wild tribes in the interior of the larger islands.

The Sabimba river has not yet been traced, but the Orang Sletar take their name from Sungei Sletar, a creek of the island of Singapore, only 8 miles distant from the modern town. According to Thomson,[1] they numbered in all 200 people, or 40 boats, and were subject to a Batin or petty chief, under the sovereignty of the Sultan of Johor.

At the time of the first landing of Sir Stamford Raffles at Singapore about thirty families of Orang Laut lived a little way up the Singapore river, about half of them on shore and half in boats.[2] This settlement had been in existence since 1811 or thereabouts.[3]

At the present time there are still a few of the Orang Laut to be found in the island of Singapore.

Amongst other branches of the same race one or two may be mentioned as having been described by various writers. Such are the Beduanda Kallang[4] of the Pulai river in Johor. These folk formerly haunted the "Kallang" creek to the east of the town of Singapore, but when the island was ceded to the British they were removed by the Temenggong (or raja) of Johor to the Pulai river in that state, where they have since dwelt. From about 100 families they have been reduced by the ravages of small-pox to eight. They were, beyond a doubt, very closely allied to the Orang Sletar of Singapore, as well as to the Orang Laut who formerly inhabited the Singapore river, and the few survivors now living in the island.

The Orang "Muka Kuning," also described by

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 342* (1847).

[2] *J. R. A. S., S.B.* No. 10, p. 285.

[3] Crawfurd, *Desc. Dict.*, *s.v.* "Singapore." Borie (1861) mentions the "Sabimbangs, Muka Kunings, and Biduandas," then settled near Cape Romania, at the mouth of the Johor river.

[4] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 299 (Logan).

the same writer, inhabit the forests on the banks of the Sa-raya and its tributary the Muka Kuning.

Pulau Tinggi, off the east coast of Johor, was a favourite lurking-place for the Orang Laut in the days when they practised piracy.

We may conclude then that the almost innumerable creeks, inlets, and islands lying along the coast of Johor and to the south of it, as far as Billiton at any rate, are—or perhaps it is necessary to say were—peopled by wild men of Malayan origin, who spent most of their time on the water, and that almost every community of these people was called by a different name, the name of the locality that it occupied for the time being.

And finally we are told by Anderson that in the upper coasts of the Malay Peninsula, from "Poongha" to Trang (in the neighbourhood of Junk Ceylon), including a coast of 16 or 18 leagues and a number of islands, there were no inhabitants except the Orang Laut who navigated from island to island.[1]

Race-Characters of the Orang Laut.

The physical characters of members of this race have been described by Logan[2] and Thomson.[3]

The former gives an account of three men of the Beduanda Kallang. The chief features of the face appear to be the great width of the forehead, which is at the same time unusually low, the absence of prognathism, and the thinness of the lips. The face is flat and the eye-brows horizontal. The general character of the face is between that of the Malay and Siamese,

[1] App. to Anderson's *Considerations*, p. liv. (1824). The O. Laut are first mentioned by De Barros, who calls them "Cellates" or "Men of the Straits."

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 301 *seq.*

[3] *Ib.* p. 347*.

but perhaps nearer the latter. The features of Saweng and Sango (two of the men described) had a pinched or compressed look. He had never seen any men who resembled them. The Orang Sletar are closely allied to the Beduanda Kallang (both indeed appear to be branches of one tribe, the aborigines of Singapore).

In the same paper the height of three individuals of the Beduanda Kallang is given as respectively 5 ft., 5 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., 5 ft. 5 in.[1] Other measurements of interest are—circumference of the head, average 21 in.; height of forehead, 2 in.; breadth of forehead, $5\frac{1}{8}$ in.[2]

Thomson,[3] remarking on the physical characters of the Sletar tribe, says that they are closely allied to the Beduanda Kallang. This, coupled with the fact that the Sletar and Kallang are both creeks of the island of Singapore, the original locality of each, and that sampans (canoes) can approach the navigable part of either creek within two miles, there need not be any hesitation in proclaiming their identity of origin, although they now live as separate tribes. The most distinctive features of these tribes are the lowness of the brow, retreating backwards from the superciliary ridge; a protrusion of the lower part of the face, not in the manner of prognathous tribes, but by the acuteness of the facial angle. When viewed from the front they are found to possess an obliquity of eyes and eyebrows, the eyelids being much closed and only showing half the pupil. The general contour of the face obtains a decided character by great breadth of forehead, expansion of zygoma, and rapid tapering to the chin, which is lengthy and narrow. The nose is depressed and mouth moderate. Such may be considered the

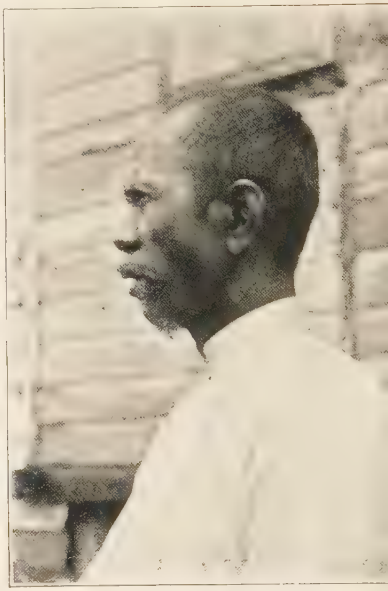
[1] 1.523 m., 1.638 m., 1.657 m. [2] 532 mm., 5 cm., 13 cm. [3] *Loc. cit.*

McGregor.

GROUP OF JAKUN (ABORIGINAL MALAYANS) FROM KLANG

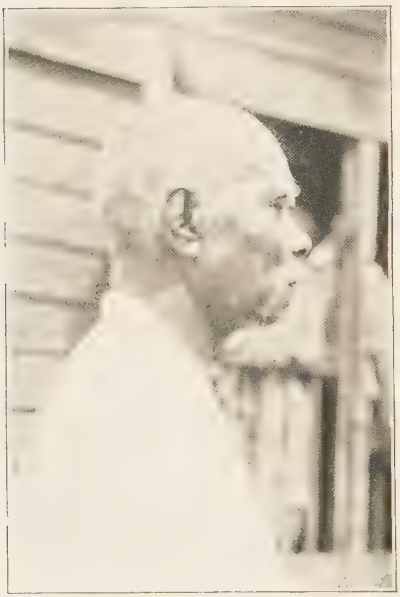
R. H. Yapp.

ORANG LAUT OF KALANG, SINGAPORE.



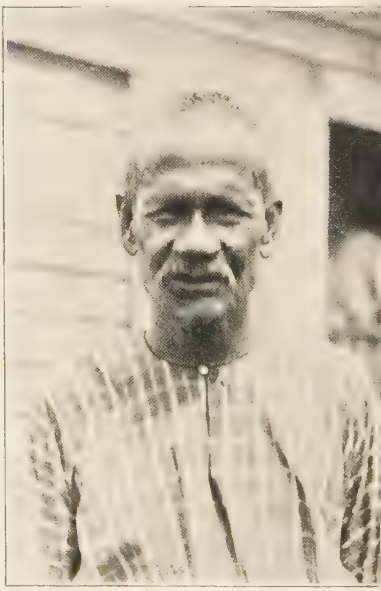
R. H. Yap

ORANG LAUT OF KALANG, SINGAPORE.



R. H. Yapp.

ORANG LAUT OF KALANG, SINGAPORE.



R. H. Yapp (Skeat Expedition

ORANG LAUT OF KALANG, SINGAPORE.

distinctive features of the race, though many were seen possessing the Malayan type strongly marked.[1] In a previous passage Thomson states that in his own opinion this tribe of Orang Laut may be said, with little fear of contradiction, to be merely unconverted Malays in the general acceptation of the term, though a distinct class from the Malays properly so called who poured their hordes over the Archipelago (*sic*?)[2] prior to 1200 of the Christian era, from the great river Malayu ("Malayoo"), in Sumatra. While all the tribes of Malays on the coast of the Malayan Peninsula and adjoining islands have embraced the tenets of Mahomet, they have remained unaffected by the movement.

Taking into consideration Logan's view as to the "Tartar" characters of the Jakun quoted above in dealing with that race, and the close relationship existing between the Jakun and the Orang Laut,[3] it seems safe to conclude that both are branches of a Mongoloid stock which probably inhabited the Peninsula before the irruption of the more civilised Malays, who in this case are to be regarded as a specialised branch of the same stock.

A distinguishing feature of the Orang Laut appears to be their height, which is about 5 ft. 3 in.[4] on an average, to judge from the scanty measurements available. That of the Besisi and Blandas appears to be about 5 ft. 1 in.[5] according to Dr. Martin's statement. But an extensive series of measurements is necessary before it is justifiable to make a definite statement on the subject. I venture, however, to suggest that the

[1] Thomson, *loc. cit.*
[2] The interrogation is mine.
[3] See Newbold, ii. 410, 411, 413, 414; and Skeat, *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 5, p. 325; also Crawfurd, *Descr. Dict.* under "Benua."
[4] 1.6 m.
[5] 1.548 m.

greater height of the Orang Laut may depend, at any rate, partly on the smaller amount of intermixture with Semang (and Sakai) tribes. The more inland Jakun of Johor and Selangor sometimes show considerable traces of a Negrito strain. Had this been noticeably present in the Orang Laut, I think Logan and Thomson and other good observers would have noticed it, especially if it had affected the hair.[1]

It is impossible to form an estimate of the number of Orang Laut existing at the present time. Certain it is that the number is much less than it was a century ago, largely owing, no doubt, to the ravages of small-pox as well as to their conversion to Islam and consequent absorption among the Malays.

Walking.

The children of the Orang Laut very soon become tired on land, and walk with legs bent outwards; the half-breeds are straighter and stronger.

The adult Orang Laut soon becomes tired in walking, and the walk of the entire race is, in fact, very clumsy on the land, because they squat down so much together in their little boats; they can, in fact, be recognised at once from this characteristic.[2]

Climbing.

The Orang Laut climb well, when obliged to do so. As the trees on the coast are usually of small circumference, they can clasp the round trunk more than half-way round with their arms, and use the inside of the foot in climbing up. They do not appear to be acquainted with the idea of climbing by help of a rope or noose. If, therefore, they wish to climb a larger tree, which they cannot climb up by the help of the arms and legs alone, they are obliged to make a ladder. For this purpose bamboo pegs are driven into the tree one above the other, at distances of about two feet. To the ends of these pegs a bamboo pole is lashed so that it stands out from the tree about six inches. By means of these pegs, which serve in place of the rungs of a ladder, the man climbs up, and as he climbs drives fresh pegs into the tree above those already driven; when he has reached the end of the first pole, he fastens a second pole to the tree in continuation of the first, and so on till he reaches the branches. Bark-fibre is used for lashings, and the ladder thus constructed is left in its place till it falls to pieces.[3]

Throwing.

The Orang Laut are very sure and strong throwers, and far excel all the other tribes in this respect. They are, for instance, very clever at throwing the

[1] There are, however, to be seen curly-haired Orang Laut boys in Singapore. In fact they are fairly common, though there are straight-haired ones as well.

[2] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 194. [3] *Ib.* p. 198.

shells of flat bivalves ("Muschel"), such as that of the pearl oyster. They hold it at the edge between one finger and the thumb, so that the shell lies back flat over the wrist, and jerk it at a crab or a bird upon the sands, striking their target with the sharp edge. A lump of hard coral with a natural hole, through which a line woven from willows is threaded, and bound into the form of a ring, is thrown by help of this line with great force and certainty of aim at crabs on the shore, and so forth.[1]

Summary of Jakun Culture.[2]

The Jakun, no less than the Semang and Sakai, are largely nomadic tribes, and though the Land Jakun for the most part practise some form of agriculture, they also live to a great extent by hunting, trapping, and fishing, and keep both dogs and fowls.

Some of the Jakun of Johor cultivate rice, others plant yams, plantains, water-melons, sugar-cane, and sometimes also, on a very small scale, tobacco. In particular, however, they plant durian trees, on which they set a high value on account of the fruit.[3] The Mantra and Besisi hold a marriage-carnival at harvest-time.[4] They smoke tobacco and chew betel, or, as a substitute, cassia-leaves, together with gambir and lime, which they obtain by barter from the Malays of the coast.[5] Their clothing is like that of the Malays but scantier, that of the men only a linen apron (*e.g.* among the Mantra and Udai), that of the women a sarong.[6] They are accustomed to file their teeth to a point; they do not practise circumcision, but a form of incision has been recorded.[7] The universal weapon of the northern Jakun (Besisi, Mantra, and others) is the blowpipe with poisoned arrows. Bows and arrows are known to them, but

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. (V.-St.) 200.

[2] This account is re-written from the summary of Benua Culture by Waitz (who uses Benua as the equivalent of "Savage Malay," in which sense Jakun is used here).

[3] Logan in *J. I. A.* i. 254, 255; Favre, *ib.* ii. 259.

[4] Logan, *loc. cit.* p. 260.

[5] Logan, *loc. cit.*; Newbold, ii. 406.

[6] Logan, *loc. cit.* p. 252.

[7] *Ib.* p. 271.

are not employed; they do not engage in tribal fights.[1] The blowpipe is often fitted with a spear-point at the muzzle, as is frequently the case among the Dayaks. That of the Sabimba is said to have been introduced to them from Sambas in Borneo by the Malays of the sea-board, from whom they also obtain other objects, especially rice.[2] The ten-foot blowpipe of the Benua, and the preparation of their arrow-poison, has been described by Newbold.[3] The Jakun, who do not invariably poison their arrows, carry spears and long knives[4] in addition to the blowpipe; the Mantra use the sword and kris of the Malays, as well as the blowpipe and spear.[5] The huts of the Benua-Jakun vary in point of size and fittings; they have usually only one room in the centre, are built on piles, and are reached by means of a ladder; many of them are not altogether without such comforts as Chinese curtains for dividing the rooms, and perhaps a few Chinese dishes;[6] for the most part, however, they are but poorly built and furnished, the sides being only constructed of leaves or tree-bark, and they are forsaken by the inhabitants when a death occurs.[7] The Jakun of Malacca build their huts only two feet high, four feet broad, and six feet long, but raise them on piles and surround them with a bulwark of thorns for protection against tigers.[8] For river voyages (with the exception of the Sabimba) they employ boats constructed out of a hollow tree-trunk, but they do not venture on the open sea, which they are said to dread.[9] Of musical instruments the

[1] Logan, i. 272, 273, iii. 405, 406, iv. 429.
[2] Thomson in *J. I. A.* i. 337*, 338*.
[3] ii. 395, 396.
[4] Favre in *J. I. A.* ii. 262.
[5] Logan, i. 330.
[6] *Ib.* p. 253, 254.
[7] Newbold, ii. 404; Borie in *Tijdschr.* Deel x. 420; Netscher, *ib.* Deel ii. 138; Moor, 242.
[8] Favre, *loc. cit.* 257.
[9] Logan in *J. I. A.* i. 271, 284,

Mantra employ a bamboo flute and a kind of guitar,[1] though others are recorded. From their position it follows that all the trade of the Jakun is in the hands of the Malays, who give them cloth, pots, dishes, ironware, etc., in exchange for jungle produce, but who at the same time greatly oppress them by means of the debts into which they lead them, as well as by their treachery and unjust dealing,[2] this treatment being in direct contrast to that which they receive from the Chinese.[3]

At their tribal feasts they chant songs and perform mimetic dances in imitation of the various denizens of the jungle, the performer, who is dressed in leaves, carrying a peculiar dance-wand, and the performances themselves being apparently a form of productive magic. They have a more advanced social organisation than the Sakai and Semang, and in some cases their Batin or chief has a peculiar and unknown object as part of his regalia.

They also practise peculiar marriage and burial rites (*e.g.* the mound-ceremony, a species of marriage-carnival at harvest-time, and the erection of a miniature hut for the soul of the deceased), and have many magic ceremonies and traditions which point to the prevalence of ancestor-worship and Shamanism as ingredients in their religion.

297, 332; Thomson, *ibid.* 347*; cp. also Logan in *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 388, where he remarks that "like the northern tribes, the Benua have a great dread of the sea," a characteristic which he attributes to "exaggerated ideas respecting waves, sea-sickness, and pirates." On this it may be remarked that it is hard to believe that any true Sea Jakun really dread the sea, and that formerly when they *professed* themselves afraid of it, the reason might perhaps be sought in a fear of their being themselves taken by the "white men" for pirates, or in some similar motive. But these Benua may have been Land Jakun after all.

[1] Borie, *loc. cit.* p. 424.

[2] Logan, *loc. cit.* pp. 261, 285.

[3] Waitz, pp. 176, 177. As Col. R. C. Temple points out, what such tribes get by barter may be of value to themselves; what they give is of none. But though the bargaining of the Chinese may perhaps thus be defended, that of the Malays, who go far beyond the Chinese, can not. — Temple in *J. A. I.* vol. xxix. p. 101.

Note by W. L. H. Duckworth on "Fasciculi Malayenses," Vol. I.

Messrs. Annandale and Robinson,[1] whose expedition to the Malay Peninsula followed that of Mr. Skeat (of whose party Mr. Annandale was a member), have provided abundant data which will yield much information when fully worked out. At present the chief results that have come to hand appear to me to be the following. Firstly, as regards the living inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula, we are presented with observations whence the average colour of skin and eyes, the hair-characters, the stature, and the cephalic index of Semang, Sakai, people of the Trang coast, and South Perak Malays are obtainable, founded on a much broader basis than has hitherto been accessible. As regards the South Perak Malays, the data are probably entirely new. The foregoing results have been tabulated in the Appendix[2] (1) for purposes of general comparison in the comparative table, and (2) separately for purposes of comparison *inter se*.

In the second place, the craniological collection comprises some extraordinarily valuable specimens, though unfortunately the number is not very large. Special mention must be made of the collection of skulls of the Orang Laut formed by Mr. Annandale. The appended table[3] gives concisely the results of the

[1] Authors of *Fasciculi Malayenses*. [2] For this table see Appendix. [3] *Ib*.

craniometrical study of these. It will be noted that the Orang Laut and Orang Bukit, although separated by Mr. Annandale, are yet closely associated physically. When the general results of the expedition are reviewed, it becomes evident, in the first place, that the Semang and the Sakai types are connected by transitional forms so numerous that it is only from the examination of very large numbers of individuals that the two extreme forms can be differentiated. It is particularly to be noted that the cephalic index fails conspicuously to differentiate the two, whereas the stature is a more reliable characteristic, and it is from this, with the skin-colour and hair-characters, that evidence upon which the distinction is based is to be obtained. In the second place, the Samsams of the Trang coast (as is also the case with the South Perak Malays) stand, as indeed might have been expected, quite apart from the Semang and Sakai. Thirdly, as regards the results of the Skeat expedition, the characters of the Pangans measured by Messrs. Skeat and Laidlaw fall within the range of variation established by the more numerous observations in the *Fasciculi Malayenses*. When we turn to the craniological side we find that the Pangan skull provided by Mr. Skeat possesses characters which bring it also into line with the Semang and Sakai group of Messrs. Annandale and Robinson in everything except cranial capacity, which in the former example is greater than in any case observed by the authors of *Fasciculi Malayenses*.

Then comes the extraordinary case of Grubauer's Semang skull.[1] This, although microcephalic, provides the unusually high cephalic index-figure of 85, which carries it far beyond the range of indices otherwise

[1] *Cf.* Man, No. 18, 1903.

available for comparison. This unusual index need not be regarded as ruling out the skull from the ranks of the Semang-Sakai group, as the total number of skulls known is but fifteen or so, and in the living the index may, as is seen from the table, reach the figure of 85.5 (= 83.5 on the skull).

Three more remarks may be made on the results of the authors of the *Fasciculi Malayenses.*

In the first place, they have obtained extraordinarily high figures for the radio-humeral index in the living Semang: results which do not accord with those obtained from the data of the Skeat expedition (whether from living Pangan or Semang or skeletons of the same), nor with Messrs. Annandale and Robinson's own results in the case of the skeletons collected by them. This is evidently due to their method of measurement, for their results for the living Semang are consistent throughout *inter se.* But the final effect is to give an incorrect idea of the preponderance of forearm length, which, though present, is not nearly so marked as the figures suggest.

Secondly, and regarding the craniological results detailed in the *Fasciculi Malayenses,* the skulls represented in photographs afford but slight material for comparisons, partly owing to the fact that two of them are skulls of aged women. The Semang skull, Plate xvi. Figs. 4, 5, 6, has a much flatter nasal skeleton than that of the Pangan in the Cambridge Museum; and also presents less subnasal prognathism than the latter skull.

Finally, Plate xviii. Figs. 4, 5, 6, gives photographs of the skull of an "Orang Laut Kapir" (*i.e.* "Kafir" or "unconverted" Orang Laut) of the Trang coast: were the *provenance* of this specimen

not precisely known, its dimensions, as given in the table, and its proportions and appearance would lead to its being regarded as a good example of the Oceanic-negro type as met with in New Guinea, New Britain, and neighbouring islands. Caution must therefore be exercised in basing conclusions on skulls taken from ancient cemeteries of the kind whence this skull was obtained.

Note on Diseases of the Aborigines.

Very little has been observed about the diseases to which the wild aboriginal tribes are subject, and on the whole it appears that they are not much troubled by sickness, the reason being doubtless that as they live in a state of nature only the hardiest of their children survive. All of them are, however, in mortal terror of one disease in particular, viz. small-pox, from which many of their tribes have greatly suffered from time to time.

I.—Semang.

Fever does not appear to trouble the Semang so much as a malignant sort of ulcers and various minor forms of cutaneous disease (Mal. "kurap") which are very prevalent locally. The wife of the Semang chief (Pelima) at Siong was afflicted with an ulcer which was one of the worst I have seen in the East, and which had eaten deeply into the left leg.

Both Semang and Sakai are generally well formed, and are not unfrequently described as showing a magnificent physique. Deformed people and dwarfs are extremely rare, probably for the reason already given. One of the Semang (Pa' Gelugor) whom I observed at Jarum may, however, have approximated to a dwarf type, all of his measurements proving to be under the average. On the other hand, his back was

slightly bowed, but as he had arrived at an advanced age, this is perhaps more likely to have been due to physical infirmity than to congenital deformity.

Some form of acute rheumatism, or more probably sciatica, appears occasionally to attack them, as in the case of a woman belonging to the Kedah Semang, of whose temporary "cure" I myself was witness.[1] From the woman's own account, the pain, which was extremely acute and caused her great suffering, was situated in the bones of the leg. The pain caused her to break out openly into weeping and loud crying, but nevertheless she was able to make her way into the forest for some thirty yards till she reached the site of her former house, in which she was presently "doctored" by the chief of the tribe.

The teeth of the Semang, like those of most other savages on a similar plane of culture, were extremely good, and were seldom attacked by caries.

Delivery, as a rule, was attended by very little difficulty, the woman usually resuming her ordinary avocations after three or four days' seclusion.

It could not be determined what sickness was meant by a "great death" or plague that was traditionary among the Semang, but the symptoms were described to Vaughan-Stevens as follows: those who were attacked by the disease about noon, died before sunset, by which time the body had turned black in colour. It was evidently also much swollen up, since it was described by the Semang as looking "like a leech, when it falls off."

That the Semang ("Menik") had no name for the disease seems to show that it was formerly unknown to them, and that they had no other tradi-

[1] Cp. vol. ii. p. 230.

tion about it than that "it had only come twice." The only thing that could be found out about it, besides, was that nobody attacked by it escaped with his life. It was further stated that it had arisen in consequence of the neglect of Ple's command never to stay more than five days in one place. This command, however, only applied to the men.[1]

Vaughan-Stevens gives Semang names for many other diseases, but in almost every case fails to translate or identify them.

II.—Sakai.

The foregoing remarks appear to be as applicable, generally speaking, to the Sakai as to the Semang. At all events, the Sakai have the same dread of small-pox and the same liability to ulcers and skin diseases, of which latter Hale (p. 288) distinguishes three kinds ("Kurap," "Kurap ayam," and "Kudis"), the prevalence of which he ascribes to the fact that the Sakai "very seldom bathe."[2] He also mentions[3] headache and stomach-ache as being diseases which are prayed against by the Sakai. De Morgan (ii. 717) mentions fevers (which are cured by the use of crushed "langsat" stones), colic, diarrhœa (for which calcined bones are used), dysentery, "kurab," and "wounds," which latter are dressed with sugar-cane pulp, bound with a strip of bark-cloth.

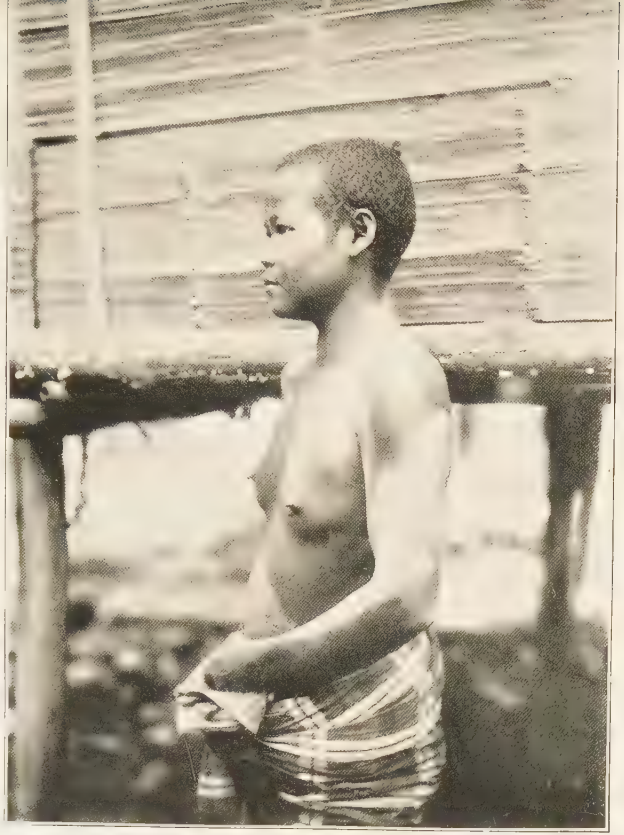
III.—Jakun.

Blandas.—There are no very special remarks to be made with regard to the diseases of the Blandas tribe. Some individuals suffered greatly both from

[1] *Sic* Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 102.

[2] The two latter are ringworm and itch. Cp. De Morgan in *L'Homme*, ii. 717; Brau de Saint-Pol Lias, and other writers.

[3] Hale, p. 301.



Wray

A. Profile of Semang Girl with Skin Disease.

Wray

B. Semang Girl (Full Face) with Skin Disease.

Vol. I. p. 102.

Cerruti.

cutaneous disorders and ulcers, but this was probably, as with the Semang and Sakai, the result of the food that they lived on, more especially of some of the yams and roots. Fevers were also very prevalent at certain seasons, but small-pox was the one disease that they most greatly dreaded, and on the appearance of which they would flee from the district.

Besisi.—Owing to their way of life, it was not uncommon to meet amongst them individuals who had been accidentally maimed or wounded, and on one occasion, whilst driving along the Langat road at Klang, I encountered a Jakun who had been badly lamed by the injury and contraction of the muscles of the knee. After considerable persuasion, I induced him to return to Klang and enter the hospital, which was then in charge of the late Mr. W. M. Little. Mr. Little kindly interested himself in the case, and succeeded in affording the man a good deal of relief; but when the man had been a few days in hospital he returned to the jungle, saying before he left that he could not live in a place which was so shut in and devoid of trees. I never knew a case of mental disease among any of these tribes.

Jakun of Negri Sembilan.—The chief diseases are more or less malignant kinds of skin-disease—in part inherited, in part brought on themselves, for the hillmen of Negri Sembilan never indulge in the luxury of a bath.

They do not appear to possess much stamina for resisting fever and other internal ailments. When they had been living in the house assigned to them by Rowland for a short time, they became dissatisfied, and all developed a dry, painful cough, and moved about very despondingly; scarcely an hour passed without

one of them coming to Rowland and saying that he was about to die, until at last Rowland had huts built for them after their own manner, when they at once recovered. Rowland adds that he heard nothing of mental diseases among them, though there are many such among the Malays.[1]

Jakun of Johor.—The Jakun were not much subject to sickness; though none the less, for want of proper care, few of them reach to an advanced age. The sickness of which they have the greatest dread, and from which they suffer most, is the small-pox. If any one is attacked by it, he is at once entirely abandoned; parents, relations, friends, and neighbours all fly from him alike, and the poor sick man, left without any assistance, of course dies miserably. In the case of other diseases, the sick are not so entirely uncared for; some sort of physic, which consists ordinarily of an infusion or decoction of wild plants, being given according to the rude prescription of a Pawang, though usually without any success. The Jakun die for the most part of fever caused by the dampness and insalubrity of the places they inhabit.[2]

Like the people of India, they are also generally very subject to ulcers. Many of them have very troublesome skin diseases, though as a rule these are not dangerous. If the missionaries succeed in gathering the Jakun into villages, as they intend to do, and to make their habitations more salubrious, ulcers will certainly be much more scarce amongst them; and it may be hoped that the cure of their skin diseases will not present any great difficulty. A small provision of quinine or other remedies

[1] Rowland, p. 707.
[2] Favre in *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 265.

for fever would also doubtless preserve the life of many.[1]

Benua-Jakun.—Of the Benua of Johor we are told that, like all these tribes, they have an excessive fear of the small-pox. The explanation they give of this is that in former times their tribe was severely visited, and greatly thinned, by it, and that a vow was then made that they and their descendants in all time to come should flee from its presence whenever and wherever it appeared. If it should again break out, they would necessarily abandon both the victim and the locality.[2]

The Benua of the Lenggiu and Sayong are said to close their rivers by felling trees across them whenever they hear that this disease prevails at Johor Lama (*i.e.* "Old Johor") or elsewhere in the country. Vaccination would prove a great boon.[3]

Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.

O. Laut, Beduanda Kallang.—The Beduanda Kallang of Singapore formerly consisted of about a hundred families occupying as many boats, but the ravages of the small-pox have reduced the number to eight.[4]

O. Laut, Sletar.—Several of the men and women of the Sletar tribe were subject to deformity in hands and limbs, a rather unusual circumstance for these parts, and the disease most prevalent among them was a cutaneous scaly eruption (Mal. "Kurap") that covered the whole body. To this disease whole families were subject, from the mother to the infant at the breast, nearly every second person appearing to be afflicted with it. The feet of the old people were also

[1] Favre in *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 265.
[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 284.
[3] *Ib.*
[4] *Ib.* p. 300.

attacked by a sort of disease resembling leprosy, and the features of the face in one or two cases were found to be contracted from some such cause,[1] its victims being naturally rendered hideous to look upon.[2]

[1] From the description this might be attributed to some disease of syphilitic origin, which is not impossible, seeing the propinquity of the Sletar to Singapore. On the other hand, it may be remarked that the Malays themselves suffered from a disease of the skin of the feet and hands, named "Kědal," which had, however, no affinity with leprosy properly so called.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 345*.

PART II

CHAPTER I.

Food—Stimulants—Narcotics.

Although food is always (naturally) a burning question among the wild tribes that are still nomadic, it apparently becomes, strange as it may seem, of even greater importance among those that are just entering the path of civilisation, who are frequently rendered, to a pitiable extent, dependent upon the Malays for their very existence, a circumstance which the latter are not slow to turn to their own advantage. The wildest tribes, who are thoroughgoing nomads, seldom stay more than three or four days in one place, but as soon as they have exhausted the sources of food in one neighbourhood, move on to the next, and hence are as a rule fairly, though not liberally, supplied.

The staple food of these tribes does not consist so much of the flesh of animals as of such wild vegetable food as may happen to fall from time to time in season. When this fails, the men engage in hunting, trapping, and fishing excursions in order to eke out their dwindling stock of vegetable supplies, which consist mainly of wild yams,[1] roots, and fruits of the jungle.

The less wild tribes who have learnt the use of

[1] According to H. N. Ridley the yam most sought after by all branches of the wild tribes is *Dioscorea pentaphylla*.

rice are forced to obtain their supplies of it by the barter of jungle produce at ruinous rates, as they seldom succeed in obtaining a crop of their own which will last for more than a small portion of the year.

As will readily be expected, not only the knife and fork of civilisation, but even such objects as chop-sticks, are completely unknown, the flesh of the animal which has been killed being broken up into pieces of convenient size, which are picked up from the dish (which often consists of nothing more elaborate than a large banana-leaf obtained from the neighbouring forest) and conveyed to the mouth by hand. In the case of a leg or wing of a small mammal or bird the bone is held in the hand in primitive fashion, and the flesh gnawed off it *sans cérémonie* and *sans gêne*. For drinking purposes bamboo vessels, gourds, and coco-nut-shells are used, though a mere leaf, or the hand itself, are used at convenience.

In eating, the women and girls of all three wild races wait until the men have finished.

For drinking purposes the "tamer" tribes generally keep in their huts earthenware water-pots, for which a half coconut-shell is, as among the Malays, the most generally accepted "bailer." In drinking from running water, however, the water is thrown into the mouth by hand, unless a big leaf happens to be available.

In this connexion it may be of interest to note a statement to the effect that the Orang Laut, when they wished to drink, threw the water up into the mouth with the hand with unerring aim, and instead of splashing the entire face (as a European would), they were able to throw water into the mouth at about the distance of a foot from the palm of the hand without wetting their faces to speak of. Even

the children employed this method. On the other hand, when a mother wished to give her infant some water to drink, she let it drip from her hand into the child's open mouth.[1]

With regard to rice, the wildest tribes of the Peninsula (Pangan, etc.) do not eat it, although it is the staple food of the Malays and all the later immigrants to the country.

The first step towards the adoption of a grain diet would seem to be taken when the wild people take to cultivating and eating a species of millet ("sĕkoi").[2]

For this, at a later period, a more or less scanty diet of rice (obtained from the Malays by barter) is gradually substituted by the less nomadic tribes (generally by tribes who have learned to grow a few light "catch" crops, in which rice is not included), and eventually we find the first beginnings of rice culture among tribes who cultivate for themselves not only bananas, maize, tapioca (and in a few cases even tobacco), but also a scanty stock of half-wild rice.

The wilder tribes of Semang and Sakai, and even perhaps a few of the Jakuns, practise methods of obtaining fire by friction. The Malayising tribes appear, however, for a long time past to have known the use of flint and steel, which is perhaps the method still most generally in vogue. A few of the more advanced have, however, learnt the use of "trade" matches, which they call by their Malay names ("tarek api"=pull-fire, or "gesek api"=scratch-fire). The tinder used consists of the downy substance or fluff which collects round the leaf-bases of certain palms.[3]

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 184.

[2] De la Croix, p. 340. It is *Panicum italicum*.—Ridley.

[3] It is chiefly obtained from *Caryota mitis*, Lour.—Ridley.

This fluff is also used as a kind of wad to prevent windage in shooting with the blowpipe.

A simple form of torch, consisting of lumps of "dammar" (Mal. "damar") wrapped round with palm-leaves and tied with vegetable fibres, is also pretty generally employed.

Among the Semang, cooking is the duty of the women, and among the more nomadic tribes usually consists in slightly roasting the flesh of the small mammals and birds killed by the men, though it is certain that, in some cases at all events, the definition of man as a "cooking animal" breaks down, for the meat is eaten absolutely raw. Flesh-meat is inserted in a cleft stick, which is made to lean at an angle over the fire. Rice, if obtainable, is fire-dried in green bamboos, which are carried about and broken open as circumstances may require. Yams and roots are grated and wrapped up in strips of banana-leaf for baking. Fish are usually baked in the same way as the flesh of birds and animals.

The methods of the Sakai are very similar, and both they and the Semang have several ingenious methods of treating poisonous yams, etc., in order to make them fit for consumption.

Among the Jakun of the coast, and to some extent among the inland Sakai and Semang, iron cooking utensils (Malay rice-pots, etc.) have been introduced, and with these the difficulties of cooking largely disappear.

I.—Semang.

Food and its Preparation.

Kedah Semang.—The food of the Western Semang, when I visited them in Kedah, consisted of rice eked

out with a little sugar-cane, both of which were cultivated by themselves, together with a little tapioca and the wild roots and fruits of the jungle. Their flesh-food consisted of small birds and animals, but more often of fish and turtle, etc., which they caught or harpooned in the river at the foot of the hill. A few of these Negrito tribes still hunt with the bow, but the blow-pipe has also made some converts, especially towards the south. They are unfettered by religious restrictions in their search for food,[1] and are averse to nothing which can be converted into a means of sustenance. We often encountered the holes made by them in digging for roots in the deepest recesses of the forest.

Pangan.—The food of the Eastern Semang (Pangan) does not differ from that of their western kindred. In a small rock-shelter which I visited in the hills of Patalung near Singora, and which was deserted by the Pangan just before we got there, we found the remains of a fire, the ribs of a small tortoise on which they had been feeding, and a half-smoked (native) cigarette. In the deserted semicircular huts of the Pangans at Ulu Aring, in Kelantan, we found the remains of fires, short bamboo vessels which had been used for carrying dried rice ("nasi lĕmang"), and a half coconut-shell, which had, no doubt, been used for drinking. These Pangan when in the neighbourhood used to come down to the Malay hamlet at Kampong Buntal for rice and tobacco.

Kedah Semang and Pangan. — Fire-making by friction is the simplest method practised by both Eastern and Western Semang. It usually takes the form of rubbing together short blocks of wood,

[1] For rules as to eating the "soul-bird" (an alleged exception), *v.* vol. ii. pp. 4-6.

bamboo, or cane. A common method consists in passing a rattan line round the portion of a dried branch (that of certain kinds of trees can alone be used), and holding the branch down by the foot, whilst the line is rapidly worked to and fro with the hands, until the friction ignites the dust which falls from the wood.

The Semang also not unfrequently supply themselves with fragments of flint and tool-iron, which they carry about with them.

They use as tinder the down-like substance or fluff which gathers about the leaf-bases of palms, and which they also, as has been said, use as a wad in shooting with the blowpipe.

This complete fire apparatus is generally carried on the person, not unfrequently in a small bamboo cylinder.

Perak Semang.—The same remarks apply to the Semang of Perak. De Morgan adds that the bamboo tube in which the fire apparatus is carried is often beautifully decorated (by incised lines). He also states that the Perak Semang obtain their tinder from the sugar-palm[1] ("kabong").[2]

Semang and Pangan.—The Semang hearth consists of a few short logs or sticks, whose ends converge to a common centre. They are laid upon a clear spot of ground, and the fires are allowed to smoulder away gradually, being only "made up" when a bigger fire is required for cooking, though they are kept burning night and day until the encampment changes its ground.

Kedah Semang.—Of roots and fruits it is not only the innocuous kinds that are employed; even poison-

[1] *Arenga saccharifera.*—Ridley. [2] De Morgan, vii. 414.

ous yams and roots are specially treated by the Semang to render them fit for food. For this purpose they are rasped against a prickly stick (a sort of natural "nutmeg grater"),[1] the raspings being mixed with a little lime (slaked with water in a coconut-shell) and worked up with a small spatula of "bĕrtam"[2] palm. Finally they are kneaded by hand into a sort of dough, which is wrapped up in a strip of fresh banana-leaf, slipped into a cleft stick, and slowly roasted over the fire. The yams thus treated are called "kleb" by the Semang, and "ubi kapor" by the Malays. The Semang informed me they were highly poisonous, unless treated as here described.[3]

I noticed a number of these yams ("ubi kapor") in the Semang shelter at Siong in Kedah, where they were inserted between the slats of the roof. Other kinds of yams employed by the tribe in question were the "ubi takob," which is baked; the "ubi tanjong," which is boiled; and "kensē" or tapioca-root, which was no doubt obtained by barter from the Malays, as none was grown in the clearing at Siong.

Perak Semang.—The Perak Semang render the roots of the wild yam edible by means of prolonged fermentation (in the earth?) and by culinary treatment extending over six days.

But the roots of the amorphophallus cannot, it appears, be made edible by any sort of treatment, this latter plant being regarded as furnishing, when mixed with Ipoh, the most deadly kind of poison known to

[1] The prickly stem of a kind of rattan (*Calamus*). [2] *Eugeissona tristis*. [3] It is only *Dioscorea dæmona*, Roxb. (or "gadong"), that requires to be prepared in this way. The other species are harmless.—Ridley.

the tribe, whilst even the contact of the sap with the skin produces considerable irritation.[1]

Meals.

Kedah Semang.—Among the Semang of Kedah the women and girls, after cooking the food, were not allowed to eat any of it until the men and boys of the tribe had finished their repast. At Siong on one occasion I photographed a number of Semang in the middle of a meal. Their food, which they eagerly devoured and obviously enjoyed, consisted of a quantity of rice and some small fowls that I had brought with me,—a sufficient reply to the assertion which has often been made that these tribes are afraid to eat the flesh of any domestic creature. These materials, after cooking, were deposited in separate heaps upon large banana-leaves, and were partaken of first by all the males of the tribe sitting together.

The women could be seen inside the hut waiting quite patiently when their work was done until their lords and masters should have finished their repast.

Stimulants and Narcotics.

Kedah Semang.—Betel-chewing appeared to be very sparingly indulged in by all the Semang tribes that I came across. Occasional instances certainly occur, but the custom is certainly very much more rarely found among the Semang than among the more southern tribes, and their teeth were, as a rule, entirely

[1] De la Croix (quoting Sir H. Low), p. 334. From Mr. L. Wray I learn that in other respects their diet is much the same as that of the Semang of Kedah, with the addition of gourds, pumpkins, chillies, maize, and sweet potatoes.

Skeat.

A. Semang of Kedah rasping yams with prickly stem of young rattan.

Skeat.

B. Pouring lime upon the raspings preparatory to mixing and cooking.

SEMANGS PREPARING POISONOUS YAMS FOR FOOD.

SEMANG OF KEDAH HAVING A MEAL.

Sakai cooking Rice in Bamboo Vessels, Chenderiang (Batang Padang, Perak).

free from the discoloration which necessarily accompanies the custom referred to.[1]

Semang and Pangan—Perak Semang.—On the other hand, both Semang and Pangan (East Semang) are (like all the wild tribes of the Peninsula) inordinately fond of tobacco. They carry it in a small but beautifully decorated bamboo tube, a specimen of which I obtained in Ulu Kelantan. Some of the more civilised tribes are said to grow their own tobacco. Almost invariably, however, they obtain it by barter from the Malays, as do also the Semang of Perak.[2]

II.—Sakai.

Food and its Preparation.

Perak Sakai. — The wilder Sakai tribes (Sakai Bukit), like the Semang, live upon wild tubers, roots, and fruits, together with the flesh of animals and birds that fall victims to the darts shot from their blowpipe. They do not as a rule search for game until everything else fails.[3] They will, however, eat almost any sort of animal food, and the land tortoise is as acceptable to them as to the Karens of Martaban.[4]

To both these classes of food must be added, among the more settled tribes, the produce of their gardens, which includes maize, sugar-cane, tapioca, sweet potatoes, yams, rice, and many plants which can be cultivated as catch crops. A curious fact recorded of them is that they do not make use of salt.[5] This

[1] Mr. L. Wray tells me that in Upper Perak he saw some Semang-Sakai (from the Plus) burning fresh-water shells to make lime for their betel.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. iv. pp. 425, 426.

[3] Hale, p. 295; see also De la Croix, p. 340.

[4] *J. I. A.* vol. iv. p. 430.

[5] *Ib.* vol. iv. p. 429. To this list of plants millet must be added.

has been contradicted by other writers,[1] though it is quite possible that salt, owing to the difficulty of obtaining it, may not be used by some of the wilder tribes, who fear the risks attendant upon barter. The young growing shoots of the giant bamboo ("buluh bětong") are eaten both cooked and raw.[2]

According to M. Lias, the food of the Perak Sakai consists mainly of tapioca-root, yams, sweet potatoes, maize, bananas, poultry, eggs, fish, and game killed by the blowpipe.

"They also," he continues, "eat rats, snakes, monkeys . . .," a Malay said to me, laughing.

But To' Lelå denies it.

"It is not we, the Sakai of Kĕrbu, who eat that, it is the Ulu Burong people."[3]

De Morgan says that they eat the shoots of ferns, palms, bamboos, p'rah-fruit, certain fungi that grow on rotten trees, and yams of every description, together with tapioca (which has been imported in recent times, but the use of which has spread everywhere), sugar-cane, maize, gourds, and water-melons, turmeric, millet, and (half-wild) bananas which have big seeds in them. Kulim leaves are used as seasoning.[4]

Both these accounts, curiously enough, omit to mention the wild fruits which grow in great profusion at certain seasons of the year in the forests of the Peninsula. It would be interesting to know whether the Sakai are less markedly frugivorous than the Semang

[1] L. Wray, *Cave-dwellers*, p. 39. Mr. Wray tells me that the food of the Batang Padang Sakai (and those of the Hills between Kinta and Pahang) agrees with that of the Perak Semang, except that millet is substituted for rice. Frogs and snakes are also eaten, as well as some insects, *e.g.*, the "Buprestes" beetles, which are roasted.

[2] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 21, p. 154.

[3] Brau de S. P. Lias, pp. 279, 280.

[4] De Morgan, viii. 157; *cf. L'Homme*, ii. 713. The Sakai are also said to eat the tuberous roots of *Smilax megacarpa*, De C. Its Malay names are "Akar banau," "Rabanu," "Rabana," "K'luna," and "Lampau Bukit."—Ridley.

or Jakun. But there is no reason to think so, and most probably, like the others, they will eat anything that is not actually poisonous. Thus Mr. L. Wray writes that once, in an evil moment, he was induced by assurances and example of some of the Sakai to eat some pretty apple-like fruit with which a tree growing by the side of the river was laden. The fruit, though pleasant at first, left a very disagreeable after-taste, and he suffered for the remainder of the day with sore mouth and lips. It was a species[1] of the genus *Garcinia*, of which the "gĕlugor" fruit[2] is a well-known and closely allied example.

Mr. Wray first saw, on Gunong Chunam Prah, at a height of 3350 feet (1021 m.), a blackberry which grows amongst the underwood ("blukar") on the old Sakai clearings ("ladang"). The berry was red and long, and had something of the flavour of its English ally. The leaf and method of growth were also very similar. Raspberries[3] were common in the same situations, but the fruit was small and nearly tasteless.[4]

The methods employed by the Sakai for obtaining fire are similar to those used by the Negritos. To procure fire the hill Sakai (Orang Bukit) rub two dry pieces of bamboo together.[5]

In Kinta, according to Hale, every Sakai carries a tinder-box, which, however, he does not use more than he is obliged to do, as the fire of each family is always kept smouldering to prevent its extinction.[6]

Hale's description of the Sakai hearth deserves full quotation. Each family (he writes) and wife . . . had a separate hearth. These hearths are very

[1] Probably *Garcinia Castata*, Hensl.
[2] Mal. "gĕlugor," *i.e. Garcinia atroviridis*.
[3] *Rubus rosæfolius*.
[4] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 21, p. 155.
[5] De la Croix, p. 340.
[6] Hale, p. 294. The Batang Padang Sakai are said to use the fire-drill.—*Fasc. Mal.* 41.

simple constructions; a mat of leaves is spread on the floor, and over this is spread about three inches of earth, and a fire lighted, which once lighted is not allowed to got out. For although every Sakai carries a tinder-box, it is much easier to blow up a smouldering log into a blaze than to rekindle it. Three or four long logs of suitable wood, each about nine inches in diameter, are arranged so that their ends approach the middle of the hearth. A small fire of sticks is lighted in the centre, and the logs keep the fire up for weeks, and as they burn away are drawn gradually into the fire. The burning ends serve to support the saucepans, and the accumulated ashes below to roast tapioca and sweet potatoes in. As there are always several other logs lying about the floor drying so as to be ready for use, it is not very easy to get about without knocking one's shins.[1]

The Sakai generally use earthen cooking vessels, but prefer iron ones when they can get them. Like the Negritos, they have many ingenious methods for the preparation of their food. The wild yam and the "kapayang" fruit[2] ("piyung") are cut into small pieces, cooked, and laid in running water for twenty-four hours to draw the poison out of them.[3]

A similar process is employed in the preparation of the bitter cassava[4] (*Manihot utilissima*).

A yet more curious process described by Hale is to bury such poisonous tubers for days together in one of the swamps in the jungle. After being steeped in this way till they are sodden, they are dug up again and rasped with a prickly shoot of rattan (already

[1] Hale, p. 294.

[2] *Pangium edule.* The husk of the nut is used as a receptacle.—*L'H.* ii. 619.

[3] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 112.

[4] *Sic* Vaughan-Stevens (*ib.*), but according to Mr. H. N. Ridley the bitter cassava is not cultivated in the Peninsula!

Cerruti.

Cerruti.

SAKAI OF ULU SLIM (PERAK).

Making fire by friction, passing bamboo to and fro round stems of

Cooking "p'rah" fruit with flesh of rats and squirrels, which they are

described). The raspings are put into a matwork bag, and the foul-smelling, unwholesome moisture squeezed out of them with a kind of primitive lever. They are then dried over the fire in a green bamboo, and put aside till required for food.[1]

This preparation is said by Hale to be called "koyi" ("koyee"), and will keep good for a month.[2]

The seeds of some trees (such as the "p'rah")[3] are similarly treated; they are put into a matwork bag and buried in swamps sometimes for months together before they are touched. Eventually, however, they are lifted out of the swamp by means of a cord attached to the bag, and are then pounded and squeezed into a bamboo, when they are ready for use. The result is a highly flavoured kind of preserve called by the Malays "sĕrum p'rah," or "p'rah paste," which in spite of its strong odour is yet greatly prized.[4]

The Sakai use rude wooden spice-blocks ("sĕngkalan") for grinding their spices. Not unfrequently part of a bamboo internode is used for the purpose when they are travelling in the jungle. In this way they grind up their salt, chillies, and the other seasonings[5] which they eat with their rice, the latter of which is boiled in an internode of bamboo.[6]

Meals.

Perak Sakai.—Hale says of the Sakai that they have only two regular meals, an early morning breakfast and a midnight supper, but that they were continually having slight snacks of some kind of vegetable

[1] Hale, p. 298.
[2] *Ib.* p. 295.
[3] *Mezzettia leptopoda*, Oliver (Anonaceæ).
[4] Hale, p. 298.
[5] De M. figures a wooden plate (probably used for this purpose) and a bamboo water-vessel.—*L'H.* ii. 619.
[6] L. Wray, *Cave-dwellers*, p. 39.

food (sugar-cane, tapioca, or sweet potatoes) when they happened to be indoors during the daytime.[1]

Stimulants and Narcotics.

Perak Sakai.—Of tobacco and betel the Sakai are exceedingly fond, the leaf of a wild betel ("chambai")[2] being freely taken when no other is obtainable. Both of these habits are probably acquired from the Malays, from whom a Sakai will also occasionally learn to smoke or eat opium.[3]

III.—Jakun.

Food.

Blandas. — There is nothing requiring special comment about the diet of the Blandas, except that it contains less animal food and a larger proportion of

[1] Hale, p. 295.

Vaughan-Stevens states that he had often read that the aborigines (Orang Hutan) relieve themselves from flatulence in any way that they please, without the least notice being taken of it by any of those present, but that this habit is condemned and regarded as "vulgar." Vaughan-Stevens often heard one Sakai reprove another when such a breach of decorum was made, although men only were present. On one occasion an excuse was offered by one of those present on behalf of his comrade, the offender "looking ashamed as he went out." Whenever Vaughan-Stevens asked the Sakai what was their opinion in such a case, they always condemned it very strongly, but suggested that it might have occurred accidentally and unintentionally, by way of apology. The idea that this habit might be regarded (as among the Chinese) as a compliment to the host cannot be entertained, as among the aborigines it would be an insult rather than a compliment. Accidents of the kind may happen from their greedy manner of eating, and if the men appear to take no notice, it is only because they do not wish to attract attention to the mistake which has been made (*Z. f. E.* xxix. 184).

[2] Mr. Ridley writes me that several wild pepper leaves are used as substitutes for the betel-leaf. He has seen Selangor Sakai near Kuala Lumpor cut off long strips of bark from *Piper argenteum*, with the object of chewing them. A portion only of the bark was taken in each case, so that the plant might not be killed.

[3] L. Wray, *Cave-dwellers*, p. 39. Mr. Wray tells me further that the Batang Padang Sakai grow tobacco, drying and cutting but not fermenting the leaves, and wrapping the product in young "palas" leaves.

rice than that of the Semang and Sakai, the Selangor tribe being rather more advanced in matters of cultivation. In Kuala Langat, I have myself frequently seen the latter at their meals (which I have also occasionally shared), when their only food consisted of boiled rice, seasoned with acid fruits ("asam k'lubi" = *Zalacca conferta*) obtained from the jungle.

Food and its Preparation.

Besisi.—A favourite kind of preserve not yet mentioned consists of a paste obtained from the pulp of the durian, which the Besisi bury in the ground for months together until long after it has fermented.

A curious but firmly held belief of the Besisi is that acid fruits must not be eaten with the game killed by their poisoned darts, as to do so will, they imagine, bring out the full symptoms of the poison in those who partake of it.

When cooking such game they generally cut out the part surrounding the puncture caused by the dart.

In some of the songs improvised by the Besisi the various processes employed in the preparation of their game for food are described in detail. The game (if an animal) first has its fur removed by singeing, when the skin is "poked" off, and the carcase quartered and cooked.

The seasonings used are "kulim"[1] leaves, turmeric, and (wild) ginger, leaves of the "kayu k'lat,"[2]

[1] *Sorodocarpus borneensis* (Olacineæ), a large tree, every part of which smells strongly of onions.—Ridley.

[2] A name applied to many species of Eugenia of the section "syzygium," and other trees somewhat resembling them (Myrtaceæ).—Ridley.

"spices" (the precise kind is not mentioned), and "kēsom." [1]

Different kinds of seasoning are mentioned in other songs, especially various kinds of wild pepper, "pĕdas chanchang" [2] and "pĕdas jintan." [3] "Asam k'lubi" [4] is excluded as a seasoning for animals killed with the blowpipe, for the reasons stated above.

The most usual method of making fire among all the branches of the Jakun race (including the Besisi) is by means of flint and steel. Logan, however, mentions a case in which some Jakun produced fire by circular friction, exactly as it is sometimes produced by civilised Malays.[5] The steel consists of a fragment of tool-iron, and is generally wrapped up together with the flint in a piece of cloth and left in the hut during short absences of the owner, or carried on the person (in his "bujam" or matwork pouch) together with the usual palm-fluff tinder.

The commonest type of hearth is the Malay box-hearth, which consists of a shallow box filled with earth, upon which are usually laid, in a triangle, the Malayan firestones, between which a fire of sticks is kindled. Fire-logs, such as are used by the inland Sakai, are, however, often to be seen.

Meals.

Besisi.—As in the case of all the wild tribes, the Besisi men eat before the women. Morning and evening are their special meal-times, but they con-

[1] Probably = "kasum," *Polygonum flaccidum*, Meissn. (Polygonaceæ), a common weed, also called "kalima paya" or "swamp" kalima.—Ridley.

[2] Unidentified.

[3] Cummin, also used by the Malays in making curries.—Ridley.

[4] The fruit of *Zalacca conferta*, Griff.

[5] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 255.

stantly chew sugar-cane, etc., throughout the day, and they do not hesitate to accept an extra meal whenever the opportunity offers. They gorge, in fact, like pythons whenever they get the chance, and are only too willing to sleep it off afterwards. It is, however, only fair to them to say that they do not often get the opportunity of eating to excess, except in the fruit season or at harvest-time. They eat monkeys, rats, snakes, and even crocodiles.

One of their more elaborate banquets, at which I was present, will be described in detail in a later chapter.

Betel-leaf and Tobacco.

Besisi.—The chewing of the betel-leaf is a favourite occupation of the Besisi, who especially affects the wild betel-leaf called "chambai" and the bark from the stem of a creeper called "kālong,"[1] which is, I was told, identical with the stem of the "chambai." I have tasted both, and found that both possessed equally the pungent aromatic flavour of the betel-leaf, and left behind them a sort of roughness of the palate for at least a few minutes after they had been chewed. The Besisi are also extremely fond of tobacco, which is generally smoked in the form of small cigarettes, rolled up in thin coverings of palm-leaf after the Malay fashion, but which is also occasionally chewed.[2]

Food and its Preparation.

Mantra.—Of the Mantra we are told that no kind of food comes amiss, so long as it does not "intoxicate" or poison them.[3]

[1] *Piper caninum.* [2] Skeat in *Sel. Journ.* vol. v. p. 381.
[3] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 254.

According to Logan, the Mantra never eat the flesh of the elephant.[1] The same writer gives a list of no fewer than forty different jungle fruits, all of which the Mantra are in the habit of eating.[2]

Father Barbe has said that if the flesh of monkeys, to which the Mantra are very partial, were not prohibited by the Koran, there is no doubt that the generality of them would have been converted to Islam.[3]

Meals and Tobacco.[4]

The Mantra have three meals—morning, mid-day, and evening.

The Mantra women were much addicted to tobacco, but they did not smoke it.

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[1] Borie (tr. Bourien) says they "eat all that falls into their hands—bears, monkeys, squirrels, rats, deer, birds, and the roots and bulbs which the earth produces in abundance, such as the kaledek, or sweet potato ('kledek'); fruits such as the banana, and the sugar-cane, which serves to satisfy their thirst as well as to nourish them. The maize and rice which they cultivate can only support them four months in the year. To cultivate rice on the mountains it is necessary to cut down the forest, to burn it, and then to sow, which demands more labour than is required for hunting in the forest, where perhaps, too, they may find roots or other vegetable food. The hunting of monkeys and squirrels pleases them more than anything else, and they give themselves up to it with ardour; their labour and fatigue they count as nothing if they can but capture their prey, which they distribute part to their parents, part to their relations, and part to their friends who attend the feast. If they are joined by no one, they first of all burn off (*i.e.* singe) the hair, and then cut up the carcase, and throw the portions into a frying-pan to cook them, when each person proceeds to devour his share silently in the shade" (Borie, pp. 76, 77). Later, M. Borie adds, the Mantra "do not give themselves the trouble of cutting out that part of the flesh which has been pierced by the arrow, and which has a slightly bluish appearance" (p. 78). This is contrary to the usual statements of the Besisi, who maintain that the flesh surrounding the wound ought always to be cut out.

[2] "The fruits used are the tampui, takaro, lari, kandim, kimok, kledang, tampune, kleres, pulasan, rambutan, ramnian, lerang, prah, jireh, kingong, kadumpal, kumpal, binnong, tangkoi, redan, sikrang, ampadil, bangkong, puteh, lonah, kamalun, didalin, mangkapas, jangkang, bombong, luen, kamui, sop, chittong, sippam, lanjut, klissa, lalam, kimoh, sirlang, rumang."—*J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 331*. For identifications, *v.* Ridley's Plant-List (*l.c.*), and other parts of this book.

[3] Barbe, *J. I. A.* vol. v. pp. 487, 488.

[4] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 254, 255.

Food and its Preparation.

Benua-Jakun.—Much of their [the Benua's] food is, according to Logan, derived from fishing, snaring, and hunting, no sorts of flesh being rejected. The ungka, kra, and probably some other species of monkeys, are, according to Logan, used by them as food, but he believes not frequently so, and "although the Malays asserted that snakes were eaten," he could find no corroboration of the statement while amongst the Benua.[1]

According to the same authority, the Benua-Jakun tribes of Johor also make use of a considerable number of fruits and seeds, which they obtain from the forest, and eat either in their raw state or after boiling or roasting them. He mentions the names of no less than sixty-nine of these trees.[2]

In dealing with the subject of fire-making among the Benua-Jakun, Logan remarked that the means of obtaining a light were so simple that there was no occasion to carry fire on their journeys. On his way

[1] Logan, *J. R. A. S.* No. 7, p. 87. Cp. Newbold: "In eating, no dish adorns their table, save occasionally the leaf of the 'sayak' tree, and that of the Biro (? Birah) furnishes their usual drinking-cup. A vessel of clay called 'Tam-mumong' is applied to the purposes of cooking, differing in shape from that used by Malays. The entrails of wild animals are taken out and the hair scraped or singed off before the flesh is boiled. Instead of betel-leaf, they often chew the leaf of a tree called 'kassi,' together with the areca-nut and gambier, but seldom mix them with lime. Tobacco, whenever it can be had, is used to excess, even by women and children."—Newbold, ii. 405, 406; cp. *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 257.

[2] Including several kinds of durian, one with fleshless seeds; the rambutan, the r. gading, r. uban, r. kasumba, rambei, duku, two kinds of manggis (mangostin), bangke, bidara, tampui, marki, lunko-koyo, klueng, bokobaka, bahkon, katian, chaminoi, rampinoi, saun, kampong, sundeh, taban, merpadi, kes, garop, chabet, rameng, palas, gippu, kadundong, kulem, saloi, hukam, tampanoi, pĕtai, kerdas, bluru, blatong, malai, mindaleng, kapas, ridan, ramampas, ramun, jila, ujol, kĕrabu, pahet, kichipo, tikaet, kikai, pinjeng, jiring, kika, buntol, jilibom, mayong, machang, kachang, kirpol, kawe, pakop, tayo, timambun, gungang, dumpa, merlilin, kansil, pilampi.—*J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 258, 259. For identifications, see Ridley's Plant-List, and other parts of this book.

from Pines to the Lenggiu his two guides asked him to allow them to go for a little while to a small deserted gutta-collector's ("taban") hut not far from the path. As their absence was prolonged, and a heavy rain was falling, he went to the hut, and there found them comfortably extended and smoking native cigarettes ("roko'"), and it was only with great difficulty that he could induce them to resume the journey. They had procured a light by making the end of a piece of dry stick revolve rapidly in a small depression which they had made in another stick.[1]

There were usually two fireplaces among the Benua, and they were furnished with the ordinary pots and pans used by the Malays, and had also small supplies of the coarsest Chinese plates and saucers. Water was carried and kept in the shell of a peculiar species of large melon which they cultivate, and which forms a very neat and serviceable, though not durable, jar. The bamboo is converted to the same purpose, but not often. The stem of an "onak"[2] with the [tips of the] thorns broken off formed a strong and very effective grater. This was also used by the northern (?) tribes. Platters made of hard wood, cut into neat shapes and slightly curved, served, in conjunction with a half coconut-shell, to bruise chillies and other condiments. Malays have generally adopted for this purpose a pestle and shallow stone mortar. Most of the condiments were supplied by the Malays, such as

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 254, 255.

[2] "Onak" is the whip-like structure (or "flagellum") which forms the continuation of the midrib of a rattan (or calamus) leaf. It is armed, as a rule, with most formidable (recurved) thorns, and serves as a species of grapnel by which this gigantic creeper hooks itself on to the higher branches of the trees up which it climbs in the jungle. There may be some doubt, however, as to whether this "whip" is ever strong enough to be used for the purpose described, and as "onak" is often mistakenly used for the creeper itself, it is possible that the stem of the *rattan* is all that is here intended.

onions and turmeric, etc. The roots of a cultivated plant were variously prepared. In the time between meals, or when a person came in hungry, they were roasted amongst the embers. For regular meals they were grated down or simply boiled with the addition of hog's grease or vegetable oil.[1]

Meals.

Benua-Jakun.—The whole household ate together, the wife sitting near the fireplace, so as to have the smoking pots and pans within reach. From these she replenished the plates from time to time. From the activity, relish, and high good-humour with which the viands were discussed, it was very apparent that the Benua is blessed with a strong appetite, and looks upon the satisfying of it as the main end of life. The children were in general overfed, and even those who were naturally vivacious seemed with difficulty to resist the lethargic influence consequent on their cramming themselves with potatoes boiled in hog's grease, a kind of food with which their natural nutriment is eked out from the third or fourth day of their existence.[2]

Stimulants and Narcotics.

Benua-Jakun.—The Benua use betel-leaf, but not to excess like the Malays. The gambier, betel-nut, and lime which are eaten with it they, like other aborigines, obtain from the Malays. Their favourite luxury was tobacco, in which both sexes freely indulged. The women were often to be seen seated together and weaving mats, each with a native cigarette ("roko'") in her mouth. While they were speaking it was trans-

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 254.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 266, 267.

ferred to the perforation in the ear. When they were met paddling their canoes, the "roko'" was seldom wanting.[1]

Articles of Diet.

Berembun Tribes.—Snakes (as well as the ungka, kra, and some other species of monkeys)[2] were used as food by the Berembun tribes, who employed dogs to discover them. Those principally sought were pythons (*e.g.* the ular sawa and u. sawa rĕndam, cobra (u. tĕdong), and others which are unidentified, *e.g.* u. ipong, u. naga, u. gasing, u. ripung, u. ulabat, u. ringkup, u. siu, u. manan, and u. kamong. The pythons (sawa) and ripung were the best flavoured. They all possessed "a fishy taste." Several kinds of snakes, even if the teeth are carefully removed, like those of the preceding species, cannot be used, the aborigines asserting that their flesh is poisonous.[3]

The Berembun tribes use wooden platters and coconut-shells (for grinding their condiments) like the Benua (and the Javanese). They also employ either large bamboos or the shell of a particular species of large melon for carrying water.[4]

Food and its Preparation.

Jakun of Johor.—The food of the Jakun differs in no way from that of the other semi-civilised tribes already referred to. I may mention, however, that they have grown so used to rice that they cannot do without it, and probably first began to cultivate it more than forty years ago.[5]

Tapioca-root appears, however, to be the staple

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 254, 255.
[2] Cp. p. 127 (of the Benua-Jakun).
[3] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 257.
[4] *Ib.* p. 254.
[5] See Hervey in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 8, p. 122.

diet of the Jakun living near Batu Gajah in Johor, for, according to H. W. Lake, although they also eat fruits and fish, with a little rice which they obtain, together with salt and tobacco, from Malay traders in exchange for rattan ("rotan"), resin or "dammar," gutta ("gĕtah"), and camphor wood, they nevertheless mainly subsist on the root of the tapioca. He was further informed by the Batin that during the greater part of the year, when they disperse in search of jungle fruits, these people live entirely on tapioca-root ("ubi kayu") and fruit.[1]

On the other hand, Favre, writing of the food eaten by the Jakun in general, emphasised the fact that they had no regular diet. They liked good food, but when they were deprived of it they eat with satisfaction any other, even such food as would be an object of horror to civilised people. They lived upon the flesh of every kind of animal—snakes, monkeys, bears, tigers, birds, etc., whilst yams, plantains, wild fruits, the leaves of trees, and certain roots furnished the principal part of their ordinary food. Those of them who cultivated rice sold a part of it to the Malays, or exchanged it for cloth, and upon the remainder they lived for a few months in the year. They did not dislike the flesh of domestic animals, fowls, etc., but, on the contrary, they preferred it to that of wild animals. At several of their houses there was a good quantity of fowls. Sometimes they cooked the flesh before they ate it, but at other times they ate it raw; some merely put the animal upon the fire till the hairs were singed, when they considered it "cooked." Favre saw some large monkeys which, after having been "cooked" in this very fashion, were

[1] H. W. Lake in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 25, p. 3.

dished up upon a kind of mat as a meal to some seven or eight persons, who speedily devoured the whole in a few minutes, leaving only the skeleton. In eating they used no dish; an iron frying-pan served for cooking, plantain leaves served as plates, and some coconut-shells formed their usual drinking-cups. Some Jakun tribes[1] refused to eat the flesh of elephants, under the pretext that it would occasion sickness, but many others were "not so scrupulous." When an elephant was killed either by themselves or by the Malays, they called together their friends and relatives to partake of the large entertainment which was prepared; and then built huts in which to lodge their guests until the animal which furnished the feast was entirely finished, when every one decamped and returned to his usual way of living. When the durian season was come, a good number of Jakun families left their houses, both men and women as well as children repairing to the places where the durian trees grew. They then cleared the ground in order to find the fruit more easily when it ripened and fell, and, dwelling in a small shelter built of leaves, "prepared themselves to enjoy the treat that nature presented to them." For six weeks or two months they ate nothing but durians. When the season was over the place was deserted till the proper season next year.[2]

Favre further observes that "one of their most prized dishes is a honeycomb," and "let it be said with due respect to the opinion of our European cooks, the time when the honey is in the comb is not (amongst these epicures of nature) considered the

[1] Favre writes: "Plusieurs *tribus* de Benuas" (*A. P. F.* xxii. 303); but totemism need not be hence inferred.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. pp. 260, 261; cp. also vol. i. pp. 254-260.

proper moment to take the hive; but they wait until the small bees are well formed in the cells, and a few days before they are ready to fly away, the honeycomb is taken with great care, and, wrapped up in a plantain leaf, is put upon the fire for a few minutes, when wax and animals are devoured together, and considered as an uncommon treat!"[1]

Jakun (unspecified). — According to Vaughan-Stevens, the Jakun were in the habit of using for drinking purposes either "some sort of cup" or a leaf if nothing else were obtainable.[2]

The same authority informs us that the Jakun on their wanderings always carried the smouldering end of a rope made of tree-bark fibre.[3]

The ceremonial method used by the Jakun for kindling fire will be described in detail in a later chapter.

Stimulants and Narcotics.

Finally Favre states of the Jakun that they were in the habit of chewing betel-leaf together with its usual accompaniment of areca-nut and gambier, and that when they were unable to procure the betel-leaf they used the leaf of a tree called "kasi."[4] Tobacco, when it was procurable, was much used, even by women and children, both for smoking and chewing.[5]

Udai.—Of the Udai our information is of the scantiest, all we are told being contained in a sentence by Newbold, to the effect that "they (the Udai) subsist on the flesh of the animals they catch, on wild roots, and on fruits of the forest."[6]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 261.
[2] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 184.
[3] *Ib.* xxviii. 168.
[4] *Gomphia Hookeri*, Planch.
[5] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 261; see also vol. i. p. 255.
[6] Newbold, ii. 381, 382.

Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.

Orang Laut, Sletar.—The food of the Orang Laut or sea tribes appears to have differed very little from that of the land tribes (Orang Bukit), though doubtless it included much more fish than that of the latter. We are told of the O. Sletar that the satisfying of hunger was their only pursuit, of water they had abundance without having to search for it; with the "serkap" or fish-spear, and the "parang" or chopper as their only implements, they eked out their existence from the stores of the river and forest. To them the staple of life in the East, rice, was a luxury; tobacco they procured by the barter of fish and a few marketable products collected from the forests and coral reefs. Of esculent roots they had the "prioh" and "kalana,"[1] both bulbous and not unlike coarse yams; of fruits they ate the "tampoi,"[2] "kledang,"[3] and "buroh," when they came in season; and of animals they hunted the wild hog, but refrained from snakes, dogs, "iguanas," and monkeys. This formed their principal food, for many minor products of the forests and creeks must be left unmentioned.[4]

O. Laut, Sabimba.—The Sabimba, when visited by Logan, planted no vegetables of any kind, but used such leaves, roots, and fruits as the forest afforded.[5] They ate the flesh of every forest animal which they could

[1] *Dioscorea deflexa*, Hook. The "akar kakap" (*Dioscorea orbiculata*) is also eaten.—Ridley.

[2] *Baccaurea Malayana.*

[3] *Artocarpus lanceæfolius.*

[4] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 343*.

[5] *E.g.* the "akar kalana" [*Diosc. deflexa*], "simapo" [? *Simpoh Dillenia* spp., of which the acid fruit is eaten], "ajas," "anpiro," "katapa" [? "katapang" = *Terminalia catappa*, L.], the cabbage ("umut") of the nibong palm [*Oncosperma Tigillaria*], and the fruit of the "tampoi," "maneling," "pancho," "kabes," "ridan" [*Nephelium glabrum*, Noronh.], "kadumpa" [? "kadampang" = *Sterculia parviflora*, Roxb.], "ranjas," "mangos utan" [*Mangifera* spp.], "klēdang," "pasal" [*Ardisia odontophylla*], "durian" [*Durio zibethinus*, L.], "lakup," "pakala," "tore."—*J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 296.

kill, and when brought in contact from time to time with more civilised people, showed no objection to any kind of food, save the fowl, which they scrupulously avoided. The wild animals and birds eaten were the wild pig,[1] mouse-deer or chevrotain[2] ("plandok"), the monkeys called "k'ra"[3] and "lotong,"[4] the civet-cat[5] ("musang"), the squirrel ("tupai"), "kubong,"[6] monitor lizard[7] ("bewak"), "malok," imperial pigeon ("pergam"), "kalongkang," "koko," mynah bird[8] ("tiong"), green pigeon[9] ("punai"), the oil of snakes, and many kinds of fish. The roe-deer[10] ("kijang"), the sambhur deer ("rusa"), elephant, and bear are not found in Battam. Flesh of all kinds was cooked by the men, vegetables by the women.[11]

Another observer of the Sabimba (Thomson), who visited them shortly after Logan, tells us that their food consisted of rice as the staple article, but that they added to this the flesh of the hog, monkey, snake, and ape, and birds of all kinds excepting that of the fowl, for the reasons stated in Logan's paper. Their vegetables consisted of the wild fruits of the jungle. This tribe was much more helpless than the Orang Sletar, being entirely dependent on the Malays for their arms and for the greater part of their food. They were unacquainted with the brewing of inebriating liquors, though they informed Thomson that their tribe formerly possessed the art. In their habits they were, therefore, as temperate as the Malays.[12]

O. Laut, Muka Kuning.—Of the diet of the Orang

[1] *Sus indicus.*
[2] *Tragulus napu* and *Tragulus kanchil.*
[3] *Macacus cynomolgus.*
[4] *Semnopithecus.*
[5] *Paradoxurus* and *Viverra.*
[6] *Galeopithecus*—the flying squirrel.
[7] *Hydrosaurus salvator.*
[8] *Mainatus javanensis.*
[9] *Osmatreron vernans.*
[10] *Cervulus muntjac.*
[11] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 296.
[12] *Ib.* p. 347.

Muka Kuning all that we know is contained in the following passage: "The articles of food which they derive from the forest are the same animals and vegetables that are used by the Orang Sabimba (see pp. 134, 135). As with the Sabimba, the fowl is forbidden food."[1]

O. Laut (tribe unspecified). — Thomson found, at Pulau Tinggi (off the east coast of Johor), a number of O. Laut who had been attracted thither by a plentiful crop of durians. Six boats from Mora, an island of the Johor Archipelago (about 50 miles N. lat.), he found on their way to P. Tinggi; they had travelled by sea *one hundred and eighty miles* to partake of this fascinating fruit.[2]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 337*.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 140.

CHAPTER II.

Dress.

Although it has been more than once asserted[1] that the wild people of the Peninsula are accustomed to go entirely nude, I have hitherto failed to get any satisfactory first-hand proof of this. On the other hand, the fact that any such custom is invariably denied by the wild people themselves, is by no means conclusive, and the matter must, at least, await further investigation. The Semang of Kedah, for instance, strenuously denied it, and it was not alleged of them even by the neighbouring Malays. There is no more proof of the practice obtaining in the case of the Sakai than there is in that of the Semang, and with regard to the Jakun of the south, the opposite view has been strongly set forth by Logan. The fact that the *children*, up to the age of puberty, are allowed to run about un-

[1] Cp., *e.g.*, Bradley, pp. 294, 295: "The pitiable objects before us were completely naked, both men and women." [Bradley, however, was a bad observer from a scientific point of view.] But see Logan's remark in *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 252, 253: "With the exception of one house, where the mistress lay in a corner and appeared to be, like her husband, totally destitute of clothes, I found the women everywhere wearing a short 'sarong.'" It does not appear from this statement that there was anything amounting to a *custom* among the Benua of going totally nude, and it is possible that the impression may have got about from a few similarly isolated instances, for which there was, doubtless, some special reason. See Favre in *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 258, where this view is advocated. Cp., on the other hand, Swettenham, p. 228: "Their clothing, *when they wear any*, consists," etc.

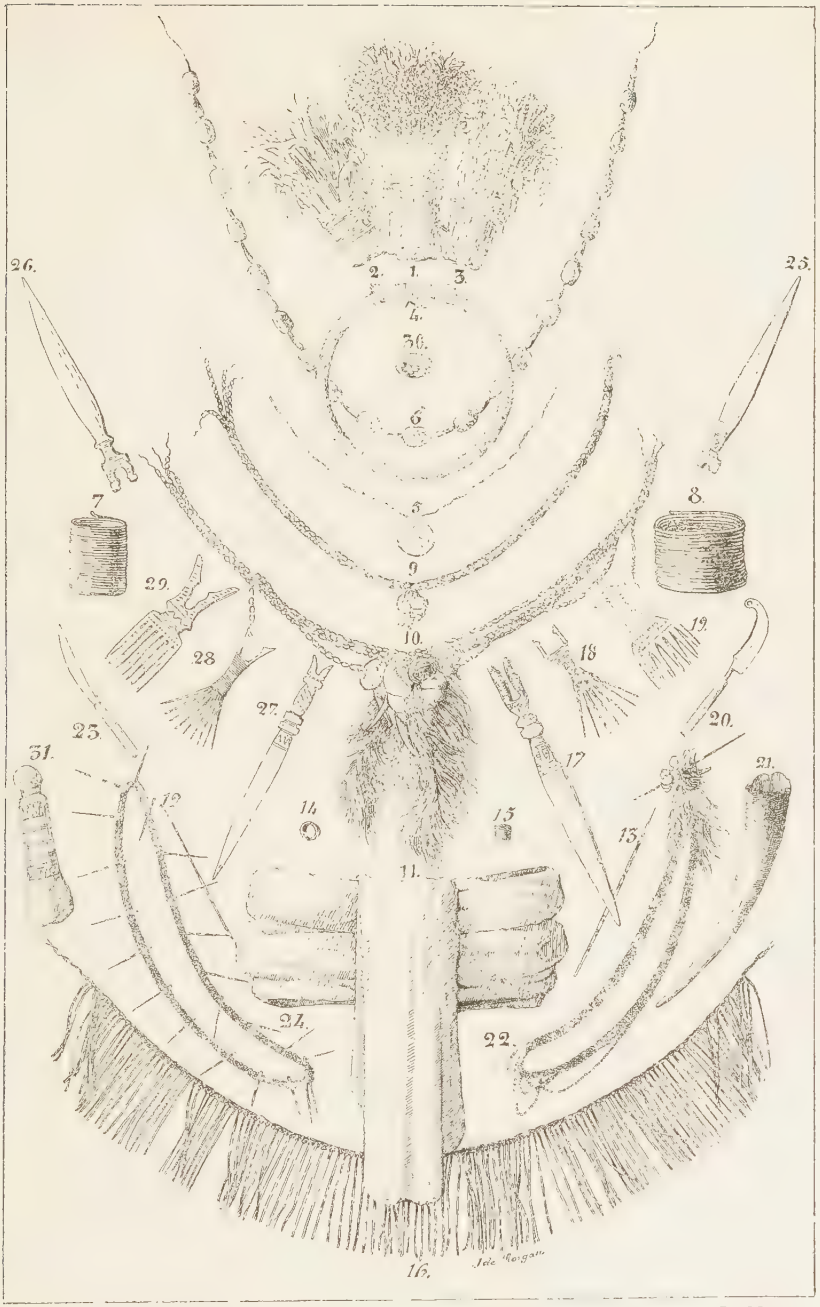
dressed does not of course imply that the grown-up people do so.

Before entering upon a description of the dress worn by the various tribes, I should like to point out the remarkable fact that none of the wild tribes of the Peninsula, so far as has been observed, are in the habit of dressing themselves in the skins of animals, or of decorating themselves with the feathers of birds. In both respects they appear to obey what seems to have been an ancient and general prejudice (possibly of religious origin) on the part of the tribes of South-East Asia, and in this regard they present a strong contrast to the bulk of the inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago. This neglect is certainly not due to the lack of opportunity, since the Malay Peninsula is probably little, if at all, worse off from a zoological point of view than any of the islands of Netherlands India.

The Girdle.

In the matter of dress, the girdles worn by the three main races form one of the most interesting subjects of inquiry. It is not easy to determine for certain which of the various forms of girdle are of Sakai and which of Semang origin, but there certainly appears to be a strong affinity of type between the Semang fungus-string girdle [1] and some forms of girdle worn by the Andamanese. Moreover, this form of girdle appears only to be found among fairly pure Semang, and among such tribes as the N. Perak Sakai (who are neighbours to the Semang, and have a strong infusion

[1] Professor M. Ward, who has kindly examined my specimens under the microscope, informed me that from its structure this so-called "Rock-vein Creeper" can only be the rhizomorph of a kind of fungus.



De Morgan.

NEGRITO DRESS AND ARTICLES OF APPAREL.

1, 2, 3. "Bouquets" worn in the hair by Sakai (*sic*) woman (No. 1 is wrapped in a painted leaf). 4. Head-circlet or "diadem." 5, 6, 9, 10, 22, 24. Necklaces with pendants of shells, etc. (No. 6 of "buprestes"-legs threaded like beads; No. 10 with squirrels' tails, etc.; the shells so used are *Hybocystis elephas, Jousseaumei, Cyclophorus Malayanus, C semisulcatus*, etc.). 7, 8. Bracelets of coiled wire. 14, 15, 30. Two rings of coiled brass wire, and one [No. 30] of woven rattan. 16. Girdle. 11. Loin-cloth. 12, 13. Nose-quills (or "nose-pins"). 18, 19, 28, 29. Combs (Nos. 18, 28 used for pinning flowers, etc., into the hair; Nos. 19, 29 of wood). 17, 25, 26, 27. Bamboo hair-pins. 20, 23. Knives. 21, 31. Vessels of bone and of wild-goat's horn.

Vol. I. p. 138.

Skeat Collection.

SEMANG DRESS.

1, 2. Two Pangan leaf-ornaments (Ulu Aring, Kelantan).
3. One Pangan ear-ornament of rolled strips of palm-leaf (Ulu Aring).
4. Pangan woman's leaf-ornament worn as bandolier (Ulu Aring)—leaves and strips of palm leaf strung upon black fungus-strings.

of Semang blood), whereas it is not recorded among *pur-sang* Sakai in other parts of the country remote from Negrito influence. Hence there can be no reasonable doubt that this form of girdle should be assigned to the Semang tribes rather than to the Sakai.[1]

Another form of waist-belt which seems possibly derived from Negrito sources is that consisting of a fringe[2] of leaves suspended from a string, such as is said to be worn by the wilder Negritos (*e.g.* the Pangan).[3] It occurs, sporadically, among the Perak Sakai (of G. Bujang Malaka), and also among the Mantra of Malacca, in both of which cases it might consequently be regarded as an interesting survival of Negrito culture among the more southern tribes.

The original Sakai type of girdle has not yet been identified, and in the present state of our knowledge it is probably not identifiable with any certainty. There only remain, in fact, for us to choose between the girdle of coiled cane[4] and the bark-cloth girdle. But both of these girdle-types reappear among the

[1] Cp. Man's *And.*, *l.c.* p. 181: "Garenpēta, the ornamental waist-belt of *Dentalium octagonum* which is worn occasionally by both sexes" (cp. *ib.* Plate vii. Fig. 35).

[2] Or fringes (*v. infra*); it would appear that a string with the leaves attached is considered sufficient in the case of men, but that several rows of these fringes are worn by the women.

[3] Man's *And.*, *l.c.* 109: "The males of this tribe (Jārawa) wear round their heads, waists, knees, and arms, fringes of string attached to a cord or cane." And cp. *ib.* p. 110 (note): "The Jārawa women have hitherto been seen with only armlets and cinctures of string, to which a few short fibres were attached, obviously only for ornamental purposes."

[4] The late Mr. J. E. Peall, F.R.G.S., in the course of some notes on the Malayo-Polynesian theory (*J. R. G. S.* vol. iv. p. 241), says: "At page 293, note 100, of the *Journal* (vol. iv. ?), I see the waist-girdle, 'rua-rua,' mentioned. Coiled cane waist-girdles are common among most of our ultra-Indian races, for men and also for women. Baupa Nogas (*sic* ?) call them ru-pak, usually a long split cane [is used], coiled eight or ten times round the waist; chiefs have very ornamental ones, with patterns in coloured seeds and trade beads; an exceptionally rare kind has thin plates of brass on, and is called a *ra rong ru-pak*. A monograph of the cane-girdle as seen from the Himalayas to Eastern Polynesia would reveal some startling affinities."

Jakun, and indeed among other aboriginal tribes with Malayan affinities, *e.g.* among those of Sumatra and Borneo. This question, therefore, must also await further inquiry.

The girdle of bark-cloth is so well-known and so widely spread throughout S.E. Asia, the Malay Archipelago, and the Pacific Islands, that a very few words about it should here suffice. The finest and best-known variety of this cloth is the "tapa" cloth of Polynesia. The cloth made by the tribes of the Malay Peninsula is, as a rule, more roughly manufactured, though some very good cloth, decorated with zigzag patterns, is made in Perak. An interesting point is that the grooving or toothing of the bark-cloth mallet used by some of the Jakun runs longitudinally instead of transversely as in specimens from Rotuma.[1]

Ligatures.

The bands or ligatures worn by the aborigines round the upper part of the arm, the wrist, and just below the knee, were doubtless originally employed, as in other parts of the world, for a practical object, viz. to strengthen the muscles and prevent strains, the risk of which must be constantly present to the mind of a jungle people. It would appear just possible that even the use of the girdle, more especially that of coiled cane, may perhaps, in some cases, have had an equally utilitarian origin. On the other hand, this explanation can hardly apply to the necklace, or to rings, so that one key will certainly not fit all the locks. The necklaces worn by these Peninsular tribes, and I think also the rings, are certainly worn for

[1] Cp. p. 389, *infra*. I have to thank Mr. J. Stanley Gardiner for pointing this out.

medical, or rather for magico-medical reasons, as are the combs of the Semang and of the Semang-Sakai women. I myself was definitely told this on several occasions both by the Semang and Jakun, and it agrees with the observations of other travellers in the same region.

Thus, for instance, the Sakai of Kampong Langkor (S. Kerbu) believed in the ubiquitous presence of evil spirits (Hantu), against whose evil intentions they protected themselves by means of charms worn, in the forms referred to, upon their persons. Their bracelets, rings, and copper ornaments were, in fact, nothing but talismans, as De la Croix discovered in the following way :—A young girl who had disposed of her seed necklace to him came back in a hurry to ask for it to be returned. He thought she was not satisfied with her bargain, and was about to give her some knick-knack or other in addition, when she informed him that all she wanted back was the set of small spirals of copper-wire attached to the necklace. In spite of the most extravagant offers of tobacco, which certainly ought to have persuaded her, she would not allow him to retain the spirals, and evidently attributed a far greater value to them than could be accounted for by the mere worth of the copper. De la Croix subsequently asked the chief of the tribe (Bah Itam) about it, and the latter told him, with evident conviction, that the girl would certainly fall ill if she ceased to wear these metal rings.[1]

[1] De la Croix, p. 338. See, too, the necklace described by Vaughan-Stevens, p. 153, *infra*. This magical use of necklaces and other ligatures may also apply to the girdle.

I.—Semang.

The Girdle.

Kedah Semang.—By far the most remarkable and becoming form of girdle worn by any of these tribes, and one which appears, as has been said, to be of typically Semang origin (though occasionally found among the Sakai and even the Malays of Perak), was the girdle made from the long black glossy strings of a fungus (called in Malay the "Rock-vein Creeper").[1] These fungus girdles were of elaborate workmanship, the strings of the rhizomorph being most beautifully woven into a long narrow plait which was coiled round and round until it formed a girdle of the requisite shape and size, the loose ends forming a handsome fringe. This girdle was rarely worn by men, but more frequently by women, and it was from these latter that I obtained the specimens now in the Cambridge Museum.

A yet simpler form of personal attire worn by the men of these Semang tribes as well as by the Sakai consists of a simple waist-cord or string into which leaves are inserted to form a fringe. The leaves generally used are those of the "chālong" tree or the "kĕlawē."

Even when the Semang were wearing the Malay "sarong" they still frequently retained this string underneath it, either from the mere force of habit or for reasons connected with their belief in Magic. In such a case, however, the leaves were more conveniently omitted, and the string alone retained.

A similar leaf-belt was also sometimes worn by

[1] Mal. "akar" or "urat batu," *i.e.* "Rock-creeper" or "Rock-vein Creeper."

Skeat Collection.

SEMANG AND PANGAN GIRDLES.

1. Man's girdle of tree bark (*Artocarpus*) (Ulu Aring). 2. Black fungus-string woman's girdle, bought from owner (Siong). 3. Girdle of Pangan woman (Kuala Sam, Kelantan river). 4. Woman's string-girdle of jungle fibre (Siong).

Skeat Collection.

FUNGUS-STRING GIRDLE OF SEMANG WOMAN (KEDAH).

Bought from the wearer.

Skeat Collection.

SEED AND TOOTH NECKLACE OF SEMANG WOMAN (KEDAH).

Bought from the wearer.

the women, whilst the boys, as a rule, wore the string or cord in all its simplicity. It was made, as a rule, either of twisted strips of palm-fibre (*Eugeissona tristis* or "bĕrtam"), or of the long black strings of the Rock-vein fungus ("akar batu") already mentioned.

The Semang of Kedah, however, most commonly wore the ordinary (Malayan?) loin-cloth, which consists, in its most primitive form, of a long narrow strip of beaten tree-bark or cloth, one end of which is wrapped round the waist, the other (loose) end being passed between the legs and tucked in through the part which serves as a girdle, with the free part hanging down in front. This bark loin-cloth, however, was not at all common among the Kedah tribes, the men preferring to use the cloth variety, which they obtained by barter from the Malays. In default they occasionally utilised the bark of the *Artocarpus* or, preferably, a finer cloth manufactured from the bark of young saplings of the *Antiaris* or "upas" tree.[1] The most usual attire of these Kedah women was a cloth waist-wrap reaching to the knee.

Pangan.—The Pangan of the Bĕlimbing district in Ulu Kelantan were said to make their loin-cloths from the bark of a species of *Ficus* ("ara"), as well as from that of the "upas" tree and the *Artocarpus*. A girdle of coiled cane with a fringe of leaves was also worn by the Pangan women,[2] if not by the men, in the Ulu Kelantan (S. Sam) district.

[1] De M.'s unnecessarily vehement *démenti* is due, no doubt, to his not having *seen* it.

[2] I give the following in a footnote as, though it is certainly Pangan, there is nothing to show its locality :—"The remainder of the costume of the women consists of a number of thin and sometimes red-coloured rattans (*Calamus*), which form a girdle round the waist as thick as the arm. They also wear a piece of bast or cotton stuff, fastened in front, drawn through between the legs, and then tied to the girdle behind. Fig. 2 (Plate ii.) shows a Sakai (*sic*, *recte* Pangan) lady in her daily costume, drawn from nature."—M.-Maclay in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 2, p. 214.

Perak Semang. — The clothing of the Perak Semang is similar to that of the Negritos of Kedah.[1]

As they have no manufactures of their own, their clothing consists chiefly of the inner bark of trees. A few, however, who venture to approach the Malayan villages obtain a little cloth in exchange for various kinds of jungle produce.[2]

Necklaces.

Kedah Semang.—The simplest form of necklace worn by the Semang in Kedah took the form of a simple neck-string or ligature either of the "Rock-vein" fungus or of fibre of the "bĕrtam" palm (*Eugeissona*), and was sometimes further embellished by stringing upon it the leaves of certain trees in alternation with knots of palm-leaf (*Licuala*). It was therefore, in fact, made on the same principle as the simplest form of girdle.

More elaborate necklaces were, however, frequently worn. These consisted of two or more strings which were fastened together at a single point, and on which were threaded various small trophies of the chase, small wild roots, fruits, seeds, and other objects, all of which appear to be commonly worn for magical reasons.

One of these more elaborate necklaces, which I obtained from the Semang of Kedah, consisted of a double string on which were threaded the teeth of an ape (Siamang), a number of minute bundles of fragrant grass, a couple of bear's (?) teeth, a number of small flat beans, and a couple of small buttons of

[1] De Morgan, vii. 412; cp. Swett. p. 228.
[2] *J. I. A.* vol. iv. pp. 425, 426.

European manufacture, the latter being evidently regarded as objects of no small value!

Perak Semang. — The necklaces (of the Perak Negritos) consist of a series of chains of black and white seeds, alternately arranged and fastened together in a bunch. Some of these are very small, others as big as the closed fist.[1]

To these strings are attached hunting and fishing trophies consisting of the teeth or bones of animals, tufts of squirrels' tails, big fish-scales, and so forth, together with shells of the genus Bulimus and Hybocystis, or sea-shells of various sorts (but not Helix nor Cyclophorus, which are common in these forests). These shells are filled with a perfume extracted from trees.[2]

The green legs of a beetle (*Buprestes*) are sometimes but very rarely inserted between the seeds.[3] Whenever they can get coins, the Negritos wear them on their necklaces. De Morgan saw them wearing dollars, copper coins, and even Dutch coins of the seventeenth century.[4]

Ligatures (Armlets and Bracelets).

Kedah Semang.—In addition to girdles and necklaces, the Semang of Kedah almost all wore armlets, bracelets, and knee-bands, which were usually made, like their girdles and necklaces, from jungle-fibre, and very much upon the same principle.

These ligatures were usually made, in Kedah, of

[1] De Morgan, vii. 413. It must be remembered that he is writing of mixed Semang-Sakai tribes, and does not apparently distinguish between Sakai and Semang necklaces. The black and white arrangement is not found among the purer Semang or Jakun, and is doubtless Sakai.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] De Morgan, vii. 414. Cp. Swett. p. 228: "The women (Semang) wear strings of brass rings, boars' or squirrels' teeth, beads or beetles' legs, and coins when they can get them."

twisted fibre obtained from the "bĕrtam" palm (*Eugeissona*). Sometimes, however, they were made of finely plaited strips of rattan (*Calamus*), or of the strings of the "Rock-vein" fungus. Metal armlets and rings were, however, worn in a few cases, but these are more commonly found among tribes who mix more freely with the Malays. I never saw any armlets with European beads among the Semang of Kedah.

The foregoing remarks apply equally to the Pangan of Kelantan.

Perak Semang.—The bead-armlets or ligatures worn by the Semang of Perak were frequently made on the same plan as their necklaces (*i.e.* of black and white seeds strung alternately). Ordinarily they were very narrow, but in some cases they were very broad and covered a large portion of the arm.[1]

Semang (of Perak ?).—The women wore, by way of a charm, bracelets made from the leaves of the "palas" (*Licuala peltata*), the men bracelets of the Rock-vein Creeper (the plant called "Tam-tum") fitting tightly to the left wrist. These bracelets are called "Chin-ing-neng."[2]

Head-dress—Men's.

Kedah Semang.—Among the Semang at Siong some of the men were wearing short woolly hair forming small spiral clusters close to the scalp. Most, however, had adopted the fashion of shaving the head, which is found among other branches of the Negrito race (*e.g.* the Andamanese), as well as, frequently, among the local Malays.

None of the men that I saw were in the habit of

[1] De Morgan, vii. 413. [2] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 126.

wearing anything on their heads, though several made a rough kind of turban out of some strips of bright red cloth that I had given them, and in this guise strutted about for all the world like great turkey-cocks!

On special occasions they bound their heads with fillets of palm-leaf, and for protection against various diseases special head-dresses were used, which will be described later. Flowers are also worn "for dandy."

The (Malayan ?) top-knot was worn by some of the boys, but not by any of the men that I saw, though Vaughan-Stevens says that he saw men wearing it.

Perak Semang.—Vaughan-Stevens'[1] account of the top-knot worn by the Perak Semang is as follows :—

Some of the Perak men leave a tuft—at the frontal end of the scalp,—but this is adopted from the Battaks (*sic*), who cut their hair into all sorts of shapes. Nothing is known why this tuft is left. "Plĕ's orders" [Plĕ, a deity of the Semang tribes, brother of Karih] is the only reply they give. Each of the tufts was taken from a man of about thirty years of age, whose hair had never been cut before, and had ceased growing. They were not tied in any way while on the head and were cut off for me readily without demur. . . . When the hair of the rest of the scalp has been left for a long time without cutting, the tuft cannot be distinguished from the rest of the hair. The exact position of the tuft varies slightly in different men, by about 20 or 25 mm. either to the front or back, but always in the median line.

When the hair (as a whole) is not cut for a long time, the tuft shows the "pepper-corn" character with increased distinctness, it being in that case less disturbed by the leaves and twigs through which the Semang passes. The tuft, when left to itself, gets more or less combed out from its isolated position.

The Beard.

Kedah Semang.—In one or two cases only did I see Kedah Semang with anything approaching a

[1] In the same passage we are told that the E. Semang (Pangan) men cut off their hair as close to the scalp as the jungle-knife (parang) will allow, partly for coolness' sake and partly for cleanliness. But they left a small tuft, at the top of the occiput, which they did not cut. Vaughan-Stevens continues: "Two of these little tufts — called 'Bag-i'—I now send cut off close to the skin, complete. One belonged to an Eastern Semang (Pangan) of unmixed blood (No. 56), and the other to the much-mixed Perak Semang (No. 55). . . . The 'pepper-corn' character is best shown some six months (*sic*) after cutting, when the spirals lie only from 5 to 10 mm. above the scalp. I gave each of the men furnishing specimens 55 and 56 a high cap which I made them wear for a week, so as to allow the hair to assume its normal shape before cutting it. And I kept both men near me for that time." (From Fasc. A. fol. 29; Vaughan-Stevens in *V. B. G. A.* vol. xxiv. pp. 440, 441.)

beard, their chin-hairs as a rule being few, straggling, and scanty. Yet in one case I saw a Semang with a real beard, which, though very short, grew in closely curled spirals, presenting a woolly appearance, exactly like the owner's hair. On the other hand, most of the grown men had slight black moustaches.

Pangan.—The wild pure-blood Eastern Semang (Pangan) "plucks out his scrubby little beard, but tries to retain the moustache," in order, we are told, that he may be "distinguished from a woman" (!)[1]

Head-dress—Women's.

Kedah Semang.—The women's hair usually grew longer than the men's, and was in some cases allowed to grow (apparently uncared for) in a species of curly mop.[2] This, however, was probably in the case of women who had some proportion of Sakai blood in their veins. In several cases the women, as well as the men, had partially shaved the head, the women always leaving, however, a circular patch at the back of the head, and a thin fringe on the forehead untouched.

Several of them were wearing the magic combs which they employ as a safeguard against diseases, and several of them too, probably with a view to receiving "company," had bound their heads with the *Licuala*-leaf fillets usually reserved for special occasions.

The following were some of the forms of head-dress employed by the Semang women :—

a. An oval shaven patch on top of head.
b. A rectangular shaven patch on top of head.
c. Quill-like plant shoots worn like horns in the hair.

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 179. The absurdity of the explanation given by Vaughan-Stevens, as purporting to come from a race who habitually go *bare to the waist*, is so obvious as to scarcely need pointing out.

[2] Among these was the chief's wife.

Wray.

SEMANG WITH GIRDLES OF MALAY CLOTH.

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Skeat Collection.

SEMANG COMBS.

1, 2. Two West Negrito (Semang of Kedah), said to be worn as charms—old well-worn specimens bought off the head of the wearers.
3. One E. Negrito (Pangan) obtained from Ulu Aring, Kelantan.
4, 5. Two obtained by Grubauer in Upper Perak.—Presented to Cambridge Museum by Ridgeway.

In the method of dressing the hair represented by *a*, three fillets of *Licuala*-leaf were used. One of these was carried from ear to ear over the top of the head, and the other two from ear to ear over the back of the head, the one just above and the other just below the clump of untouched hair covering the back of the head.

In *b*, a single fillet was used, which was carried all round the edges of the clump at the back of the head only. In *c*, the horns consisted of the quill-like growing shoots of the *Lowia grandiflora* ("sulur lobak"), and were worn for magical purposes. Another woman had bound her head with a fishing line, using the hook as a fastening.

Magic Combs.

Kedah Semang.—In addition to the various forms of head-dress mentioned, some of which are common to both sexes, the Semang women wore in their hair a remarkable kind of comb, which appears to be worn entirely as a charm against diseases.

These combs were almost invariably made of bamboo (an average specimen measuring perhaps three inches by five), and were decorated with an infinite variety of designs, no two of which ever entirely agreed. It was said that each disease had its appropriate pattern, and hence in some cases several combs were worn simultaneously, apparently to protect the wearer against several diseases at once.

Similar combs are worn by the Pangan, the Semang and Sakai of Perak, and most of the mixed (Semang-Sakai) tribes, *e.g.* the O. Jelei of Pahang.

Their patterns and magical significance will be fully described in a later chapter.

Nose-sticks and Earrings.

Kedah Semang.—The custom of wearing a stick through the septum of the nose was not practised in Kedah. It is also unknown to the Andamanese, and as it is common among the Perak Sakai and the Sakai of Pahang, it is no doubt a practice of Sakai origin.[1]

Earrings of rolled-up leaf (banana and "licuala") are worn by both sexes.[2]

Perak Semang.—It is quite possible that some of the Perak Semang may have learnt nose-boring from the Sakai, but I have not met with any record of its employment among the purer Semang tribes, though they do wear earrings; it is quite unknown to the Jakun.

II.—Sakai.

The Girdle.

Perak Sakai.—The fringed waist-cord sometimes worn by the Semang is also found among the Sakai and Jakun. Thus De la Croix says that, in the neighbourhood of Mt. Bujang Malaka, the Sakai women that he saw wore, instead of the tree-bark girdle, a row of small grass-bundles attached to a cord which went around the waist. And in 1869 (?) M. Alfred Marche observed the same form of girdle among the Mantra women north of Malacca.[3]

On the other hand, we are told that the waist-wrap or "loin-cloth" of tree-bark, which is most probably of Malayan origin, appears to be very

[1] Cp. Man's *And.* p. 115: "No attempt is made to alter the shape of the nose by flattening or pinching it, nor is the cartilaginous septum ever perforated for the purpose of inserting ornamental bars or rings. In this, as in many other respects, the Andamanese differ greatly from their neighbours the Nicobarese." [2] See p. 526, *infra*.

[3] De la Croix, p. 330. Another form (of coiled jungle-fibre with leaves attached) is sometimes seen among mixed Semang-Sakai (*e.g.* the O. Jelei of Pahang).

generally worn by all Sakai tribes who have not yet adopted the Malay "sarong."[1]

It varies from about 3 or 4 inches (7.5 cm. to 10 cm.) to about 1 inch (2.5 cm.) in width.[2]

The fullest description of this girdle is that given by De la Croix, who tells us that the dress of the Sakai consists of a mere strip of tree-bark rolled round them, which is passed between the legs and carried round the waist, tucked through at the belt, and then allowed to fall down in front in the shape of a fan. This garment, which is called "sĕlampit," measures from 3 to 4 metres in length, and is manufactured either from the bark of the Ipoh tree (*Antiaris toxicaria*) or from that of the wild bread-fruit tree (*Artocarpus*). It is prepared by spreading the bark upon a tree-trunk and striking it with a wooden mallet. The sap is thus driven out of it, but the cloth has then to be washed and dried several times before it attains the requisite suppleness.[3]

The best and finest cloth is that made from the Ipoh tree.[4]

Both men and women wore this garment, which De la Croix took to be "the national costume of the Sakai."[5]

The use of the black fungus girdle, which undoubtedly originated among the Semang, has also been observed among the Perak Sakai,[6] but not, so far

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[1] Cp. *J. I. A.* vol. iv. p. 429 (of the Perak Sakai), and also Hale, p. 292 (of the same).

[2] 75-100 mm. by 25 mm. Mr. Ridley tells me that the "chawats" worn by the Sakai of the "Batu Caves" (near Kuala Lumpur in Selangor) were certainly not more than an inch in width, and if anything a little less.

[3] De la Croix, p. 330.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] *Ib.* See figure 136.

[6] Hale, *l.c.*, describes this girdle as made from "a black, leafless, aquatic creeper called 'akar batu' ('arca battu') found growing on stones under water in mountain streams." "Akar batu," or more properly "urat batu" (*i.e.* "Rock-creeper" or "Rock-veins"), is the Malay name of this rhizomorph, for which *v.* p. 138, *supra*. Hale describes

as I am aware, among other sections of the race more remote from the Semang.

Necklaces, Armlets, Bracelets, Rings.

Perak Sakai.—De Morgan speaks of the necklaces and bracelets of the Perak Sakai as in no way differing from those worn by the Perak Semang (p. 146).

According to Hale, the men appeared to wear no ornaments except very small bracelets and waist-belts made of the "Rock-vein" fungus (already mentioned).[1] The women, on the other hand, wore bracelets and necklaces made of seeds, shells, certain sweet-smelling roots, and anything they could get from the Malays that could be strung on. A necklace, purchased from an old woman, contained nine strings of black and white seeds differently arranged, a string of old Malay copper coins, a few glass beads, the tip of a squirrel's tail, two tufts of monkeys' hair, a spiral of brass wire, five snail shells, and the brass support of the ribs of an umbrella. This was about the average of a Sakai necklace.[2]

The Sakai of "Changkat Riam" (in Perak), according to De Morgan, strung upon their necklaces and bracelets not only seeds but small bones as well.[3]

These necklaces and bracelets were very similar to those of Sungei Raya, but at Changkat Riam brass ornaments were conspicuous by their absence, probably owing to the great distance of the latter settlement from any of the Malay villages.[4]

On the arm a thickish string, or series of strings, is

it as being worn by the Sakai men (of Kinta in Perak), as well as by the local Malays, who in this case are clearly borrowers.

[1] Hale, p. 292.

[2] *Ib.* See also De la Croix, p. 330.

[3] *Sic*, ? "Riang."—De Morgan, viii. 211.

[4] *Ib.*

Cerruti.

SAKAI GIRL OF SOUTH PERAK,

showing bark cloth dress, headband, necklace, armlet, ring, and bracelets.

Vol. I. p. 152.

Wray.

SAKAI WOMEN IN MALAY "SARONGS," SHOWING NECKLACES, ARMLETS, AND BRACELETS.
Ulu Bertang, Perak.

also occasionally worn by the Sakai. The women (very rarely) wear anklets as well as bracelets and armlets.[1] Moreover, whenever they are able to do so, the Perak Sakai substitute metal rings, spirals, and beads obtained from the Malays for the strings of natural objects just described.[2] Their favourite piece of jewellery is undoubtedly the brass bracelet or finger-ring, both of which are in the form of spirals, which they fit on to their arm or finger.[3]

Vaughan-Stevens[4] states that necklaces ("dokoh") among the Sakai were worn by persons of both sexes and of all ages, whereas among the Jakun or Benua ("Bĕnar-Bĕnar") they were only occasionally worn. Attached to them were amulets ("tangkal") made from the "bunglei," the fresh roots of which were cut "diagonally" into small slices. When the necklace is ready its maker lays it upon his palm, and facing eastwards, touches it with his lips, and repeats the following invocation addressed to the Evil Spirit (Hantu):—

NECKLACE CHARM.

OM! Die, O Mati-anak, buried under the earth heaped up for the Roadway.
What is the origin of thy existence?
Demon of the blood of a person dead in childbirth,
That is the origin of thy existence.
Mati-anak of the River-banks, return to the River-banks;
Mati-anak of the "outcrop," return to the outcrop;
Pluck out with spells and neutralise again and again the demon Mati-anak.
Descend, O poison of the Mati-anak;
Rise, O Neutraliser of mine.

As soon as the words have been spoken, the speaker spits twice upon the necklace and the ceremony is ended. The plants of which the necklace is

[1] De Morgan, vii. 413.
[2] De Morgan, viii. 150 and vii. 413. Cp. also Hale, p. 293. Their great ambition seems to be to replace the black and white seeds with glass beads.
[3] De Morgan, vii. 413.
[4] V.-St. ii. 144. The original has been corrected.

made must, like officinal plants, be pulled up, and not cut or dug up.[1]

Selangor Sakai.—The foregoing remarks as to the dress of the Perak Sakai apply equally to the Sakai of Selangor, amongst whom, however, copper, brass, and even iron arm-rings (spiral or otherwise) and bracelets are perhaps rather more commonly worn, as most of these Selangor tribes live somewhere in the neighbourhood of Malay civilisation.

The same is true of finger-rings, which are still occasionally manufactured from various products of the jungle (bone, horn, tortoiseshell, the crest of the *Rhinoplax*, etc.), though metal rings are much preferred, and are usually obtainable.

The Head-dress.

Perak Sakai.—The method of wearing the hair is for the men (whose hair is long and wavy) to wear it just down to the shoulders in a wild and unkempt condition; and the women are also said, among the wilder tribes, to wear it in a mop, which "stands out all round from the head." When, however, they have intercourse with the Malays they tie it back in a knot like the latter.[2]

According to Bartels, Vaughan-Stevens heard (among the Sakai) that iron may not be used for cutting either the hair or finger-nails, this being the reason why the wilder tribes of them (Orang Liar)

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 144, 145. Vaughan-Stevens' account contains several errors (due to his ignorance of Malay), which have here been corrected. The worst of these is perhaps his confusion of "batu ampat" ("four boulders") with "batu ampar" ("outcrop of rock"), and his building up of a pretty little theory on the mistaken version.

[2] Hale, p. 293.

would never have their hair cut.[1] Both men and women left untouched the hair of the body.[2]

We are further told that the Sakai (Blandas), for thoroughly washing the head and hair, employed the scrapings of the inner part of the bark of a particular creeper ("kletterrebe"), of which the young stems and shoots were armed with an abundant quantity of sharp thorns, like those of the rose. The leaf was like that of an acacia, dark green and smooth, and of great circumference. A handful of freshly scraped bark was applied to the head, together with water, somewhat like a sponge, when it produced a thick lather.[3]

This creeper may well be the "b'luru," a climber used by the Malays as a substitute for soap.

By way of head-dress the men, however, sometimes wore a mere cord, furnished with two small knots or rosettes, whereas the women preferred merely to wear in their hair the flowers of the field.[4]

Elsewhere, speaking of some (fifteen) Sakai women whom he saw at Kampong Langkor (on S. Kerbu), De la Croix remarks that one of them who had charming features, and was indeed actually pretty, wore in each ear a small white flower which she had picked at the side of the path; another wore a simple tuft of grass in her hair, and (passed through her ears) some kind of plant which hung down as far as her back. An old woman, again, wore in her hair (or "chignon") nothing but a tall plant, which oscillated with every movement of her body.[5]

The women also occasionally wear the combs of

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 178.
[2] *Ib.* p. 179.
[3] *Ib.*
[4] De la Croix, p. 330.
[5] *Ib.* p. 336.

the Negrito women.[1] According to De Morgan, these combs are made of decorated bamboo, or else of small wooden teeth bound together by means of an exceedingly tight string. These latter are used by the Sakai of G. Bujang Malaka and of S. Kampar[2] (both of which places are in Perak).

In addition to these combs the Sakai women, when they wear their hair long, adorn their heads with fillets and bouquets, which they keep in place by means of a comb or a long dagger-shaped bamboo pin, covered with (incised) patterns.[3]

The fillets and bouquets are generally gathered in the forest and worn fresh, though the Sakai not unfrequently also wear dried plants cleverly plaited.[4]

According to Hale, the Sakai women also wear porcupines' quills, etc., through the lobe of the ear, rolls of cloth and other materials being also worn, not for the purpose of ornament, but in order to enlarge the orifice.[5] Short bamboo tubes with flowers in them are then inserted.[6]

For the quills, earrings were not unfrequently substituted — probably owing to their greater convenience. According to De Morgan, the women also wore earrings consisting of copper rings, a small string of beads, or a mere flower, whose stalk is inserted into the perforation of the lobe.[7]

Nose-sticks or Nose-quills.

Perak Sakai.—But one of the most distinctive ornaments is the nose-quill, which appears to be originally

[1] Hale, p. 295 (and Plate xiii. *ib.*).
[2] De Morgan, vii. 413, 414.
[3] This pin is also used (Hale, p. 295) for disentangling the hair. For patterns, *v. Fasc. Mal.* 35, 36.
[4] De Morgan, vii. 413, 414.
[5] Hale, p. 293: cp. vol. ii. 39.
[6] *E.g.* among the Semang-Sakai of U. Jelei, Pahang.
[7] De Morgan, vii. 413, 414.

Cerruti.

SAKAI FAMILY, SHOWING HEAD-DRESSES, NECKLACES, AND NOSE-QUILLS

Ulu Bikum, near Bidor, South Perak.

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Cerruti.

SAKAI FAMILY, SHOWING NOSE-QUILLS, NECKLACES, ARMLETS, AND LEAF-ORNAMENTS.

Ulu Bikum, near Bidor, South Perak

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a Sakai ornament, and is worn by both sexes. Some tribes (*e.g.* those of S. Kinta) wore porcupines' quills passed through a perforation made for the purpose in the septum of the nose.[1] The men wore them with the ends passed between the hair and the top of the ear. The women passed them through the lobe itself.[2] A long bone of a fish, bird, or monkey[3] (and among the Sakai of Pahang a nose-ring[4]) is sometimes substituted for the quill.

Occasionally for the porcupine's quill a piece of wood, about a quarter of an inch (6 mm.) in diameter and about six inches (15 cm.) long, was substituted.[5]

A few who affected to be dandies used to ornament their nose-sticks.[6]

An occasional substitute for the quill is a rolled-up piece of banana-leaf.[7]

Selangor Sakai.—The nose-quill is also occasionally worn by the Selangor Sakai (*e.g.* in the district of Ulu Langat).[8]

III.—Jakun.

Blandas of Selangor.—The Blandas of the Kuala Langat district have now largely adopted the Malay dress, though when at work in the jungle they still frequently revert to the bark loin-cloth, which forms a more convenient working dress. The women more usually wear a sort of short skirt or kilt of bark-

[1] According to Colonel Low, the Malays divided the Sakai of Perak into three classes—the "Tame" Sakai, the "Hill" Sakai of Ulu Birtang (*sic*, *quære* "Bĕrtang"), and the Alas of Ulu Kantu (*sic*, *quære* "Kinta"). This last tribe differed from the other two in having adopted the custom of piercing the cartilage of the nose and ears, and inserting therein the quills of porcupines (*J. I. A.* vol. iv. p. 429).

[2] De Morgan, vii. 414.

[3] Hale, p. 293.

[4] As in a photograph by R. Martin.

[5] 15 cm. by 6.2 mm. Cp. *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 4, p. 30.

[6] *Ib.* This applies also to the Semang-Sakai of Ulu Jelei, Pahang.

[7] Swettenham, p. 228.

[8] J. A. G. Campbell, p. 243.

cloth, the ends of which, though usually unsewn, are sometimes roughly stitched together with jungle fibres. The "feel" of the bark-cloth made by these people is not unlike a sort of rough leather.

The above remarks are equally true of the Besisi tribes of Selangor, who were pretty generally in the habit of wearing Malay dress.

Besisi.—The everyday dress of the Besisi differed very little from that of the Malays, the men wearing for the most part a loose cotton jacket and trousers, and the women a jacket and a Malay sarong. In the jungle, however, the more convenient "chawat"[1] still lingered on, and shy as the Besisi might be of wearing it before strangers, they had no such scruples when by themselves. Red "sarongs" were preferred.

Bracelets and armlets, rings, necklaces, etc., were, on the other hand, worn most profusely, a good scrap necklace, with plenty of coins on it, being highly valued, as the wearing of coins was believed to be especially good for the eyes.

The rings worn by the Besisi were made of various natural products of the jungle, bone, horn, tortoiseshell, etc.; from chips of coconut-shell; from black coral ("akar bahar"); from "batu akik," a species of stone; from various kinds of shell; and from the red crest of the solid-crested Hornbill or *Rhinoplax*. This latter was valued by the Besisi, as by the Malays, on account of the belief that it would turn green whenever poison approached the wearer. Finely woven matwork pouches ("bujam") were also commonly carried for holding betel-leaf, etc.

Nose-boring and tattooing of all kinds (or rather scarification), if ever practised, had, however, long

[1] Cp. vol. ii. p. 144, *n.* 1.

McGregor.

SAKAI GROUP, ULU LUI, ULU LANGAT, SHOWING WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MALAY DRESS.

Vol. I. p. 158.

McGregor.

ABORIGINAL GROUP AT ULU KALI, ULU SELANGOR, SHOWING ADOPTION OF MALAY DRESS.

disappeared, and though face-painting was still occasionally to be seen, it was only on special occasions (such as the tribal feasts) that the ancient methods of personal adornment were still in evidence.

Mantra. — The Mantra, with the exception of their young children, never go absolutely nude, the men always wearing at least some "covering round the waist," and the women always wearing the "sarong" of the Malays, "which covers the entire body from the knee to above the breast." The "holiday garb" of the men is the ordinary wear of the local Malays (a loose jacket, a "sarong," or perhaps short trousers, and a coloured handkerchief wrapped round the head).[1]

Many of the Mantra around Gunong Berembun still wear the bark of the *Artocarpus* ("t'rap"), the men using the "chawat," and the women a piece of rude cloth, formed by simply beating the bark, which they wrap round their persons, and which, like the "sarong" of the Johor females, reaches only from the waist to the knees. They have no description of shoe, sandal, or slipper, and no articles of the toilet.[2]

The women "take considerable care of their hair, which they gather up on the top of their heads, and plait in the shape of a crown," fastening it with pins, and on special occasions inserting round it flowers and leaves.[3]

The Mantra females have wider ear-perforations (than the Benua of Johor). They are enlarged to the diameter of about half an inch by inserting a wooden pin or roll of *Licuala*- ("palas") leaf, which is gradually increased till the desired width is acquired. Pendants are not worn, but many have ear-studs ("subang"),

[1] Logan in *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 252, 253. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Ib.*

about the size of a Company's rupee, made by Malays, and similar to those worn by Javanese females. Silver rings are also worn. They bind the hair in the same way as the Johor Benua.[1]

The "little girls" have their ears pierced by their parents for the reception of earrings; in the absence of earrings, these holes are filled with small rolled-up strips of banana-leaf or a large stud of wood.[2]

They also wear large Malay waist-buckles (of the kind called "pinding") and Malay bracelets.[3]

The children wear necklaces consisting of strings of monkeys' bones, teeth of bears or tigers, coins, and shells; these necklaces, however, are not worn for mere ornament, but as a talisman against disease.[4]

The only other point that calls for remark with regard to the dress of the Mantra, lies in the close resemblance between the form of girdle worn by the Sakai women in the neighbourhood of G. Bujang Malaka (which consisted of a row of small grass-bundles fastened to a cord which went round the waist), and that observed in 1869, by Marche, among the Mantra women north of Malacca.[5]

Benua - Jakun of Johor. — According to Logan, the original dress of the males, to which a few individuals whom he met were still restricted, was the "chawat"—a narrow strip of cloth passing between the legs and fastened round the waist. With these exceptions all were provided with the Malay short trousers ("sĕluar"), jacket ("baju"), plaid skirt, or wrapper ("sarong"), and headkerchief ("saputangan"), or some of them, but often in so ragged a condition as

[1] Logan in *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 252, 253. [2] Borie (tr. Bourien), pp. 75, 76.
[3] *Ib.* [4] *Ib.* [5] De la Croix, p. 330.

to show that they carried their wardrobes on their persons, and were seldom able to renew them. With the exception of one house, where the mistress lay in a corner and appeared to be, like her husband, totally destitute of clothes, Logan found the women everywhere wearing a short "sarong," fastened at the waist or a little below it, and barely reaching to the knees—it was, in fact, only the half of an ordinary Malay "sarong." This was the only garment that they possessed, but in a few families, such as that of the Bĕntara of Boko, some of the females wore the Malay jacket ("baju"). The hair was bound in a knot behind. From the great desire universally expressed for pretty "sarongs," jackets ("bajus"), handkerchiefs, and ornaments, we must do the Benua ladies the justice to believe that they would willingly deck themselves in the full Malayan costume if they had the means.[1] The only ornaments that they possess are plain brass rings and bracelets. Their ears were pierced, but the orifice, which is of the diameter of a quill, was more often occupied by the native cigarette or "roko'," or a piece of cloth, than an earring.[2]

The hair was black and in general smooth and lank, but in some it was frizzled, and in all somewhat more dry and tangled than in the Malay, arising from the little oil that they use. It is worn long or

[1] "Both men and women go nearly naked whilst near their own haunts; they wear nothing but a strip of the fibrous bark of the 'tĕrap' tree, beaten into a sort of cloth of a reddish-brown colour, called a 'sabaring,' round their loins; part of this comes down in front, is drawn between the legs, and fastened behind. The men sometimes encircle their heads with a string of *Licuala-* ('palas') leaves. On visits to Malay villages they generally contrive to appear more decently clad. The women particularly take great pleasure in silver bracelets, rings, and other ornaments. I do not recollect that I have seen any instance of the Benua wearing the skins of wild beasts, as has been alleged. They carry about with them little mat pouches, containing generally a small portion of tobacco, a flint and steel, a knife, and a rude bamboo call or whistle" (Newbold, ii. 398); *v.* p. 137, *ante*.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 252, 253.

cropped short, as with the Malays, according to the taste of the individual. Some old women had long discontinued the use of oil, and their dry, rusty, unkempt locks, aiding the effect of their piercing, sinister eyes, which almost seemed to be touched by insanity, frightened some of Logan's Malays not a little; and so persuaded were they that the old ladies had the "evil eye," that they felt greatly relieved when he left the house.[1]

The clothes of the Jakun (when they used any) were ordinarily the same as those used by the Malays, but poor, miserable, and, above all, very dirty; many of them used clothes without washing, from the day they received or bought them until they became rotten by use and dirt, when they were obliged to throw them away; if vermin were found, which was often the case, principally upon the women who were more dressed up, they were immediately eaten with delight, as in Cochin-China. If many of them were badly dressed, and some nearly naked, it was more from a lack of clothing than in accordance with their own wishes, especially amongst the women; for all desired to be clothed, and the most agreeable presents which could be offered to them were the short (Malayan) trousers, "sarongs," jackets, or handkerchiefs to put round their heads, according to the Malay fashion. Those of them who went habitually nearly naked never appeared in that condition before strangers, except when they actually had no clothes. The Jakun of Johor, who were superior to the others in many respects, as can be inferred from what has been said, were also the best dressed; their women wore much the same as Malay

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 251, 252.

women, both as to dress and the order of their appearance; they had, moreover, a great number of rings on their fingers, some of which were crystal, some of copper, and some of tin, but also a good many of silver; they took a peculiar pleasure in these ornaments, as well as in silver bracelets.[1] The men had at least the trousers, a small jacket or "baju," and a handkerchief for the head. The Jakun of the Negri Sembilan and Rembau had the same dress as was used by the Jakun of Johor, and the women the same ornaments, but they were not so well clothed, many of them going nearly naked, at least near their houses; and those who used clothes often showed an embarrassment which proved that they were not accustomed to their use. The Jakun of Malacca were badly dressed, many of the women had only a "sarong," and, if they were married, a ring, the necessary present of the husband at marriage. The greater part of the men had nothing but a strip of the fibrous bark of the "t'rap" tree, beaten into a sort of cloth of a reddish-brown colour, called a "sabaring," round their loins; part of this came down in front, was drawn between the legs, and fastened behind.[2]

As regards the hair, some of them left the whole to grow and turned it round the head, like the Cochin-Chinese; others, as for instance many of those of Malacca, cut theirs off entirely;[3] yet others,

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 258.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] "Formerly the Jakun did not cut the hair, but let it grow (from childhood to age) down to their neck and shoulders. The hair of the boys is at the present day cut to a fringe over the forehead, or else it is all cut off with the exception of a scalp-lock, as among Malay children. The girls' hair, however, is allowed to grow as long as possible. The Jakun custom of binding the fringe of hair with a band of tree-bark, to keep it out of the eyes, is imitated by the Orang Laut" (*Z. f. E.* xxix. 177). "The Jakun girls stick flowers in their hair, instead of the brightly coloured shells used by the Orang Laut" (*ib.* p. 178).

chiefly those of the Negri Sembilan and Rembau and Johor, shaved the head, leaving unshaven only, on the crown, a space about three inches in diameter, where they never cut it, just in the same way as the Chinese; and to prevent this head of hair from being hooked by the branches of trees in the jungle, they tied it up in the form of a top-knot. They had scarcely any beard, and many of them had none at all. The women left their hair to grow, and then tied it up in the same way as the Malay women; but as they had but little occasion to care much for appearance, it will be easily imagined that they were not very particular in this respect. Some of them are said to treat their hair with lime.[1]

It does not yet seem to have been recorded whether the Jakun are in the habit of eradicating their beard, but there is, I believe, very little doubt upon the point. Vaughan-Stevens does not actually state that the Jakun men pull out the hair of the face, though he clearly implies it in saying that the beard and whiskers (of the Jakun) are scarcely ever present, even if they are not intentionally pulled out.[2]

Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.

Necklaces and Armlets.

Name of Tribe unspecified.—The Orang Laut have now all taken to the Malay dress. The desire to adorn the person exists among their women despite

[1] Logan in *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 248. Cp., however, the statement of V.-Stevens—"I could not learn whether the Jakun, although they perceived the reddish colour of the hair of the young people, to which I called their attention a long time before, ever treated their hair with lime, as some of the New Guinea men do" (*Z. f. E.* xxix. 178).

[2] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 179.

their usually degraded condition. The girls will take any object that glitters to wear upon their arms, neck, or breast. Nowadays these objects are nearly always the products of civilisation obtained from Malays and Chinese, but formerly coloured bivalves, seed-grains, etc., were employed. Vaughan-Stevens saw a prettily composed necklace, with which the woman who possessed it positively refused to part. It was made up of variously coloured plant-seeds growing on the coast, small variegated marine bivalves gathered from the sands, and short segments of crabs' legs (like one of our own coral necklaces).[1]

The Hair.

The "turned in" (*eingehängte*) part of the claw of a crawfish is often used by the Orang Laut as a head-scratcher, and for this purpose is stuck in the hair or kept in the girdle. If the claw is short, a little piece of stick is stuck in it, in order to lengthen it sufficiently. Half of the lower jaw of fishes which have "needle-teeth" is frequently, even to the present day, used in place of a comb.[2]

As might be expected from people who are so much on the sea, the Orang Laut girls use brightly coloured shells for hair ornaments, instead of the flowers which are used by the Jakun.[3]

Up to manhood the boys do the same, but no later, unless there is some special reason (besides mere decoration of the person) for their doing so.[4]

At the present day the Orang Laut bind the hair back to keep it out of their eyes either with a band

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxviii. 170. [2] *Ib.* xxix. 178. [3] *Ib.* [4] *Ib.*

of cotton stuff, or else, in imitation of the Jakun, with a similar band of tree-bark. They do not, however, like to wear any sort of covering for the (top of the) head, even in the sun.[1]

Among the Orang Laut both sexes use fat or oil for their body and hair, because, as they say, the sea-water irritates the unprotected skin, if it is later exposed to the sun. At the present time coconut-oil and other oils are easy to get, but formerly fish-fat was used.[2]

In the following accounts the name of the tribe is specified :—

O. Laut, Sletar. — The middle of both men and women was generally covered by a coarse wrapper made from the bark of the *Artocarpus*, and extending from the navel to the knee. The women affected a slight degree of modesty at first approach, but this soon disappeared. Instead of the wrapper of "t'rap," they frequently put on instead an old patched-up Malay "sarong." The locks of the men were bound up with a tie of cloth, and sometimes by the Malay headkerchief or "saputangan"; those of the women fell in wild luxuriance over their face and shoulders. Their children went entirely naked until the age of puberty.[3]

O. Laut, Sabimba.—Their close relations with the Malays have given them a taste for dress, as they were wearing cloth instead of the bark of trees. The women were dressed in "sarongs," after the manner of Malay women, but the men wore only a strip of cloth of scanty dimensions round the middle and passing between the thighs.[4]

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 177.
[2] *Ib.* p. 185.
[3] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 345*.
[4] *Ib.* p. 350*.

O. Laut, Muka Kuning.—The males (of the Orang Muka Kuning) mostly wear the "chawat" of *Artocarpus* ("t'rap") bark, and the females short "sarongs" of cloth.[1]

O. Laut, Akik.—Their dress resembled that of the Malay, but was coarser and poorer, and when they were engaged in ordinary pursuits seldom extended beyond a waist-cloth or "chawat."[2]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 337*. [2] Newbold, ii. 413, 414.

CHAPTER III.

Habitations.

The two first and most obvious forms of shelter would, to a wild jungle-dwelling race, naturally be the large umbrella-like palm-leaves growing in the forest, and natural caves or holes in the ground. In the case of the latter, however, it appears that certain preferences exist, for "the caves which have been inhabited (in Perak) are those which are formed by the overhanging of the cliffs (*i.e.* 'rock-shelters'), and not those caverns that have been hollowed out in the rock. The same class of cave was inhabited by many of the cave-dwellers of Europe, as well as by the early New Zealanders."[1] Mr. Wray further informs me that he could find no trace of human remains in the caves themselves, but that in some rock-shelters near the "dark caves" there were some thick deposits. For an exception to this rule, however, it ought to be pointed out that the well-known "limestone caves" at Batu (six miles from Kuala Lumpor in Selangor) were certainly at times inhabited by some of these jungle-folk, as was stated by W. T. Hornaday in his account of his discovery of the caves, in the company of the late Captain Syers, and confirmed by

[1] L. Wray, *Cave-dwellers*, p. 37.

later visitors. The reason for this use of these caves, moreover, is in this instance known, viz.: the fact that they afforded protection against wild elephants. At the same time it is only fair to add that this is the only exception I know of.

Although, however, the practice of utilising such natural refuges as are afforded by the geographical features (such as trees and rock-shelters) of the country they live in appears to be common to all the wilder members of the three races alike, and although it may be possible to trace certain similarities in the methods by which their more settled fellow-tribesmen succeeded in evolving a hut-type which, at first of the pile-hut type common in S.E. Asia, became gradually assimilated to that of the Peninsular Malays, it is nevertheless quite possible in certain respects to differentiate the various types of hut, and even to specify with almost complete certainty to which of the three races these types should be assigned.

The Semang huts, for instance, frequently resemble (as might almost be expected) the huts built by the Andamanese, and the circular (and semicircular) huts formed by planting a number of palm-leaves upright in the ground, with their tops drooping over to a common centre, appear also to be only recorded in districts where Negrito influence is either certain or to be suspected. The long leaf-shelter, too, that I visited in Kedah was certainly of a type apparently confined exclusively to the Semang or Negrito. It may be added, moreover, that the Semang appear (speaking broadly and generally) to be on the whole more given to the use of tree-shelters and huts on ground-level than the average Sakai or the Jakun, and that both of the latter races seem especially fond

of building their huts upon very lofty house-posts. Mr. Wray informs me that he has never seen in Perak a "bee-hive" hut, or even a tree-hut, made either by the Semang or by the Sakai, although at Kuala Dipang and elsewhere he has seen very tall tree-huts built by the Malays.

The most interesting question, however, connected with this subject is undoubtedly that concerned with the successive steps by means of which the hut-type is evolved.

Among the Semang its evolution is perhaps on the whole the clearest, the various stages being, as they appear to me, the following :—

1. Natural shelters—rock-shelters, caves, tree buttresses, branches, etc.
2. Artificial shelters or weather-screens—a single large palm-leaf, either planted in the ground or fixed across the fork of a tree.
3. A number of such palm-leaves, planted in a straight row, or in a semicircle or circle, their tops drooping over towards a common centre, thus forming a "round" or "bee-hive" hut —if in the fork of a tree, the hut's shape is naturally adapted to suit its branches.[1]

[1] For one of the earliest accounts of these tree-dwellings (treated from a somewhat sensational standpoint), see *Travel and Sport in Burmah, Siam, and Malay* [*sic*], by Capt. J Bradley, (1876). Unfortunately the account is only of general interest, as no means are afforded of even approximately identifying the locality.

"While searching the country in the neighbourhood of this river, through our glasses, our notice was attracted by what seemed to be some enormous birds' nests in the trees. The size of these nests was prodigious, yet they were not placed at a very great height from the ground, nor in the tallest trees. The number of them was seven, but we concluded there were others not visible from our position. We were puzzled to think what bird could construct nests of this size, for they appeared from our point of view to be as big as tolerably-sized huts, and much the shape of roughly constructed wigwams. While

4. The "long" or "communal" shelter, which is nothing more than a round or "bee-hive" hut extended to form an ellipse or oval.
5. Small granaries or store-huts on high posts, and perhaps also huts which commence to approach for the first time the Malayan hut-type, but are still built on the level of the ground.[1]
6. A hut similar to the last, but with floor raised on posts (which makes it still more conformable with the common Malayan hut-type).

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we were still speculating, the difficulty was solved. A large ape was observed to leave one of the nests and descend to the ground; and he was soon followed by eight or nine others, who all walked about erect like men. We watched them for a long time, and saw them picking berries, or something else of a similar kind, from the bushes. Their actions were most human-like. They walked about exactly like men, and even appeared to be talking to each other. Several of them climbed the cocoa-palms in search of the nuts; but they did not display that activity in ascending which distinguishes most of the ape tribe. Their every motion was human in the extreme" (p. 292). Later, he discovers that the supposed "apes" *are* men.

[The mention of "cocoa-palms" (!) is a strange circumstance requiring explanation, as none of these wild tribes plant coconuts, at least until they are a good deal more advanced in civilisation than these tribes otherwise appear to have been. It may of course have been that they were living in or near an abandoned Malay clearing, or that they were less wild than was supposed, or, most probably, I think, that the trees were not really coconut-palms. —W. S.]

In a later passage we read: "They [the tree-huts] were from 30 to 50 feet [9-15 m.] from the ground, built in the lower branches of a species of large, wide-spreading tree, in general appearance very much like the oak. Access to them was gained by a number of notches cut in the tree-trunk, . . . and when we got amongst the branches we had to crawl out snake-fashion, to get at the huts, which were the shape of a bee-hive, though rather more pointed at the apex. They were constructed entirely of small branches and twigs tied together at the top, and bent round to form the hollow space in the interior. The height of each hut was about 6 ft. [180 cm.], the internal diameter about the same. The entrance was a hole in the side, so small that we could scarcely force our way in. The cordage with which the huts were constructed was made of some tough creeper, and the strands were so loosely twisted together that the least touch parted them."—Bradley, pp. 297, 298.

Elsewhere (J. B. pp. 319, 320) Capt. Bradley mentions a settlement of fifteen huts, "one or two" (he says) "in a tree." On pp. 330, 331 he mentions another of these tree-villages. "It" (the village) "consisted of five huts built in the trees, and seven hovels erected on the ground." "They were" (he continues) "built of branches like those described in a former chapter; but were overlaid with deer-skins." Another settlement (described on p. 315) had four tree-huts only in number.

[1] De Morgan, viii. 296.

The last type of dwelling—and by no means the least interesting one—to find a place in these pages is that of the old "Orang Laut" of Singapore and Johor. These once most formidable pirates (who at that time dwelt exclusively in their boats) were the only inhabitants of the island of Singapore (which has now a population of over 200,000) on the memorable day of February (1819) when Sir Stamford Raffles landed to make a city out of what was then a mere desolate mangrove swamp. Contemporary and more recent writers give us a picture of the "Orang Laut," and the extraordinarily restricted quarters in which they lived. Huddled up in a small boat, measuring scarcely twenty feet in length, they found all the domestic comfort of which they were in need. At one end was the hearth, in the centre their few utensils, and at the other end, beneath a matwork awning, not exceeding six feet in length, was the sleeping apartment of a family that often counted five or six, together with a cat and a dog. Under this awning they found shelter from the tropical rains and heats alike, from the time of their birth to the grave.[1]

I.—Semang.

The Rock-shelter.

Kedah Semang. — The Semang are almost ineradicably nomadic, have no fixed habitations, and rove about like the beasts of the forest.[2] The wilder ones seldom stay more (they informed me) than three days

[1] See Crawfurd, *Descr. Dict.*, *s.v.* "Malay Peninsula."
[2] *J. I. A.* vol. iv. pp. 425, 426

in one place.[1] Rock-shelters are also commonly used by them.[2]

Pangan.—At Ban Tun, in the province of Patalung on the north-western shore of the Inland Sea (Singora), I visited one of these small rock-shelters which had been inhabited, up to the night of our arrival, by nine Pangans, who had only deserted it on hearing our approach. It was formed by a large overhanging rock under the brow of a very steep and lofty hill. Its size was very small, measuring only from about 9 to 12 feet (2.7 m. to 3.6 m.) in length by 6 to 8 feet (1.8 m. to 2.4 m.) in width, and from about 4 to 5 feet (1.2 m. to 1.5 m.) in height. Its position on a shoulder of the hill was very well chosen, as the ground fell away precipitously in front of it, and the only way to reach it was to go round by the back of the overhanging rock itself. The mouth of the cave was, moreover, further concealed and protected by a thicket of thorny bamboo, which grew at the more precipitous end. Altogether it was as difficult a spot to find without a guide as any which could have been selected. The sole article of furniture was one of the rough bamboo sleeping-stages, or "barbicans," which are to be seen in most Semang encampments,[3] and which are made by lashing half a dozen thick bamboo poles together. This particular bed, however, could not have accommodated more than one or two

[1] Among the E. Semang (Pangan) it is an established custom to break up the existing encampment on the fifth day at the latest. This custom is called "Jog," and is attributed to the commands of Pie; indeed, the days are counted on the fingers, and it is believed that if this custom be seriously infringed, a severe form of plague will attack the guilty parties. The W. Semang are less particular than the Pangan (Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 103).

[2] See a valuable note on this subject by Mr. L. Wray (*Cave-dwellers*, p. 37).

[3] These most peculiar platforms or "bedsteads" are found also in the Andamans, and (according to my friend Mr. Lorimer Fison) in Fiji! I should be glad to know of other examples.

persons at most, and the other members of the family had evidently been sleeping on beds of heaped-up leaves, which were still quite green and fresh on our arrival. There were also the ashes of four separate fires, one at least of which had been extinguished by water; and there were fragments of the ribs of a small tortoise on which they had been feeding, as well as a half-smoked (native) cigarette, an indication that they had probably had some traffic, either direct or through the medium of "tamer" fellow-tribesmen, with the Malays or Siamese of the locality.

Tree-shelters.

Perak Semang.—Another obvious kind of "natural shelter" is that afforded by the branches of trees, the scanty protection thus obtained being speedily improved by the building of a weather-screen, out of which is easily and naturally developed the tree-built hut. The exact purpose served by those arboreal dwellings has been much disputed, but the most reasonable explanation—and I think undoubtedly the correct one—is that they are built for protection from wild beasts. In most cases the proximity of wild beasts is certainly their *raison d'être*. We are told,[1] for instance, in so many words, that some of the Semang "in the thicker parts of the forest, *where the elephants, tigers, and other wild animals are most abundant*, make their temporary dwellings upon the cliffs and branches of large trees."[2] The simplest form of the tree-shelter

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. iv. 425, 426.

[2] Another *possible* cause (inundations) is certainly suggested by the following note (for which see Bastian, *Reisen in Birma*. Leipzig, 1886, p. 432):—"The inhabitants of the hills in Pegu, who are insured [by their position] against inundations, build their houses on the level of the ground. When, however, safeguarding against tigers is necessary, they build between the branches of the trees, just as the Puleahs build their nests in their forests." But in the Malay Peninsula this first reason would rarely if ever apply.

consists of a screen of leaves fixed across the branches of the tree a little above the fork to serve as a roof. Usually, however, side-screens are added, for comfort's sake.

I am told by Mr. Wray that he once visited a Semang house in the Piah valley, in Upper Perak. It measured about 50 feet (15.2 m. × 6 m.) in length by 20 feet in width, and was built on posts of such a height that the floor was 15 feet (4.5 m.) above the ground. There were three ladders on one side of the house to give access to it, and it appeared to have been inhabited by at least three families. Underneath it Mr. Wray found the bones of the wild pig, deer, and "sĕladang" (*Bos gaurus*, the wild bull or "bison"), as well as the horn of one of these latter animals.

Pangan. — The Pangan tree-huts observed by Messrs. Ridley and Kelsall on the banks of the Ulu Tahan river in Pahang (in 1891) were "small roofed platforms, raised about 15 or 20 feet (4.5 m. to 6 m.) from the ground,"[1] and were reached (as Mr. Ridley tells me) by a ladder formed of sticks lashed across two neighbouring trees.

Ground-screens of Leaves.

Semang and Pangan.—Yet another kind of shelter used by the Semang is the palm-leaf ground-screen,[2] which is intended simply as a protection against rain and wind. It is constructed by planting three or four stout sticks or poles in a row in the ground at an angle of about 60° to 75°, and lashing palm-leaves across them so closely that the rain cannot penetrate.[3]

[1] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 25, p. 45.

[2] It goes without saying that these screens vary in size and construction according to the needs of the party. When a Semang is travelling alone, he will frequently content himself with the shelter of a single palm-leaf planted in the ground.

[3] Cp. Logan (*J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 7, p. 85): The "temporary lairs" (of the Semang) are "only protected from the

Shelters of this type are also largely used by the Malays for temporary purposes, especially in the eastern states of the Peninsula.

Pangan.—The next stage would appear to be that of the round or bee-hive hut. In the interior of Kelantan (near Kampong Buntal in Ulu Aring), Mr. Laidlaw and I visited several of these curious habitations. One that we photographed was a hemispherical leaf-shelter, very slenderly constructed, the materials employed being leaves of the "bĕrtam" palm (*Eugeissona*) and a Rattan or *Calamus* called " Rotan Dudok." The bases of the leaf-stalks were firmly planted in the ground, the upper ends of the leaves bending naturally over so as to protect about one-half of the hut-floor from the rain. The leaves planted round the circumference of the semicircle at the back of the shelter were of full length, but a slight fence of shorter leaves, about 2 feet (60 cm.) high, completed the circumference. At the back of the hut was the usual big *abattis* or *chevaux-de-frise* of felled trees, which is very generally formed by these people for protection against wild beasts.

A slightly different type of hut was seen on the banks of the Tahan river by Mr. Ridley in 1891. The huts themselves consisted of a bee-hive-shaped structure of palm-leaves about 4 feet (1.2 m.) high, the bases of the leaves planted in the ground and their upper parts interwoven together. So far the structure was similar to those already described, but these particular huts "were completely filled with palm-leaves, in the midst of which could be seen the depression caused by the occupant when he curled himself up in them" either for

weather by a few branches or leaves hung over two or three sticks." And cp. also *J. I. A.* vol. iv. pp. 425, 426: "Their huts . . . consist of two posts stuck in the ground, with a small cross-piece, and a few leaves or branches of trees laid over to secure them from the weather."

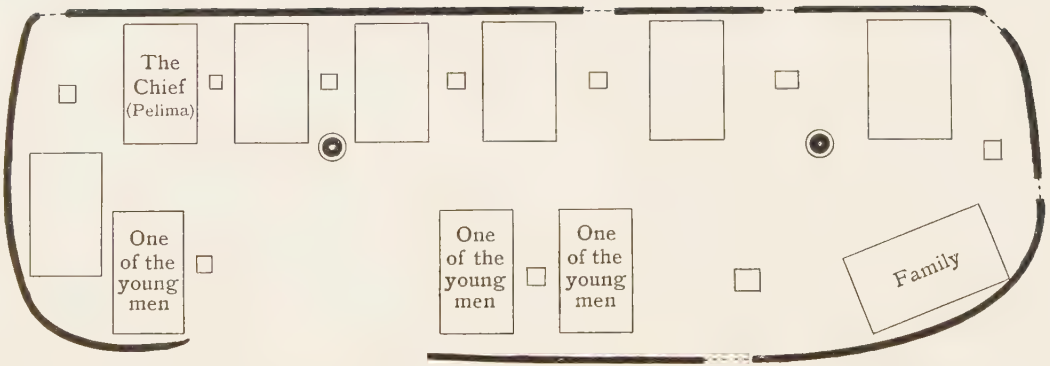
R. H. Yapp (Skeat Expedition).

PANGAN WEATHER SCREEN OF PALM LEAVES (ULU KELANTAN).

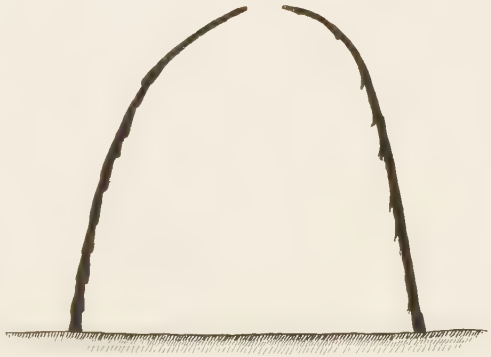
R. H. Yapp (Skeat Expedition).

INTERIOR OF ROUND LEAF-SHELTER OF PANGAN (ULU KELANTAN)

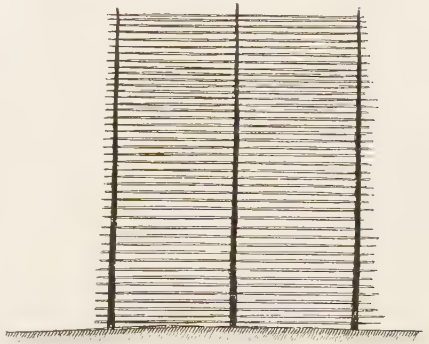
Vol. I. p. 176.



GROUND PLAN, showing arrangement of bamboo sleeping places with hearth between each.



SECTION, (Middle of Shelter.)



Method of lashing the mid-ribs of Bertam-leaves horizontally across uprights to form walls.

Skeat.

PLAN AND SECTIONS OF LONG (OR OVAL) SHELTER USED BY SEMANG AT SIONG, KEDAH.

rest or warmth. "There were altogether seven of these 'nests' on the river-bank,"[1] and the occupants, who were, I think, undoubtedly Pangan, had only just left them before his and his companion's arrival.

Communal Shelters.

Semang of Kedah.—From an ordinary round hut which will shelter one or two small families the transition to an elongated shelter which will hold a greater number is not very difficult. The Semang shelter at Siong in Kedah accommodated all the members of the tribe who were living in the neighbourhood, and contained no fewer than eleven (?) sleeping-places arranged in two long rows; it may therefore be described as being of the "barrack" or "long-house" type. The upright timbers of this shelter consisted of young saplings planted in two opposite rows, across them being lashed the leaves of the "chĕnchåm," a low-growing palm not unlike the well-known "bĕrtam" palm (*Eugeissona tristis*) in appearance, but which was declared by the Semang to be a different tree. The uprights of the shelter were called "pengkong," and the leaves lashed across them "hapoi." There were, besides, two central posts or pillars ("jĕhu"), each about a third of the distance from either end of the shelter, and a dozen poles placed, as props or "wind-braces," in various positions and at various angles, in order to strengthen the structure and keep it from being blown over in a high wind.[2] In front of the shelter at the upper end was a big opening which served as the main entrance, but there were in addition several

[1] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 25, p. 45.
[2] "Tĕnungked," Plus dialect; or "chĕnidel," Kedah.

smoke-holes[1] which were also used for ingress or egress as occasion might serve. The two slopes of the roof were not united over a ridge-pole, as in the ordinary (Malay) house, but a longitudinal aperture was left between them for about two-thirds of the entire length of the roof, and through the gap thus caused the greater part of the smoke from the many fireplaces issued.

All round the walls were ranged a number of bamboo sleeping-platforms, consisting of a framework of split bamboos, each end of which was supported by a horizontal slat or rod.[2] These latter were in turn supported on low forked wooden trestles called "jongka." These bed-platforms were between 5-6 ft. (1.5 m. to 1.8 m.) in length by about 3 ft. (.91 m.) in breadth; and their exact position was as shown in the accompanying diagram. Young men of the tribe slept near the main opening or door, and the chief at the upper end as shown.

I may add that the owner of each sleeping-platform or family unit possessed a separate fire or hearth, over which he used to sit and warm himself when the nights were cold. On the other hand, I never saw any kind of pillow, either in the houses of the Semang of Kedah or in those of the Pangan.

Huts.

Kedah Semang.—We now come to the last class of Semang dwellings in which they begin to build huts of a rather more substantial character than those hitherto described, apparently, in the first instance, to serve as store-houses. An excellent example of this was to be seen in the Semang encampment at Siong

[1] "Karop?" Plus; or "pĕmong?" Kedah.
[2] "Kĕding," Plus dialect; or "pelayen," Kedah.

Semang at Ulu Jelentoh, Gopeng, Kinta, with Nipah-Palms (*Nipa fruticans*) in Background, newly cut for Thatchwork.

Vol. I. p. 178.

Wray.

EMANG STANDING AT SIDE OF HUT (AT SUNGEI TAPAH), NEAR BATU GAJAH, KINTA, PERAK.

The hut shows one of the methods of interweaving palm leaves.

in Kedah, where, side by side with the long "communal" shelter in which the tribe lived, stood a tiny granary in which their scanty stores of rice were preserved. This little granary stood on six thin posts, the floor being raised about 4-5 ft. (1.2 m. to 1.5 m.) from the ground, for the purpose of protecting its contents from small marauders. It measured about 4 ft. in length by about 3 ft. (1.2 m. × .91 m.) in width, and was little more in fact than a large box on posts. Its walls were made of tree-bark, and the roof was thatched with the leaf of the "bĕrtam" palm, and it was entered by a tiny doorway to which access was afforded by a long inclined pole. From the stage in which these tiny huts were used solely for the purposes of storage, to one in which they could be used as dwellings, the transition would be as easy and as natural as possible.

On the other hand, it must here be remarked that although in this way they may sometimes come to dwelling—in Malayan fashion—in a hut with raised flooring, the Semang nevertheless appear to retain a strong predilection for building their huts either altogether aloft in trees, or else upon the level of the ground itself.[1]

Perak Semang.—Direct evidence of huts with raised flooring being inhabited by pure Semang is very scanty. The Semang village mentioned by De Morgan probably belonged to this latter (more developed) class, especially as he describes it as standing in the midst

[1] The huts built by the Pangan seem rather intended for the purpose of storing supplies (*e.g.* rice) than for regular occupation. Five or six of these huts are usually built in one place, and the Pangan leave such articles of property there as they do not wish to carry about with them when they move to their next camping-place. These huts are always set up in the thickest part of the jungle, and by way of further precaution the articles left behind are frequently marked with special signs.—V.-St. iii. 102, 103.

of an immense plantation ("*un vaste jardin*"), which seems to imply some degree of permanence. All he says of the houses, however, is that they "were constructed on a level with the ground," and "were open to all the winds that blow," and that the Semang protected themselves at night against the attacks of wild beasts by means of great "braziers" (*sic*) which they light up under their roof.[1] On the whole, it seems that the Semang take much less readily than the Sakai to the Malayan custom of building their huts on piles.

Among the Semang of Perak (Menik) no one uses any special kind of pillow, whether of wood or of any other material. Often they use no pillow at all, and if they do, the first thing that comes to hand (such as a bundle of grass or twigs), or the arm will be used.[2]

II.—Sakai.

Shelters and Tree-huts.

Perak Sakai.—The wild tribes of the Perak Hills (Sakai Bukit), according to what De la Croix was told by the tame Sakai of S. Kerbu, are seldom met with, as they do not live in villages, and build no houses, but when night arrives they either sleep in the shade of a tree, or (at the most) hurriedly erect a shelter of leaves.[3]

Selangor Sakai. — The Sakai, like the Semang, make use of caves as well as trees to dwell in. Mr. Ridley informs me that he once saw an excellent example consisting of a rock-shelter which he visited

[1] De Morgan, viii. 296.

[2] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 186. Elsewhere (p. 187), V.-St. says that the wild Semang (Pangan) alone do not use the pillow consisting of a cloth bag stuffed with cotton.

[3] De la Croix, p. 340. This, however, seems to have been hearsay, and Mr. Wray informs me that the Sakai of the Perak Hills build very good houses (cp. *L'H.* ii. 646), which probably accounts for De M.'s much too sweeping *démenti* (*L'H.* iii. 43).

Cerruti.

AN INVISIBLE SAKAI VILLAGE (UP THE BIG TREE IN THE CENTRE OF THE PICTURE).

McGrego

SAKAI TREE HUT, SUNGEI BERANG, PERAK, SEVEN MILES FROM TANJONG MALIM.

at the Batu caves seven miles from Kuala Lumpur in Selangor. Here, as in the Semang rock-shelters, were the remains of a bamboo bed-place, and in addition there were screens of palm-leaves which had been put up as a protection against the weather. In this rock-shelter, as in others in the same district, the walls were decorated with rough charcoal sketches of well-known objects, *e.g.* boats, etc. Excavations were made in the floor of this rock-shelter on the chance of finding traces of earlier occupation, but nothing was found except a round stone evidently brought from the river to support a cooking-pot.

In spite of the foregoing, however, both rock-shelters and palm-leaf wind-screens appear to be less popular with the Sakai than with the Semang, and there are few records, if any, of their employment of the bee-hive type of hut, at all events beyond the limits of Negrito influence. So far as I have been able to discover, the huts of the pure-bred Sakai are, as a rule, rectangular in plan.

Tree-huts, on the other hand, analogous to those already described as used by the Semang, are certainly to be seen among the Inland (Sakai) Tribes of Selangor at least. On an expedition to Ulu Kali in the interior of Selangor in 1893, I myself saw two of these Sakai tree-huts, one of which must have been from 30-40 ft. (9 m. to 12 m.) from the ground. Both must have been very nearly the same size, about 6 ft. by 4 ft. (1.8 m. × 1.2 m.), and not more than 4 ft. in height.[1]

[1] Of the same district Mr. William T. Hornaday says: "We were at Batu in the durian season, and often visited the trees in the forest when the Malays were collecting the fruit as fast as it fell. Like the Jakun, they build little huts high up against the trees, usually fifteen to twenty feet from the ground, to get out of the way of wild beasts. But the rascally elephants often take the trouble to pull down even those high platforms and frighten the in-

Huts and Houses.

Perak Sakai.—The Sakai in commencing to build their huts with rather more reference to Malay models still retain the communal idea. One of these Sakai communal houses, described by Hale,[1] was built on a slope, close to the summit of a lofty hill. The thatching of the roof (with leaves of the bĕrtam palm) was a clumsy imitation of Malayan methods. The floor of the house, which was raised above the ground, rested upon nine posts, eight of inconsiderable and one of very great diameter, which was, in fact, the trunk of a large tree. Every other part of the house was entirely built of bamboo.[2] The walls consisted of long screens of sheet-thatch, which were suspended loosely at their upper ends under the eaves, so that the lower ends could be pushed open outwards. The

habitants half out of their wits. The herds to which we paid our respects had just the night before visited several durian camps, and had torn down the highest platform of all, as if to show the Malays that it was of no use trying to build a hut out of *their* reach. Of course the Malays fled to the jungle. There are several large caves in the vicinity, and the Jakun are in the habit of taking refuge in them when the elephants become too neighbourly" (*J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 3, p. 128). Batu is a small village six miles from Kuala Lumpur in Selangor. Mr. Hornaday is probably here writing of the Inland or Hill Sakai. The Jakun are really the savage Malayan tribes, but the word is often used loosely, especially by Malays (as here).

[1] P. 249. So too, according to De Morgan, the entire tribe of Sakai at Changak (? Changkat) Kerbu (in Ulu Perak) lived in a big house which they shared in common.

The house was divided into compartments, where the various families were separately installed, the hearths, however, being shared in common, and placed in the centre of the building. The room of the chief (Penghulu) was much better kept than the others, the sleeping-places of flattened bamboo being covered with mats decorated with yellow patterns; all the blowpipes of the tribe were suspended from the rafters, and big bamboos covered with decoration were deposited in the corners to supply him with water (De Morgan, i. 43).

[2] Mr. Hale, however, very rightly points out that the Sakai are very ready to adapt themselves to circumstances in the matter of material. Thus elsewhere Mr. Wray remarks that the leaves of fan-palms are used by the Sakai to thatch their houses, and that, owing to the extreme hardness of the stems, they are not in the habit of cutting the palms down when felling the jungle for their clearings, which probably accounts for their great abundance (*J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 21, p. 155).

Wray.

SAKAI HUTS AT CHENDERIANG, BATANG PADANG, PERAK.

Vol. I. p. 1.

M'Gregor.

TREE HUT, ULU BATU, ABOUT TWELVE MILES FROM KUALA LUMPUR, SELANGOR.

house in question was more than an hour's climb from water. It was surrounded by a clearing of about two acres in extent, where tapioca, maize, sugar-cane, and tobacco were grown. The house contained sixteen inhabitants, divided into six distinct family units, each of which had its own hearth. In the case of a man having two wives, each wife had her own hearth, marked out by means of a low partition of split bamboos. There was a door in the end-wall, and also an outlet in the slope of the roof.[1]

On the other hand, the Sakai huts observed in Ulu Kinta by De Morgan are described as being built very far apart from each other, and situated in the midst of immense plantations of tapioca, "sorgho" (?) and maize, from which it may possibly be deduced that they were on rather less strictly communal principles. De Morgan was invited to enter the Penghulu's hut, which was, like those at S. Raya, built at a height of about 1.50 m. from the ground. It was very small, but very clean. Blowpipes, arrows, and a spear hung from the roof, and it contained many betel-leaf-wallets, necklaces, nets, lines, and a small but highly decorated piece of bamboo, the use of which was for carrying the worms used in rod-fishing.[2]

In another place, De la Croix, in describing the Sakai village of Kampong Chabang, in the upper reaches of S. Kerbu (a tributary of the Plus river in Perak, which is a few miles further north than Ulu Kinta), remarks that the village consisted of a dozen huts, erected in the midst of a clearing, on the banks of the river. The chief's hut (the largest) was built upon piles, and measured ten metres in length by five

[1] Hale, p. 294.

[2] De Morgan, viii. 167. Cp. *L'H.* ii. 645, for illustrations showing ground-plan and elevations of a Sakai hut.

metres in breadth. The flooring, consisting of flattened tree-bark, was raised about a metre above the ground. Both the walls and the roof with its double slope were constructed alike of broad strips of bark, which afforded an excellent shelter from the floods of rain that fell in the wet season. A notched tree-trunk served as house-ladder for giving access to the interior of the building.[1]

In the middle of the only room was placed a hearth consisting of a thick layer of clay deposited in a (square) wooden frame. This was the hearth ("dapor") of Malay houses. A few pots and receptacles of various kinds containing provisions were hung upon the walls. The remaining huts were all of the same type, except two or three whose side-walls were made of matwork, in imitation of the Malays.[2]

Pahang Sakai. — A graphic description of the mountain hut of a Sakai by Mr. L. Wray is interesting from the fact that the locality referred to is in the far interior of Pahang.

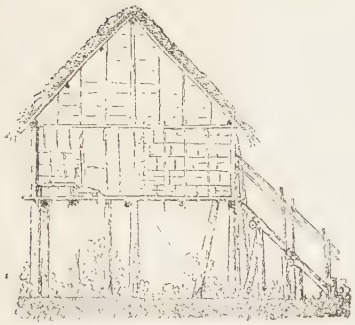
Mr. Wray wrote[3] that the house (in the Tahan valley) in which he passed the night was a large and well-built one, and seemed to be occupied by two families. It was at an elevation of about 4000 feet (1225 m.), and being perched on the top of a cleared hill fully exposed to the winds, he found it very cold.

Hanging up in the house were strings of the lower jaws of monkeys, musangs, and other animals, and in another house he saw bunches of hornbill skulls. These were kept hanging up in the smoke as trophies, in the same way as the Dayaks keep human heads in their houses. Another custom which seemed to point

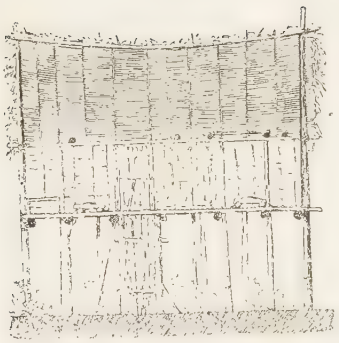
[1] De la Croix, pp. 322, 323. Brau de S. P. Lias, in writing of the Sakai of Sungei Kerbu, adds that they always lived in groups of from ten to fifteen families in the same place (pp. 279, 280).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 21, p. 162.

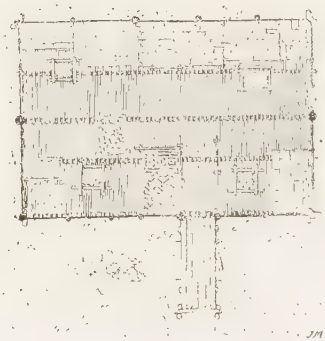


Transverse Section.



Longitudinal Section.

Elevation



Plan.

De Morgan.

SAKAI HOUSE AT CHANGKAT KERBU OR KORBU.

I. I. p. 184.

McGregor.

House of Aborigines at Kuala Seleh, Ulu Klang.

McGregor.

Huts at Durian Chandong, Ulu Langat, about Three Miles above Klubi, but on a Tributary of the Langat. Men absent Hunting.

Vol. I. p. 185.

to a connection between the two races was that they kept large fires burning in the centre of their houses during the night, and that it was only during the first part of the night that they slept, after that they sat up round the fire and talked till morning.[1]

Hut Furniture—Pillows.

Perak Sakai.—It appears that pillows were much more generally used by the Sakai than by the Semang. The pillow of the Central Sakai (Senoi) men was always an internode of bamboo, through each extremity of which four small round pegs were driven. The pillows of the women were the same, but they were usually fitted with a pair of pegs or "feet" pointed at both ends, so that by a blow they could be driven into the hole at the end or taken out. For this purpose part of the node was cut away, in order to allow the inside of the tube to be reached. Small objects that the women used for their toilet or for other purposes were kept in the interior of these bamboo pillows; and by means of the "feet" they were prevented from falling out again.[2]

These pillows were of various patterns, which differed with the tribe. The Central Sakai (Senoi), who always appear to have had a somewhat more artistic feeling than the other Sakai (Blandas), say that their bamboo pillows were formerly ornamented with incised lines or "painted" emblems,[3] but that these are all now forgotten, and the form of pillow now universally employed is a kind of stuff-bag or pillow filled with cotton. This new form of pillow, however, could only be used when the tribe became more settled. So long as they remained entirely

[1] Wray in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 21, p. 162.

[2] *Z. f. E.* xxix. (V.-St.) 186.

[3] In original, "painted totems"!

nomadic, bulky things, such as these pillows, could not be carried with them; and if the present cotton-filled pillows were left a week in a house uncared for, termites and other vermin would injure them, even if damp and mould did not do so.[1]

The bamboo pillows referred to formed part of the furniture of the house, and when not being used lay together in a corner.[2]

III.—Jakun.

Blandas.—As far as I was able to discover, the Blandas (Hill Tribes of the Kuala Langat district in Selangor) seldom if ever dwelt in leaf-shelters, and the only important difference between their houses and those of the Besisi—which will presently be described—lay in the far greater relative height of the wooden posts on which the Blandas house was built. These high-built huts of the Blandas were frequently entered by means of a movable ladder, which was removed when they went abroad into the forest. Their traditional pillow was a block of "pulai" (*alstonia*, a soft, cork-like wood).

Besisi.—On the other hand, although I never came across an instance of a Blandas family living in a tree-hut, I think there is practically no doubt that the Besisi, who had a relatively larger proportion of Semang blood in them, did occasionally do so. At S. Nipah (in the very same district of Selangor) I once knew a *soi-disant* Malay family (in reality they were Besisi converts) who lived in a tree-hut some 20 ft. to 30 ft. (6 m. to 9 m.) from the ground, and on one occasion I climbed up to have a look at it. The "hut" itself was a tiny shelter about 6 ft. (1.8 m.) in length,

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. (V.-St.) 187, 188. [2] *Ib.*

McGregor.

SAKAI HOUSE, LUI RIVER, ULU LANGAT, SELANGOR.

Notice the height of the house-posts.

McGregor.

GROUND HUT WITH THATCHED ROOF, ULU KUANG, ABOUT THREE MILES FROM KUANG STATION, SELANGOR.

Vol. I. p. 186.

F. M. Elliot.

BESISI HUTS ABOUT ONE AND A HALF MILES FROM SEPANG,

showing abattis of trees felled as a protection against wild beasts.

F. M. Elliot.

BESISI HUT ABOUT ONE AND A HALF MILES FROM SEPANG (KUALA LANGAT DISTRICT OF SELANGOR), SHOWING OVERLAPPING GABLE-RIDGE.

I was myself inside this hut when it was taken.

by 4 ft. (1.2 m.) in width, and was not more than three or four feet high. The walls and roof were made of the Malay palm-leaf awning ("kajang"), and it contained a small sleeping-mat and mosquito-curtain (an unlooked-for luxury in so poor an abode), and a few cooking and other utensils. A man and his wife lived there, but I cannot say whether they had any children. Both happened to be very short, I should say not more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. (1.37 m.), but I should much doubt whether either of them could stand upright in it. The method of entering it was enough to try the nerves of any one that was at all inclined to be dizzy. The ascent was achieved by means of the rudest and most primitive stick-ladder imaginable, a large creeper that grew upon the tree affording some slight additional assistance. On reaching the top of this ladder, one had to rest one's elbows upon the floor of the shelter, and swing one's self up into safety by main force. The descent was, if anything, the more trying process of the two, yet the Malays did not appear to mind it.

The actual houses of the Besisi in this same district were built of timber and palm-thatch like the houses of the local Malays, but had several peculiar points about them. The slopes of the roof-gable, for one thing, were carried much lower than in an ordinary Malay house, and in some cases at least the eaves were actually level with the floor.

Another characteristic feature was that one of the slopes of the gable was frequently carried much higher than the other, so as to overlap and leave a gap through which smoke could issue, without the rain penetrating too easily. In the Malay type of house, the upper edges of the two roof-slopes meet at the top, and the rain is kept out by an arrangement called

"pĕrabong," which covers over the gap between the edges.

The houses are exceedingly diminutive, much more so, in proportion to their inhabitants, than Malay houses; in fact, I saw many among the Besisi that were little more than boxes. They are usually thatched with palm-leaves loosely strung together, the kind of leaves usually employed being either those of the fan-palm or the "bĕrtam" palm. A few of these houses were supported on fairly high posts, higher than those of Malay houses. The Besisi, who carry the eaves of their huts down to the level of the floor, generally use, however, very short house-posts.

The joists are tied together with split rattan or other strong lashings, and each settlement, however small, is as a rule defended by an abattis of fallen trees. The Besisi often, perhaps in imitation of the Malays, erect a sort of landing of split "nibong" stems in front of the door whereon to winnow their grain.

The house of one of the Batins or big chiefs of the Besisi (Batin Suntai by name) was described to me in one of their tribal songs as follows:—

Song of the Batin's Hut.

"Kĕpong" bark was all its roofing,
"Bĕrtam" leaves were all the side-walls,
"Bĕrtam" stems were all the flooring,
"Loyāk" stems were all its pillars.
Such the house of Batin Suntai,
At "Nine-Rivers," up the Kalis,—
Durian-wood did form his pillow,
Leaves of "lĕmba" were his dishes,
His the beaten tree-bark girdle.

The pillow generally used by the Besisi is said to have been a block of hard wood, without feet, concave on the upper side, and convex on the lower,[1] and cut

[1] In the original it is described as being convex on the upper side, and concave underneath, an obvious mistake and an impossibility, which is clearly due to some confusion.

off squarely at the ends. It differs from the Jakun and Blandas pillow, the wood of which was very soft.[1]

The Balai.

Besisi.—Before leaving the subject of Besisi huts I must not omit to mention the important fact that there were among these Jakun tribes traces of the use of a Tribal Hall, such as is always attached to the house of a Malay chief, and is called "Balai" both by Jakun and Malays. On the occasion of a Besisi wedding, the Besisi of Ayer Itam (on the Selangor coast) had built a hall of this kind at right angles to the house of their tribal chief or Batin (thus forming a sort of "T"-shaped building in which the "Balai" formed the downstroke of the "T"). Such Balais are frequently mentioned in Besisi songs, and I think there is very little doubt that we do not find here a simple instance of borrowing from the Malays, but rather an example of a custom sprung from their common origin. The building in question was erected by the voluntary labour of all the men of the tribe (just as would have been the case if it had been built by a Malay chief), and it was large enough to contain about sixty to seventy people or more (the members of the tribe itself numbering about sixty). It was opposite the door of this building that the bell-shaped mound which was explained to me as the religious emblem of the tribe[2] was thrown up. And it was inside this same building that the various tribal feasts took place.

Huts.

Labu Tribes.—Their dwellings are the simplest and

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 186. See p. 186, *supra*, and p. 195, *infra*.
[2] Cp. vol. ii. pp. 72-74.

rudest that can be imagined. Rowland, in writing of the Labu tribe that he observed, mentions that when they had deserted the house built by his coolies, with its raised sleeping-platforms, he found them again in the interior of the jungle (instead of at the edge), and that every married man (or bachelor) had built for himself a small round hut on the level of the ground. Each of these huts was entirely constructed of the leaves of the "bĕrtam" palm (*Eugeissona tristis*, Griff.), measuring about two or three metres in length, the stalks of which were planted close together in the ground, so as to form a circle of about two metres in diameter; the extremities of the leaves met at the top, but gave only a scanty shelter from the rain. The people in these huts lived upon the ground itself, which is always moist in the jungle, and generally considered to be unhealthy, and in heavy rain were not protected from flooding even by a ditch round the hut. Yet in these huts they soon recovered from their fevers and coughs, and regained their usual serenity. These huts stood close together, a few steps from a brook.[1]

Hut Furniture.

Kenaboi.—The Kenaboi, who appear determined in this as in many other things to take a different line from the Sakai, to which race Vaughan-Stevens says he assigns them,[2] made their pillows of split lengths of bamboo cut square at each end, the lengths being interwoven with one another "in and out."[3] The interior served the women for holding small objects,

[1] Rowland, p. 708.

[2] This begs the entire question. It is more probable that the Kenaboi may have Semang affinities.

[3] An obscure and obviously inaccurate description.

such as combs and medicines. The exact patterns were said to be lost.[1]

Huts and their Furniture.

Mantra.—Of the Mantra huts, M. Borie says that their dwellings scarcely kept out the rain, and were open to every wind, most frequently being without either doors or windows. The best of them consisted of nine posts, of which three were about a third longer than the six others. These nine posts were strongly planted in the ground in three rows, with the long posts in the centre; these posts were then united at the top by means of longitudinal and transverse timbers lashed together by means of rattans; upon these timbers were placed rafters[2] to sustain the roof, which was made of leaves; and the floor, which was generally raised several feet above the ground, was formed by laying laths across the longitudinal and transverse timbers and covering these laths with the bark of trees; the sides were similarly more or less covered in either with leaves or tree-bark.[3]

The following articles were found in a comparatively well-furnished Mantra hut, which was occupied by two men, two women, and two children. There were two blowpipes ("sumpitan"), several choppers and axes, two torch-stands, two iron pans, two earthenware pots, two wallets or back-baskets ("sĕntong"), a kind of basket termed by the Malays "garing," two plates, two cups, five small tea-cups, four earthenware spoons, seven "sarongs," three jackets ("baju"), three pairs of trousers ("sĕluar"), four waist-bands, four headkerchiefs, one pair of ear-

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 187. [2] In original, "shingles" (*sic*).
[3] Borie (tr. Bourien), p. 76.

studs ("subang"), three hair-pins, and three copper rings.[1]

Shelters and Tree-huts.

Jakun.—Of the tree-huts of the Jakun M. Borie says, that however poor might be the huts of the Mantra, those of the Jakun were still more primitive; it was their custom to perch their domicile on trees, sometimes at a height of from 25 ft. to 35 ft. (7.6 m. to 10.6 m.) from the ground;[2] most commonly, however, they were only about twenty feet from the ground, and were ascended by means of a ladder, which even their dogs became accustomed to climbing.[3]

On the other hand, some members of the tribe would construct their huts at a height of no more than 3 ft. or 4 ft. (.91 m. to 1.2 m.) from the ground. Like the Mantra, they lived, ate, and slept on the main floor of the building. At one side of it was the hearth, on which a fire was always kept burning to drive away mosquitoes, and they used the loft for putting away their weapons, their provisions, and their cooking utensils.[4]

Jakun of N. Sembilan.—The best houses of the Negri Sembilan Jakun were about the same as the poorer and ruder houses belonging to the Jakun of Johor, but others were, as described by Newbold, rude edifices perched on the top of four high wooden poles; thus elevated for fear of tigers, and entered by means of a long ladder, and presenting, when viewed through certain holes which served as doors, no very satisfactory appearance to the uninitiated. The roofs were often thatched with "chucho" leaves. There was but one room, in which the whole family was huddled together, with their dogs and the bodies of such animals

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 254.
[2] Bigandet (p. 427) says 60 feet and even more.
[3] Borie (tr. Bourien), p. 76.
[4] *Ib.*

as they might have caught. They were interdicted, by one of their singular rules, from using any other wood than that of the "pĕtaling" and "jambu k'lat" in the construction of these huts. The huts were made so as to be movable at a moment's warning; on the appearance of small-pox, or any other contagious disorder, a whole encampment would vanish in the course of a single night. The huts were ordinarily situated on the steep side of some forest-clad hill, or in some sequestered dale, remote from any frequented road or footpath, and with little plantations of yams, plantains, and maize about them (some also had fields of rice). The bones and hair of the animals whose flesh the inmates might have been feeding upon strewed the ground near them, whilst numbers of dogs—generally of a light brown colour—gave timely notice of the approach of strangers.[1]

Jakun of Malacca.—The Malacca Jakun (or "Benua"), characterised by Favre as the most ignorant, were the poorest and most miserable, their best houses being about the same as the worst of those of the Menangkabaus;[2] indeed Favre found several families who lived without houses at all. These latter, gathering themselves together to the number of five or six families, would choose a place in the thickest of the forest, and there clear a circle about 25-30 ft. (7.6 m. to 9 m.) in diameter; having cleared this space, they would surround it with the branches of trees they had just cut; to this they would add other thorny branches collected from other parts, and so make a sort of bulwark against tigers, bears, and panthers, which were present in good numbers. Having done this, they would proceed to establish their dwelling in the enclosure thus

[1] Newbold, vol. ii. p. 404.

[2] *I.e.* Inland Malays near Malacca.

formed in the following way: each family worked to construct what would afford them a bed during the night, a seat in the day-time, a table for their repasts, and a shelter in bad weather; it consisted of about fifteen or twenty thin poles about 6 ft. (1.8 m.) long, which were laid the one beside the other, and supported at the two extremities by two transverse sticks set upon four wooden posts; the completed structure being about two feet in height, four feet in breadth, and six feet in length. A dozen leaves of the "chucho" gathered together by their ends, and tied up at the head of the bed, extended over it and covered it from end to end. These beds were placed all round the enclosure, in such a position that when all the occupants were sleeping every one lay with his feet directed towards the centre of the hut, which was purposely left vacant, to serve either as a place for cooking, or for any other purpose.[1]

Jakun of Johor.—Before Favre himself visited the Jakun, report had induced him to consider them (he says) as savage as wild beasts, and as sleeping like birds on the branches of trees. Even afterwards when he questioned the Malays on the subject, some of them answered as before; but this was far from being the truth, as there was no Jakun without some sort of more or less well-ordered dwelling. Some of them indeed had habitations which could scarcely be called houses; but these were very few; and for the most part they had houses. The Jakun of Johor built houses in the Malay manner, some of them being "fine buildings." Favre found several which were much more comfortable than any Malay house he had seen in the interior of Johor; such were the houses

[1] Translated in *J. I. A.* vol. ii. pp. 250, 257. For the original, see Favre in *Ann. P. F.* xxii. 301.

of the Penghulu Batin on the Johor river, and that of a Jakun chief on the Benut river. These two houses were divided into several rooms, some of which were for the private accommodation of the Jakun women, and the furniture consisted of a few pots, plates, several other similar vessels, and a good quantity of mats. Other houses were much more ordinary, but were yet pretty comfortable and clean, and were always divided into two or three rooms at least, and furnished with an iron frying-pan for cooking rice in, a few coconut-shells for holding water, and baskets for carrying food. All these houses were raised about 6 ft. (1.8 m.) from the ground, and were entered by a ladder like the Malay houses.[1]

House Furniture—Pillows.

Jakun (district unspecified).—The Jakun pillow was, unlike the others, made of soft wood, probably because it could in that case be made without iron tools. It was always convex at the sides and underneath, but concave at the top, and was often stained red, yellow, or black. These colours were obtained, the red from a tree-bark, the yellow from a root, and the black from a mixture of oil and charcoal. The yellow appears from the description to be the Malay "kunyit" or turmeric—a well-known root. The particular tree which gave the red is not known, although there are several trees whose bark gives a red colour.

It was the log-pillows of the women which were most carefully stained. Those of the men were used during the day for all sorts of purposes, *e.g.* as a float for a crocodile line, in which case their dark colour

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. pp. 255, 256.

makes them easily visible, and hence soon shows where the crocodile has gone after swallowing the bait. The above type of pillow, however, is never seen now; stuff-pillows filled with cotton having replaced it.[1]

Houses and House Furniture.

Benua-Jakun of Johor.—According to Logan, the houses of the Benua of Johor varied greatly in size, neatness, and finish. They were much slighter and more primitive than the huts of the Malays, the greater part consisting only of one small room raised on thin posts made of saplings, with a rough flooring of small sticks placed at irregular distances, and sometimes with such large gaps between them that children were liable to fall through. The sides were made of bark,[2] and were generally enclosed all round, but sometimes they had only a piece of bark here and there, and Logan himself slept in houses three sides of which were quite open. A rude and very narrow and steep ladder led to an open doorway. The roof was covered with leaves, commonly those of the "sĕrdang," which answer as well as the leaves of the nipah palm, but last only half as long. The leaves of the "Palas" and other palms were also occasionally used, and Logan was told that even padi-straw was sometimes collected for thatch. The floor was constructed at various heights from 5-9 ft. (1.5 m. to 2.7 m.) above the ground. In localities where elephants abounded it was generally high. Houses of greater pretensions were sometimes to be seen. On the Pau, Logan visited a house which, under one roof, had a large hall with an

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxix. (V.-St.) p. 189.

[2] The bark of the "kĕpong" was chiefly used for this purpose, both in Johor and by the Berembun tribes.

elevated recess facing the door, where guests sat during the day and slept at night. At the sides were two large rooms and a long narrow apartment with two fireplaces and an array of cooking utensils. An open platform, a foot or two below the level of the floor, connected the hall with two other bedrooms under a separate roof. At Paya Sandar, near the Sembrong, he visited another large cottage which, in addition to bedrooms which were partitioned off, had several recesses with curtains of coarse cloth hung before them. Sleeping mats and pillows were in every house.[1]

Berembun Tribes.—The Berembun tribes had mats, but as a rule no pillows or curtains. Coarse Chinese curtains were general, but were often lacking, and where this was the case the whole family, with the guests, slept in one and the same open apartment, and were sometimes packed rather closely together. There were usually two fireplaces, and these, in the larger huts, were sometimes in a separate room, but they were in general at one side of the single apartment, where the floor was depressed by about a foot.[2]

Udai.—According to Newbold, the Udai were said rarely to construct huts. They employed the day in roaming the forest, and sank down to rest wherever fatigue or the shades of night overtook them.[3]

Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.

Orang Laut, Sletar.—The Sletar tribe of the Orang Laut, though confining their wanderings to a limit of some 30 m. sq. (7500 hectares), might still be considered highly nomadic. In boats (or "sampans") barely sufficient to float their load, they would skirt the man-

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 253, 254. [2] *Ib.* [3] Newbold, ii. 381, 382.

groves, collecting their food from the shores and forests as they proceeded, exhausting one spot and then searching for another. To one accustomed to the comforts and wants of civilisation, their life appeared to be one of extreme hardship. Huddled up in a small boat hardly measuring 20 ft. (6 m.) in length, they yet found in it all the domestic comfort they were in want of; at one end was the fireplace, in the middle the few utensils of which they might be in possession, and at the other end beneath a network awning (or "kajang"), not exceeding six feet in length, was the sleeping apartment of a family numbering as many as five or six, together with a cat and dog; under this awning they took shelter from the dews and rains of the night, and from the heat of the day. Even the Malays in pointing out these confined quarters exclaimed "how miserable," though of any misery the objects of their commiseration were not aware. In these same quarters they found all their wants supplied; their children would sport on the shore at low water in search of shell-fish; and during high water they might be seen climbing the mangrove branches, and dashing from thence into the water, with all the life and energy of children of a colder clime, at once affording a proof that even they were not without their joys.[1]

Orang Laut, Sabimba.—The Sabimba tribe (of the Orang Laut) erected in the forest rude temporary huts, the floors of which were on the level of the ground, and never remained long in the same spot.[2]

Orang Laut, Muka Kuning.—The tribe consisted of about fifty families, who lived scattered in small huts beneath the trees of the forest. Their huts were

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 344*, 345*. [2] Logan in *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 297.

formed of a rude platform supported by four posts about three feet in height, from which the roof of "sĕrdang" leaves rose at once without any intervening wall. They were open at both ends, and had no ladder or door.[1]

Orang Laut, Beduanda Kallang.—Before the British obtained possession of Singapore, the Kallang river, which may be said to bound the present suburbs of Singapore to the eastward, was the immemorial haunt of a small tribe who lived in boats, but avoided the sea. Upon the cession of Singapore they were removed by the Tĕmenggong[2] to the Pulai, where they have remained ever since. They formerly consisted of about one hundred families, occupying as many boats, but these members were reduced to eight by the ravages of small-pox. They had so much dread of the sea[3] that they did not venture to quit the river, and constantly proceeded towards the interior before night. When a strong breeze arose they would drag their boats ashore, but yet they never made huts.[4]

Orang Laut, Akik.—The Akik tribe of the Orang Laut, on the other hand, did build houses, erecting temporary sheds called "bagan" along the coast, whenever they had occasion to go ashore to build boats, mend nets, or collect dammar or wood-oil, etc. Otherwise they resided along with their families in their boats for months together, during which they employed themselves both in fishing and in collecting Zostera (agar-agar) and bêche-de-mer (or tripang). They frequently made long voyages in their fragile vessels.[5]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 337*.
[2] *I.e.* the Raja of Johor.
[3] But see p. 94, *n.* 9.
[4] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 300.
[5] Newbold, ii. 413, 414.

CHAPTER IV.

Hunting, Trapping, and Fishing.

Although the aboriginal tribes of the Peninsula do not usually resort to the hunting of game until their supply of vegetable food begins to give out, and they thence begin to feel the pressure of want, yet from the moment they set out on the chase they shake off their apparent apathy and appear as if transformed, showing themselves most keen, clever, and determined hunters. Their rate of progress through even the thickest parts of the jungle has already been noticed. In shooting, they are most careful and accurate, seldom wasting an arrow or a dart, and simple as their weapons may appear to us, they are able with these imperfect means to attack and destroy both the elephant and the tiger. Their powers of scent, sight, and hearing are very fully developed; they are credited with the power of tracking snakes (which, however, have a fairly strong odour) by their smell alone. Their knowledge of the movements of game amounts to intuition; they know better than any one the rare hot springs and "salt licks" where the wild beasts congregate, the small cleared patches on lonely mountain-heights where the argus pheasant "dances," or the monkey-king hunts for grubs, and the far-off

forest-pools, which are the drinking-places of the birds.[1]

The weapons of these tribes consist chiefly of the blowpipe and the bow, the former being the weapon of the Sakai, the latter that of the Semang. To these may be added a rude kind of adze and a jungle-knife or chopper, spears of palm-wood or bamboo, which are replaced by iron-bladed weapons among the Malayising tribes. Of the use of the "squailer" or throwing-stick, there is not much recorded, although these are undoubtedly used, especially by the Jakun tribes of the south. Throwing-sticks of hard wood, some of which are sharpened at one end only whilst others are sharpened at both, are also used by the Peninsular Malays, by whom they are called (as by the Jakun) "sĕligi."[2] They are, moreover, I believe, much used by other races of Indo-China.

In trapping and fishing they are particularly expert—some of their traps having the simplicity of

[1] Of their extraordinary skill in jungle travelling, M.-Maclay wrote as follows:—Knowing the direction in which he was to go and keeping it in mind, the Sakai would try to find out the thinner patches in the jungle. The saplings which he could not avoid he would bend aside with his hand without breaking them; the larger ones he would stoop or creep underneath. He would never tear or cut away a liana or creeper which hung in his way, preferring to hold it in his hand and crawl underneath it; and in spite of this constant stooping and crawling, circumventing and circuitous running, he would advance with great rapidity. In following, not without trouble, these real men of the jungle, M.-Maclay had to confess that, in spite of his long experience and practice in these things, he had found his master in a fifteen-year-old boy (*J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 2, pp. 212, 213).

[2] Capt. J. Bradley mentions seeing on several occasions in the Peninsula what he evidently took for "squailers," and though he gives no details of locality, his evidence is very circumstantial. Thus in one place he says that outside the tree-huts which they discovered, "a number of spears were laid among the branches of the trees." These consisted merely of "long sticks of hard wood, sharpened at both ends"; in other words, the Malay "sĕligi" (J. Bradley, *Travel and Sport*, p. 298). In yet another place he mentions that he found, "in the interior of one of the huts, a number of short thick sticks intended apparently as missile weapons. Several of them had traces of blood and feathers adhering to them, as if they had been used for knocking down birds" (*ib.* p. 330).

genius. Snares are perhaps the most commonly employed by them, often differing little from those in use among the Malays—in which case it is hard to say which way the borrowing went. An example of this is to be seen in the Semang rat-trap, which appears to be exactly identical with a bamboo rat-trap commonly used by the Malays (*e.g.* in Selangor and Perak). So, too, many of the bird-snares and monkey-traps employed by the Jakun are hardly to be distinguished from those used by the Malays, although in a few instances, such as in their method of catching fish by splashing or dabbling for them, and a peculiar method of entrapping the argus pheasant, the Langat Malays themselves informed me, probably not without good reason, that they had picked up these ideas from the Jakun in the same district.

I.—Semang.

Hunting and Trapping.

Semang (locality unspecified). — The Semang handle both the bow and the spear with wonderful dexterity, and destroy even the largest and most powerful animals (such as the elephant and rhinoceros) by ingenious contrivances. They are also very expert with the blowpipe, and poison their darts with a deadly poison called Ipoh, procured from the juice of various trees. They seldom suffer from beasts of prey, as they are extremely sharp-sighted, and as agile in climbing trees as the monkeys. Their method of destroying elephants, in order to procure their flesh or their tusks, is both extraordinary and ingenious. When they have perceived any elephants ascending a hill, they lie in wait in small parties of two or three, and as the animals descend again (which

they usually do at a slow pace, plucking the branches as they move along), while the hind legs are lifted up, the Semang cautiously approach them from behind, and drive, by main force, a sharp-pointed and fire-hardened splinter of bamboo or palm-wood ("nibong"), which has been touched with poison, into the sole of their victim's foot.[1] In this way they effectually lame him, and not unfrequently bring him down, when the whole party rush upon him with spears and sharp-pointed sticks and soon despatch him. The rhinoceros they obtain with yet greater ease. This animal, which is of solitary habits, is frequently found wallowing in marshy places, with its whole body immersed in the mud and only part of its head visible. The Malays call such an animal "badak tapa," or the "recluse" rhinoceros. Especially towards the close of the rainy season they are said to seek places in which to bury themselves in this manner, and upon the dry weather setting in, through the powerful effect of the vertical sun, the mud which surrounds them forms a hard thick crust, in which the rhinoceros is imbedded, and from which it cannot effect its escape without some difficulty and exertion. The Semang thereupon collect large quantities of combustible materials which they convey to the spot, and quietly approaching, quickly build up over the animal an immense fire, which, being well fed with fresh fuel, soon completes his destruction, and renders him in a fit state to make a meal of. The projecting horn on the snout is carefully preserved, as it is supposed

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. iv. p. 426; *cf. infra*, p. 207, *n.* 1. And cp. also Ridley, *Mammals of the Malay Peninsula*, p. 163: "The Aborigines known as Sakai sometimes hunt it. There was recently living a man who . . . would drive a large-bladed spear between the hind legs [of the elephant] into the abdomen, which wound was soon after fatal, and tracking the animal he would secure the ivory."

to be possessed of medicinal properties, and is highly prized by the Malays, to whom the Semang generally barter it for tobacco and similar commodities.[1]

Kedah Semang.—I had, unfortunately, while in the Semang country no opportunity of testing in the capacity of an eye-witness the remarkable account of their methods of big-game hunting as related above by Marsden. The weighty authority of the latter, however, should strongly support his account, even if we did not know that in other parts of the world, and even of the Malay Peninsula itself, methods quite as ingenious have been recorded.[2] The Semang of Kedah, in addition to the bow, spear, and blowpipe, make use of all sorts of ingenious traps, pitfalls, and snares to secure their quarry. Birds are caught by means of a species of bird-lime manufactured from the viscid sap of some of the numerous "ficus" or "gutta" trees that abound in the forest, and even rats are caught by means of a peculiar snare which resembles, however, in principle, a rat-trap commonly used by the Malays. For hunting purposes a kind of semi-wild reddish-coloured dog is used, but it does not appear to have much pace.

I may add that the Semang do not appear as a rule to keep the domestic cat, but they not unfrequently make pets of young monkeys (*e.g.* the "lotong"), which, it is alleged, are sometimes brought up by hand.

Perak Semang.—Mr. L. Wray writes me (in a letter dated November 12, 1903) that the Semang of Upper Perak kill big game by means of their bows and arrows, the latter being poisoned, and having barbed heads and detachable fore-shafts.

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. iv. pp. 426, 427.

[2] Mr. Wray informs me that he does not credit this account, which is supported by Logan and others.

Fishing.

Kedah Semang.—The wilder Negrito tribes who live on high mountains naturally depend little upon fish as an article of diet. Those who dwell near rivers, however (*e.g.* the Semang of Siong), no less naturally make use of fish for purposes of food, and though I believe they usually eat them in a fresh condition, they certainly do not always do so, as is stated of the Sakai by Hale.[1] The simplest instrument that they employ for this purpose is a kind of small basket-work scoop, which is made of bamboo, and is used for catching small fry in pools or sluggish waters, or in any place from which their retreat is cut off. For angling the Semang employ the rod and line, the rod being usually a straight unpeeled stick about six feet in length, and the line—which is usually not much longer than the rod—being made from twisted strands of tree-bark (*Artocarpus*). The line is always made fast to the tip of the rod, and no reel is used, though the use of it is well known to the neighbouring Malays. The hooks are, as a rule, roughly manufactured from bits of brass or other wire.

In addition to the foregoing the Semang are adepts in the use of fish-spears and harpoons, by means of which they kill or capture quite large fish and tortoises. The harpoon used by the Semang at Siong was of very great length (about ten feet), and was made of the leaf-stem of a kind of large palm. The river being shallow at this spot, and full of obstacles, the Semang who was to act as harpooner

[1] Cp. De M. viii. 285: "Beside the river Krian the Semang frequently descend to the plain, on their way to the coast, whence they obtain salt, nipah leaves, shell-fish, and *fish which they dry*." Cp. *L'Homme*, ii. 716.

would take his stand in concealment behind a fallen tree-trunk or snag, and there wait whilst another Semang drove the fish upstream towards him. The fish in endeavouring to conceal themselves from the latter would naturally make for the snag or tree-trunk, thus affording his opportunity to the harpooner.

The harpoon-head was of iron, obtained from the local Malays, and the shaft was the leaf-stem of a palm called "ranggam."

The temporary poisoning of the stream by means of the root of *Derris elliptica* (Mal. "tuba"), which is a general method of fishing among the Peninsular tribes, may also have been practised by the Semang at Siong, but I neither saw nor heard anything of it during my stay, any more than I did of the use of the casting-net.

II.—Sakai.

Hunting and Trapping.

Perak Sakai.—Their most important weapon is the bamboo blowpipe, a full account of which will appear in a later chapter. By means of the poisoned darts blown through this tube, both birds and monkeys and other small animals are brought down from quite high trees at distances varying up to 60 yds. (55 m.).[1]

Mr. L. Wray informs me that he knew of a well-authenticated case of a leopard being killed near Gopeng in Perak by a Sakai with a blowpipe.

To kill an elephant the Sakai stalk it from behind

[1] "Almost their only weapon consists of a blowpipe about seven or eight feet long, from which they shoot poisoned darts with great accuracy as much as thirty or even forty paces (23 m. to 30 m.); a single dart is sufficient to bring a bird or monkey down in a couple of minutes. They say that if they can hit an elephant or a pig in the eye, a couple of darts will do the job" (*J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 4, p. 29). Cp. De M. ii. 649 *seq.* for further notes on hunting and trapping.

Cerruti.

SAKAI BOY WATCHING RAT-TRAP, GUNONG UBI, ULU SLIM.

Cerruti.

SAKAI BOY WATCHING PIG-TRAP (WITH SPRING-SPEAR), ULU SLIM.

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until they are able to drive a sharp-pointed stake into the sole of its foot as the latter is lifted in walking. The elephant being thus effectually lamed, and unable to pursue them, they shoot their poisoned darts into him from behind a tree (preferably into his eye), and thus despatch him. They are no less ready to attack the tiger and the rhinoceros.[1]

The Sakai of Perak, like the Semang, not unfrequently employ dogs in the chase, a custom which Mohammedanism has, no doubt (to some extent, though not entirely), brought into disuse among the Malays.[2]

The traps and snares used by the Sakai are of various sorts and sizes, one of the commonest being the "b'lantek" or spring-spear trap, of which there is a very good account in Hale.[3] This trap is used for killing game of almost any size, from the rhinoceros to the porcupine. When used for large game the spear is either manufactured from a single piece of bamboo, or has its shaft made of a hard piece of wood, with a bamboo spike or blade firmly bound to its lower extremity. In either case the point of the weapon is generally fire-hardened. For small mammals a hardwood shaft, the end of which is similarly sharpened and fire-hardened, is employed.

The "b'lantek" described by Mr. Hale is one of the forms of a Malay spear-trap called "b'lantek parap," or the "slapping spring-spear." The different parts of it are as follows :—

[1] De la Croix, p. 335. De M. (*L'Homme*, ii. 651) questions the truth of this account.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. iv. p. 429.

[3] Hale, pp. 289, 290. Cp. "They generally get pigs and deer by an ingenious wooden spring made of the branch of a tree with a bamboo spike fixed to the end of it; the spring is held in a bent position by a bit of jungle cord, which at a touch releases the spring, when the spike, which is eight to ten inches long, is buried in the animal. The existence of these spring traps makes it advisable always to be accompanied by a *Sakai* guide when moving about their country."—*J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 4, p. 29.

(1) A powerfully elastic and tapering rod or "spring" is set horizontally, with its thicker end passed between two trees, the butt-end of the spear-shaft (2) being securely lashed to its thinner extremity.

Two strong uprights (3) and (4), firmly planted in the ground at right angles to the big spring, are then connected by a stout cross-bar (5) and two pairs of crossed sticks (6) and (7), the latter being planted in the ground in a line with the two uprights.

A cord is then made fast to the outside pair of cross-sticks (7) and attached to a rattan ring (8), which slides along the cross-bar (5) till the cord connecting it with (7) is drawn taut; the smaller end of the big spring is drawn back till it touches the anterior upright (3), and set by means of a strong bamboo noose (9), which is held by a small spring (9), the other end of which is connected with the rattan ring (8) already referred to.

Any animal which passes along the path between the two sets of cross-sticks (6) and (7) and touches the taut cord, in so doing pulls away the rattan ring (8) and releases the small spring (9), which flies up, releasing the big spring in its turn, the result being that the spear is driven, with all the force that the spring is capable of giving it, straight towards the animal that touched the cord.

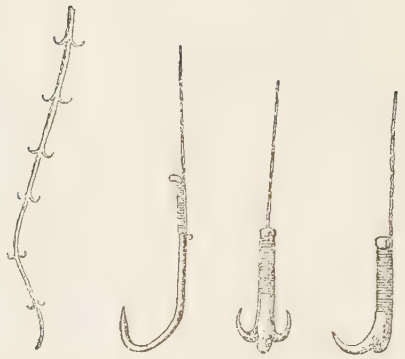
The next kind of spring-trap, referred to by Hale, is one in which the big wooden spring is made to strike the butt-end of a spear, causing it to fly like an arrow across the track of any passing animal.

This spring-trap is undoubtedly the "b'lantek paut," or "draw-back spring-spear," of the Peninsular Malays.

The third kind of spring-trap, which is described

SAKAI WITH TRAP SET IN AN OPENING OF A GAME FENCE.

The game fence is made of palm leaves stuck in the ground, with openings at intervals in which traps are set.



De Morgan.

TYPES OF FISH-HOOKS (NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL).

1. Natural hooks of the rattan or climbing cane (*Calamus*).
2. Single Malay fish-hook (iron).
3. Double hook of rattan used by aborigines.
4. Single hook of rattan used by aborigines.

De Morgan.

SAKAI FISH-DAM, FOR CATCHING FISH IN THE KINTA RIVER AT LUBO' KELAH ("LÖBOU KELA").

See p. 211.

(*N.B.* The lettering is not explained in De Morgan's text.)

as being worked on the bow principle, is the Malay "b'lantek tĕrbang," or "flying spring-spear."

I do not, however, give Hale's description, as he states that the Sakai professed "utter ignorance" of it.[1]

All three forms of the spring-spear-trap described are, however, certainly known to and used by the Peninsular Malays, though it may be an open question whether the Malays or the aboriginal tribes were the first to employ it.

Of ordinary snares or springes (for animals and birds) Hale says that they are made of rattan by the Sakai and variously set; the most usual form being a simple rattan noose set taut by a stout wooden spring: with these they catch rats, squirrels, and animals as large as the porcupine.[2]

Bird-lime is also employed. The sap of a "gutta-tree" is boiled down until it attains the required consistency, when it is applied to a number of thin slips of rattan, these slips being thickly planted over the ground to catch small birds: of some gregarious sorts, like the little padi-bird, great numbers are taken.[3]

Fishing.

Perak Sakai.—Of the Kinta Sakai Hale says that they do not trouble themselves about fishing until their vegetable food is on the point of exhaustion. They live on the mountain-tops, and do not go down to the big rivers for fish unless forced to do so by scarcity of food.[4] Once in about three months they will make a journey to one of the big rivers, and there, by means of fish-dams,[5] etc., obtain a large

[1] Hale, p. 290. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Ib.* p. 291. [4] *Ib.*
[5] Cp. De M. in *L'H.* ii. 653.

supply of fish. They do not, however, understand the drying of it, and hence even the biggest haul only means a few days' feasting, while the fish remains good.[1]

De Morgan states that fishing with rod and line (*lignes volantes*) is practised by the Sakai, a very primitive form of hook being employed, which consists of the "curved-back" thorns of certain kinds of rattan (*Calamus*), the line being made from strands of tree-bark (the fibres of *Artocarpus*).[2]

De la Croix says they are very clever at making "bow-nets," etc., and that he and Mr. Brooke Low, in ascending S. Kerbu, saw many small Sakai fishing-huts on the banks.[3]

The Sakai also make much use of "very beautiful casting-nets," manufacturing the twine of which the net is made from the inner bark of a creeper, by twisting two strands together on the thigh in the usual way. These nets are weighted, according to Hale, with chains manufactured from tin, which are obtained from the Malays, and attached to the outside edge of the net.[4]

De Morgan, however, saw some which were of still simpler construction, and weighted with stones,[5] the twine of which the net was made being manufactured from strands of bark of the "t'rap," or wild bread-fruit tree (*Artocarpus*).

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[1] Hale, p. 291.

[2] *L'Homme*, ii. 653, 655; but, on the other hand, Hale (p. 291) states that the Sakai "do not appear to know anything of angling." De M. (*L'H.* ii. 655) also speaks of their employing small bamboo receptacles for carrying the worms that they use as bait. Cp. *L'Homme*, ii. 619 (illustration).

[3] De la Croix, pp. 322-325; *L'Homme*, ii. 655.

[4] Hale, p. 291.

[5] De M. vii. 418.

Fish-dams, Weirs, and Traps.

The Sakai also commonly take fish by means of fish-dams, weirs, and traps (all of which are constructed very closely in accordance with the methods of the Malays, from whom they are most probably to a great extent copied. In the case of a wide shallow river, a V-shaped fish-fence is set across the stream, and a fish-trap or "weel" set at the point of the V (which fronts upstream). Deep narrow streams are fenced or dammed across, and the weels set in the opening.[1]

Hale describes in detail (p. 291) an extensive fish-trap which he saw in the Kinta river, where it was about sixty yards (54 m.) wide and rather swift.

His description is as follows :—

A is a grating of bamboo, B a platform to catch the fish. C and D are two rows of strong posts. This grating is built half-way across the river (30 yards?), and being strongly made will last a year. During flood-time many fish are taken, but most during the driest season of the year, when the second half of the river is dammed and all the water made to pass through the grating.

In order to assist this latter process the scrapings of a certain poisonous jungle-root[2] is thrown into the river some distance above the grating, the effect of which is to drive the fish down half-stupefied. Several hundred fish (many of a large size) are often taken by this means.

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[1] De Morgan relates how he passed a night in a deserted (Sakai) fishing-hut which fronted a huge dam (then half demolished) which had been used for catching fish (De Morgan, viii. 160).

[2] Doubtless *Derris elliptica*, called "tuba" by the Malays; *v.* Wray, *Per. Mus. N.*, No. I. pp. 19-23.

Hunting and Trapping.

Selangor Sakai.—The second form of spring-spear trap ("b'lantek paut") appears to be identical with that described as the "p'lantek" by Letessiér, among the Sakai of the Kuala Lumpor district.

Among the snares used by these Sakai, the "p'lantek" (he says) is the commonest and most dangerous, being composed of a strong springy rod furnished with a bamboo dart, which is intended to pierce any animal of sufficient size that disengages (in passing) the short cord keeping the rod in position. Before crossing the felled trees (which are always in the proximity of a Sakai habitation) for the first time, it is just as well to ascertain that there are no traps of this description along the route.[1]

In a graphic account of some Sakai tribes of the Ulu Langat district, the late Mr. J. A. G. Campbell remarked that it was very amusing to go out hunting with the Sakai in the jungle, and to see the stealthy way in which they went through it without breaking a twig. Although their pace seemed slow, it was very difficult to keep up with them, and they seldom failed to bring home some bird or beast for their evening meal. No other race in the Malay Peninsula could be compared with them in respect of their wonderful knowledge of the jungle. They were absolutely at home in it, and did not mind sleeping out in the rain either under a tree or up among its branches. They had a wonderful instinctive knowledge of the presence of animals, and could tell, when nobody else could, of a bird or animal moving at a great distance. They were even believed to be able to track

[1] Letessier, p. 100.

McGregor.

SAKAI IN JUNGLE ACCOUTREMENTS, SUNGEI BERANG, SEVEN MILES FROM TANJONG MALIM

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McGregor.

ABORIGINAL GROUP READY FOR HUNTING, BUKIT PRUAL, KEPONG, SELANGOR.

Man on l[illegible]h gun, Batin on the right.

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snakes by their smell, and could at all events catch any number of them without the slightest difficulty. The Sakai of Ulu Langat made a good deal of money by selling animals and birds to the Malays. They hunt with blowpipes, spears, and knives; but some have bought guns, which many of them use in common. They seldom hope to get more than two deer a year each, but count on about fifteen pigs. They have many modes of trapping game, a favourite one being to make game-fences (made of sticks planted in rows with palm-leaves tied across them), some of which are 500 yards (450 m.) long, and then to drive the game against this fence, and there shoot or spear it. They have many other snares which are well known to the Malays. They are not particularly brave. Many of them who have guns are not brave enough to hunt the elephant or bison, and are not ashamed to tell you so.[1]

Fishing.

Selangor Sakai.—The method of fishing which the Sakai consider the most important from their point of view, since it is also the most effective, consists in temporarily poisoning small streams and rivers in the manner already described, by means of the powerful sap obtained from the pounded root of a plant which the Malays call "tuba" (*Derris elliptica*). By means of this poison which is thrown into the river fish are stupefied in large numbers,[2] and may then be caught by hand or transfixed with a sort of harpoon or gaff made for the purpose.

[1] J. A. G. Campbell, p. 243.

[2] The fish stupefied by means of "tuba" are in no case, I believe, killed outright by the poison. I should add, perhaps, that it is impossible to tell whether this method of fish-poisoning is borrowed from the Malays, or *vice versa*. It is in any case a custom of exceedingly wide distribution.

The following description of one of the Fishing Feasts of the Selangor Sakai, which was witnessed by the writer in the interior of Selangor (Ulu Langat district), is taken from the account[1] of Father Letessier. He writes that the fishing at Ulu Beranang, at which he was present, was a great festivity. Installed upon the bank under a few large leaves of the "bĕrtam" palm, which were made to lean obliquely against a horizontal pole nine feet from the ground, each family at evening counted the fish caught, and dried them upon a large wooden grill built over the fire, where a bountiful supper was cooking.

The children, one above the other, holding on to the giant creepers which hung from the great trees, swung themselves from bank to bank or played in the water, in spite of their mothers, who feared that the poison might affect their little ones. Indeed, one of them suffered a long time from colic from having drunk the water too soon.

After supper, which was served on plates of leaves, without spoon or fork, the children recommenced their games, whilst their elders smoked cigarettes, stretched at ease upon branches or mats. The women, who had done nothing during the day, continued drying the fish far into the night.

III.—Jakun.

Hunting and Trapping.

Blandas.—The Blandas of K. Langat, like most of the tribes referred to, will eat everything that they can catch, and are very expert in the use of the blow-pipe, and employ dogs to discover their quarry. They

[1] Letessier, p. 100.

McGregor.

SAKAI FISHING AT ULU KALI, ULU SELANGOR.

McGregor.

ABORIGINES FISHING AT ULU KLANG.

Women in stream driving the fish, old man on the bank with hand-net ("bintoh").

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Cerruti.

TWO SAKAI WOMEN WITH PET JUNGLE-PIGS. ULU SLIM, PERAK.

Cerruti.

SAKAI WOMEN AND CHILDREN WITH PET JUNGLE-PIG.
The children's turn (notice face-paint of woman feeding child). Ulu Slim, Perak.

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do not, however, in hunting trust merely to their own skill, or to that of their dogs, as the following charm, which was given me by them as a charm of great efficacy in bringing down monkeys, will show :—

THE MONKEY-CHARM.

Charm the souls of apes and monkeys,
Souls of *lotong*, *k'ra*, and *wa'wa'*.
Come ye down—or feed the wild beasts!
Come ye down—or feed the bear-cat!
'Tis the "lemp'rai" stem up-tippling,
'Tis the "lemp'rai" stem down-settling,
'Tis the "kumbang" stem down-settling!
Forward then, at random stopping—
Though *one* handmaid be short measure—
Come ye down, with souls enchanted,
Monkeys, by my spells enchanted.
Lo, it is no dew descending,
But the tears of apes and monkeys,
Tears of *lotong*, *k'ra*, and *wa'wa'*.
Maidens, 'tis your souls descending.
Deem ye me some tree-stump walking,
Deem ye me the lightning's shadow.
Though your eyes may see me walking,
Walk I hid, as one smoke-shrouded.
Though I pass, may ye not see me.

The Blandas also occasionally keep wild animals for future consumption, though they cannot exactly be said to *fatten* them. I have seen a young wild pig kept in this way, a strong cage being built for it underneath the raised hut-floor of a Blandas man who lived on the river Langat.

Besisi.—The Besisi of K. Langat, in hunting, still as a rule use the blowpipe, though in many places it is fast becoming obsolete. Most of them also are well provided with spears and jungle-knives, but in a good many cases one meets with men who have managed to barter or buy an old Tower musket from the Malays, and this gun is then used in common by all members of the tribe.

The Besisi, like most of the aborigines, are won-

derful woodsmen. When I was at Sepang they frequently brought me in wild animals and birds that they had caught alive, among them being specimens of the Malayan partridge ("sorong lanting"), the "bĕrtam" bird, the argus pheasant or "kuau," various kinds of chevrotain, and even, on one occasion, the rare and curious mammal called *Gymnura* ("pijat-pijat"). So, too, in his account of the wild tribes of the same district, Mr J. A. G. Campbell remarked that the Besisi ("Orang Laut") used to bring him as many as ten "mangrove" snakes ("ular bakau") at a time, telling him they had caught them all that morning. Monkeys, birds, tiger-cats, etc., were sold by them for very small sums, and a monkey that would bring ten dollars in Singapore could be bought from them for twenty cents.[1]

In addition to spring-traps, such as those already described, many kinds of fall-traps and springes of various kinds, as well as game-fences, were used by the Besisi for trapping game of different sorts and sizes.

For bird-lime many sorts of trees possessing a viscous sap were resorted to and the sap mixed in various proportions, the liquid being boiled down if necessary till a proper consistency is reached. The sticky gum thus obtained was applied to the ends of a number of short rattan sticks or slivers (from 1 ft. to 2 ft. in length), and these as a rule were set in notches cut for the purpose with a jungle-knife in the branches of the trees to which the birds resorted.

The bird-lime was usually kept (by the Besisi) in small bamboo tubes, which were corked with a section of the leaf-stalk of a "bĕrtam" palm.

In order to capture the argus pheasant the follow-

[1] J. A. G. Campbell, p. 243.

ing very peculiar though cruel method was pursued. The argus pheasant, which is a most beautiful bird, is exceedingly shy of man, and lives, as a rule, a long way off in the hilly part of the forest, where it may be heard calling, and sometimes (but very rarely) can be seen flying overhead.

Here and there these birds have regular dancing-grounds which they clear of weeds and small shrubs by seizing the roots with their beaks and twisting their necks round the stems so as to drag the latter up out of the ground.

The Besisi of Kuala Langat, being aware of this habit, search for one of their dancing-grounds and plant in the centre of it one or two long and flexible slivers of bamboo, bent double so as to form a stiff kind of noose standing upright in the ground. The edges of these slivers are as sharp as knives, and when the birds twist their necks in the nooses (mistaking them, it is alleged, for newly-grown weeds) and try to drag them out of the ground, they generally kill or choke themselves in doing so.[1]

Fishing.

Besisi.—The Besisi of Langat (as their claim to be Orang Laut might lead us to expect) are very expert fishers. Their bait,[2] for the most part, consists of worms, especially the sand-worm ("pumpun sarang"), which they stalk and very adroitly dig up out of the sand before it has time to bury itself too deeply. They commonly also use, however, the "pumpun

[1] Often, however, they are taken alive in one of the many kinds of bird-traps used by the Jakun. A model, made at my request by a member of the tribe in order to exhibit the remarkable process here described, is contained in the Museum at Cambridge.

[2] It is described by Klinkert as resembling a millipede, as living in the sand, and as affording bait for fish.

ruat," which is a mud-worm of immense length (some I have seen measured upwards of three feet) living deep down in the mud of the mangrove swamps. A good deal, perhaps most, of the angling is done by the women, whom I have often seen fishing in this way, and who become very clever in the use of the rod.[1]

A somewhat unusual method of rod-fishing in vogue among some of the Besisi, as well as among some of the local Malays (who are said to have learnt it from them), is extremely curious. The fisherman goes out in a dug-out canoe, at about half-tide, and paddles gently in and out among the mangrove-roots in the little salt-water creeks of the tidal rivers. On reaching a suitable spot he starts angling, using an extremely short rod (not above two feet long), and a line not more than three feet long at the most. A novice might suppose that the only chance of getting a bite at all under such circumstances from anything better than a gudgeon would be to remain as silent and still as the grave. The Besisi, however, knowing his fish better, splashes the tip of his rod vigorously in the water. This has the effect of making his quarry (big mud-fish such as the "sĕmbilang"[2] and the "b'lukang") go for the bait with a greedy rush which results in their immediate capture. The fisherman, however, cannot be too careful, as the "sĕmbilang" is furnished with very poisonous spines (one at each side and one on its back), and I have known these to cause painful wounds, the effects of which continued to be felt for several days afterwards.

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[1] Mr. G. C. Bellamy says: "Some of the women are expert fishers, and make use of a light rod and a line of about the same length as the rod. They stand in the shallow water and throw the bait similarly to fly-fishing, whipping the fish out with great skill" (Bellamy, p. 229).

[2] *Plotosus canias*, etc. The "b'lukang" is unidentified.

McGregor.

GROUP OF JAKUN WITH BLOWPIPES, SHOWING MAN (IN CENTRE) WITH BACK-BASKET, BLOWPIPE, AND CHOPPER.

Vol. I. p. 15.

McGregor

HUNTING PARTY WITH BLOWPIPES, BUKIT PRUAL, KEPONG, SELANGOR.

Vol. I. p. 219.

I may add that I myself have caught "sĕmbilang" by the method described. The Malays call it "kachau" or "mĕngachau sĕmbilang" ("splashing" or "dabbling for sĕmbilang"), and it is thought that the fish take the splashing for that made by the crabs on which they feed, and which may often be seen flitting, like small violet will-o'-the-wisps, along the edge of the tidal waters, among the forked mangrove-roots.

The Besisi also make use of the Malay casting-net ("jala"), as well as of many kinds of fish-traps, which they frequently set in dams or fish-fences. They also use the fish-spear, but the method of poisoning fish by means of "tuba" (*Derris elliptica*) is now little practised by them, as it is discountenanced by the Government.

In addition to fish, the Besisi (as Orang Laut) live largely on shell-fish, which they collect (for the most part by hand) on the sandy flats of the foreshore in the Kuala Langat district. I have frequently seen them collecting cockles ("krang"), "kĕpah," "lokan," and mussels ("kijing"), whose breathing-holes are plentifully visible in places where the sand and the mud-flats meet and the Bĕrembang and Api-api trees cover the surface with their network of surface-roots and pointed suckers. The discarded shells are thrown away near the houses, and diminutive kitchen-middens are thus occasionally to be seen in the actual process of formation.

Hunting and Trapping.

Mantra.—The Mantra use poisoned bow-traps as well as darts for killing their game. A springy rod is planted in the ground with a short spike fixed to it near the point, at right angles. The spike is poisoned with "ipoh," and the point lightly pinned to the ground with a wooden fork, so that the slightest

touch may release it, and the spike strike its intended victim.[1]

Benua-Jakun (of Johor).—According to Logan, it was in the forest that the Benua sought their principal supplies of animal food. Their favourite dish—the flesh of the wild hog—was also that which was procurable in the greatest abundance. Logan passed several tracts which seemed literally to swarm with the hog. For miles together the banks of some streams were covered with the prints of their feet, and in some moist hollows their tracks were so abundant that it was impossible to recognise the path, and his guide repeatedly lost it. In other districts, again, they seemed to be less numerous. They were particularly plentiful in some places to the southward of the Lulumut chain, and the men of the settlement called Durian-tree Village (Kampong Pohun Durian), on the river Pines, a few days before his arrival there, had killed fifteen. They were killed by the help of dogs and spears. Of the two varieties of dog which the Benua possessed, the larger one was the proper hunter of the hog, although the smaller used also to be joined in the chase. Their spear-head, which was of native fabrication, was broad and very thin towards the edges. It was set on a shaft about eight feet long, and formed a light and serviceable weapon, without which the Benua never ventured into the forest or went upon a journey, and in the efficiency of which, for defensive and offensive purposes, he had much confidence. Whenever he entered a house his spear was stuck, with the head upwards, into the ground in front of the doorway.[2]

[1] Geiger, p. 29.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 256, 257; cp. *ib.* vol. ii. p. 258.

McGregor.

Aboriginal Group at Lubo' K'lubi, Ulu Langat, Selangor.

McGregor.

JAKUN WOMEN (ULU KLAU, PAHANG), WITH HUNTING DOG IN FOREGROUND.

Elsewhere we are told by the same writer that next to the hog, deer were most sought. The roe-deer ("kijang") and the sambhur ("rusa") were chased by the larger variety of dog, and the diminutive mouse-deer ("p'landok") by the small variety, which was generally reserved for that purpose. It had some resemblance to the Bengal fox, and appeared to be allied to the Chinese breed. The most common mode of hunting the mouse-deer was to send the dog into the jungle on the banks of a stream, the Benua either slowly floating down the current, or pulling against it in his canoe, and cheering on and guiding the dog with his deep, long-drawn, monotonous cries of "oh! oh! oh!" The dog, on running down a mouse-deer, was said to be in the habit of breaking its leg, and then, by means of barking, to direct the hunter to the spot. The only domestic animals besides the dogs, of which several were to be found in every cottage, were fowls of a larger breed, and the common Malay cat.[1]

Trapping.

Benua-Jakun.—A formidable and effective snare was used by the Johor Benua, as well as by the Berembun tribes, for capturing or killing the deer and the hog, and even in some cases the tiger. It consisted of a slight and rude game-fence carried to a considerable length across the ground which the animals were expected to traverse. At every twenty or thirty feet openings were left, between which spears were fixed (close to and parallel with the fence), with the heads reaching across the openings. The end of the shaft was fastened to the extremity of a freshly cut,

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 257.

and therefore highly elastic, sapling, placed horizontally, and measuring about fifteen feet in length and two to two and a half inches in breadth. The other extremity was fastened to a strong stake driven into the ground, and within a few feet of this another stake was placed (in such a direction that when the sapling was forcibly bent back against it for two or three feet it was perpendicular to the fence). The method by which it was retained so retracted was equally simple and effective. A rough pole secured by two stakes was placed parallel to one of the poles of the fence (on the side where the spear and its other apparatus were), but at a level a little below that of the spear. A stick measuring a few feet long was then bound firmly to one extremity of the sapling so as to be parallel to, and on the same level as, the spear, while the other extremity, well smoothed, was made to pass under another stick which was fixed at right angles to it, the ends of which passed under the two poles. The sticks retained their position by their mutual pressure. To this cross-stick a black and thin, but very strong, string was fastened. The other end of the string was attached to the further side of the opening, and the portion passing across it was made to hang loosely. When an animal entered the opening the pressure of its body on this part of the string pulled the cross-stick forwards. An advance of less than an inch released it, and the instant the stick which kept the sapling bent was thus freed in its turn, the latter sprang forward with immense force to its natural position, and the spear was driven into the body of the animal, indeed in many cases probably right through it. The slightness of the pressure required to release the spring, and the rapidity and

irresistible force with which the spear was impelled across the opening were admirable. The materials for every part of this contrivance were collected from the forest around. Even the spear-head was made of a species of bamboo (the "buloh kasap") and was exceedingly hard and sharp.[1]

The Berembun tribes also, to capture wild animals, dug pits about twelve feet in depth, which they covered over with brushwood.[2]

Wild pigeons, wild fowl, and many other birds used for food were caught by means of bird-lime, of which they possessed several very effective kinds, prepared by mixing the viscid sap yielded by different trees.[3]

Fishing.

Benua-Jakun.—Many families had small huts on the bank of the nearest stream on which they kept canoes, and men, women, and children, one, as a rule, to each canoe, were everywhere met with engaged in the quiet occupation of angling. They had, however, other methods of catching fish. The most common was by means of small portable traps woven from rattan creepers (*Calami*). Rows of stakes or fish-fences were also used. But the most elaborate form of fish-trap consisted of a large framework, like the skeleton of a bridge, which was thrown right across the stream, and at a level some feet higher than the banks, so as to be above inundations. A line of stakes was fixed across the river-bed, an opening being left in the middle. Above this the Benua took his seat on a small platform (sometimes sheltered by a roof),

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 257, 258. Accidents from these traps often occur to human beings. For one which proved fatal, *v.* Lake in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 25, p. 4.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 257, 258. [3] *Ib.*

and suspended a small net in the opening. On this net he kept his eyes intently fixed, and as soon as a fish entered he raised the net and extracted it. The rivers and streams abounded in fresh-water fish, and there were about fifty species.[1]

Udai.—The Udai were described by Newbold as preferring the delights of the chase to the drudgery of agriculture; they employed the day in roaming the forest, and subsisted on the flesh of the animals that they captured.[2]

Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.

Orang Laut, Sabimba.—To the blowpipe as their principal weapon the Sabimba owed all that they could obtain of the animals that lived in the trees of the forest, whilst with their dogs (a "species of pariah") they hunted the wild hog.[3]

Orang Laut, Beduanda Kallang.—The Beduanda Kallang were fishermen and foresters, and divided their time between these two pursuits. They had small fishing-stakes near the mouth of the river which some of them visited in the mornings.[4]

Orang Laut, Akik.—The Akik were expert divers and fishermen, and employed nets which they made themselves.[5]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 256.
[2] Newbold, ii. 381, 382.
[3] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 347*.
[4] *Ib.* p. 300.
[5] Newbold, ii. 413, 414.

CHAPTER V.

Modes of Barter.

Money is not yet understood by any but the most civilised members of the three races, all of whom trade to a greater or less extent in jungle produce, the chief articles bartered being gutta, tree-gum or "dammar," wood-oils (camphor, benzoin, etc.), perfumed wood, *e.g.* eagle-wood or "gharu," and to a limited extent, minerals, more especially tin.

In return the jungle-folk get rice, tobacco, salt, areca-nuts, cloth, cooking utensils, implements, tools, and weapons, and occasionally such luxuries as beads and (very rarely) looking-glasses.

They appear to possess a decided preference (doubtless due to the fact that neither are Mussulmans) for dealings with the Chinese, who obtain for them various articles which have now become necessities of their existence, and who do not cheat them so mercilessly as the Malays.

In many Malay legends reference is made to the alleged Sakai and Semang practice of depositing the objects that they were willing to barter in a recognised spot, and then returning a few days later to take up the articles that the Malays had meanwhile deposited in the same spot by way of payment

—a method allowing plenty of scope for the chicanery of which the Malays are so generally accused.

Logan's remarks upon the Benua-Jakun of Johor are, however, quite to the point here, and apply almost equally to all branches of the tribes in the Peninsula.

At all events (he says) it is to the Malays that the more civilised aborigines owe every departure from their original forest habits. If we deprive them of those articles for which the Malays have purposely infected them with a taste, and those they have themselves voluntarily sought from the desire to imitate and approximate to the habits of the more civilised appropriators of their country, there will remain hardly anything to distinguish them from their wilder compatriots. Indeed, examples may still be seen of men whom indolence alone prevents from working up to the high prices that the Malays would exact from them, and who live in a wild nomadic condition, their only clothing a loin-cloth, and their food limited during the greater part of the year to the produce of their clearings and of the forest.[1]

Compared with the labour that the acquisition of the necessaries of life costs them, that which is required to obtain the few luxuries and conveniences to which they are now habituated is excessive. Instead of a scanty and irregular supply of clothing and other articles, it should, in view of the fact that their industry is greater, suffice to raise them eventually to a condition of greater plenty and comfort than has been attained by the Malays themselves.[2]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 285, 286. [2] *Ib.*

I.—Semang.

Semang (no district specified).—In 1835, the usual method of barter employed between the Semang and the Malays was for the latter to deposit their commodities, consisting chiefly of coarse cloths, tobacco, and knives, in any open space in the vicinity of the known Semang camping-grounds, and then retire to a convenient distance. The Semang would next approach, and, having selected such articles as they fancied, bear them off, leaving in their place whatever they might deem a fair equivalent; this latter consisted chiefly of elephants' teeth, eagle-wood, resin, canes, rattans, and so forth, of which, through ignorance of their market value, the Semang always left an ample supply. A few, however, who had partially overcome their timidity, and occasionally ventured to approach the Malayan villages, speedily learned to profit by the superstitions and fears of their new acquaintances, and to demand a high and exorbitant rate for the vegetable preparations which they were wont to use as medicine.[1]

In a more detailed account we are told that a few of them who ventured to approach the Malayan villages obtained a little cloth in exchange for elephants' teeth, eagle-wood, wax, woods, gums, "dammar," and canes which they procured in the forest, but of the intrinsic value of which they possessed but little knowledge, so that they were generally imposed upon by the crafty Malay. From the Malays also they procured their arms, knives, and tobacco, of which last they made great use. In their own turn, however,

[1] Begbie, pp. 8, 9.

they frequently learnt to work upon the superstitions of the Malays (when they had no products to barter, and wished to procure a supply of tobacco), by presenting them with medicines which they pretended to derive from particular shrubs and trees in the woods, and represented as efficacious for the cure of headache and other complaints.[1]

Pangan.—The Pangan or Eastern Semang that we saw at Ulu Aring in Kelantan used to depend upon the Malay hamlet of Kampong Buntal for their rice, as well as for their salt and their tobacco, and had come down, in fact, at the time when we were there for the purpose of obtaining this latter commodity, of which I myself was able to present them with a considerable supply. The only other articles for which they were usually indebted to the Malays were the cloths they wrapped round their waists, and the blades of their jungle-knives and spear-heads. On the other hand, one of the men that we observed was in possession of a razor which had been "given" him (doubtless in return for more than its fair equivalent in other commodities) by the Malay chief or "Penghulu" of the village.

Kedah Semang.—The Semang of Kedah had themselves grown a small field of rice, and to the extent of their harvest were independent of the local Malays, so far as their food-supply was concerned. Nevertheless the scantiness of this stock made it quite clear that in a few months they would have come to an end of it, and would either be obliged to

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. iv. pp. 425, 426. This account is not quite just to the Semang, who undoubtedly offered to the Malays what they themselves regarded as efficacious medicines. Similar charges are, of course, often made by the Malays (from whom this idea may have been derived), but on proper investigation they prove to be baseless.

live again for a while on roots and fruits, or (more probably) to eke out the shortness of their own supply with a fresh store obtained from the Malays. The knives, spear-heads, and even the harpoon-heads used by this tribe were all of Malay manufacture, as were also all the cloths that they were wearing.

Perak Semang.—As to the extent to which these simple ways of trade were employed, De Morgan says that the Semang obtained a "considerable portion" of their livelihood by the barter of jungle produce with the Malays.[1] Like the earlier authorities quoted, he adds that they were "absolutely ignorant" of the value of money.[2]

II.—Sakai.

Perak Sakai.—The wild Sakai of the Perak Hills (Sakai Bukit) in trading with the Malays always either employ a "tame" Sakai as their intermediary, or else confine themselves to depositing their jungle products on the banks of the rivers at times and in places which are tacitly understood. They then withdraw, returning some time later to fetch the articles which the Malays offer them in exchange.[3]

The articles in which the Sakai usually trade are enumerated by De la Croix as including tree-gum, resin (or "dammar"), gutta, caoutchouc, wax, honey, ivory, and rhinoceros horns. These articles they dispose of to the Malays, not for ready money, but for cloth, salt, kitchen utensils, etc., the Malays being too clever to lose by the exchange.[4]

Selangor Sakai.—The Sakai of Selangor (Kuala Lumpor district) appear to have a decided preference

[1] De Morgan, viii. 296.
[2] *Ib.*
[3] De la Croix, p. 340.
[4] *Ib.* p. 337.

for dealing with the Chinese, who supply them with tobacco, cloth-stuffs, rice, tools, and cooking utensils, in return for various articles of jungle produce, such as gutta-percha and charcoal. They do not have recourse to the Malays except when there are no Chinese, as they are frequently cheated by the former, whereas the latter treat them not only with scrupulous honesty, but even with a sort of "fraternal cordiality."[1]

III.—Jakun.

Blandas.—The foregoing descriptions of barter as it obtains among the Semang and the Sakai of Perak apply so closely to the Blandas of Kuala Langat that it is hardly necessary to particularise further. An interesting point, however, which is worth mentioning is that both the Blandas and the Besisi, their neighbours, make considerable use of incantations and magic in collecting their jungle produce. The following charm employed by the collectors of wild honey is a fair example :—

Honey-gatherers' Charm.

"Mung, mung, mung!" the moon-white apes cry
(Apes of "rock" and "well" and "basil"),
Come ye out into the moonlight.
Hearken to me with affection,
List to me with kind affection,
Grannies, hark to me, your grandchild,
Who but begs for you to teach him
How to weave a mat—of rushes!
Grannies, o'er the seas come hasting,
O'er the hills come hasting, Grannies!
Swinging, swaying, come ye hither!
All I beg is, you should teach me
How to weave a mat—of bees-wax!
Grannies, hark to me your grandchild!

When I have explained that the moon-white "apes" in this invocation are probably intended to

[1] Letessier, p. 100.

represent the Blandas honey-collectors themselves, and that the word "Grannies" refers to the wild bees, who are supposed to be deceived by this quaint piece of fiction, I think the purport of this charm will be sufficiently clear without further explanation.

Besisi.—The same remarks apply to the Besisi; one of the charms used by whom (in collecting wild honey) was quoted by the present writer in *Malay Magic*.[1] I may add that the Besisi in the Kuala Langat district often raised a considerable crop of rice, and it was the object of the neighbouring Malays to cajole as much of this out of them as possible. On several occasions I was obliged to step in to protect them as far as I could from their rapacious neighbours. The latter frequently charged the Besisi with using false measures and similar methods of deception, but I never found that the charge could be fairly substantiated, and have little doubt that the real object of these charges was to discredit and rob the Jakun.

Mantra.—Of the Mantra we are told, on the high authority of Logan, that there were "no traders, shopkeepers, or artificers" among them,[2] but this does not, of course, signify that the Mantra do not engage in the ordinary trade in jungle products. In addition to this we are informed that the Mantra have no weights, but employ the (usual) coconut-shell as a measure.[3]

Benua-Jakun of Johor.—But by far the clearest and most circumstantial statement of the trading methods of any of those Peninsular tribes is Logan's report upon the trade of the Benua-Jakun of Johor.

The Malays (according to Logan) have taught the

[1] For this, and another Blandas charm of the same kind, *v. Mal. Magic*, App. p. 611.
[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 330*. [3] *Ib.*

Jakun to covet things which he knows not how to procure save from them. These are cloth, and certain articles of earthenware and iron, such as coarse plates, pots, pans, chopping-knives or "parangs," and axes. Sugar and coconuts again are both much prized. The Jakun's supply of rice often fails. His tobacco is deficient in strength. Although he has both wild and cultivated betel-vines, he has neither gambier, areca-nut, nor lime. Hence the Malays often ascend the river, their canoes laden with a tempting variety of these particular articles, and the Jakun, unable to resist the desire of calling some of them his own, needs little persuasion to become indebted to the Malay trader for any amount the latter may choose to impose upon him. The Jakun now finds himself in possession of a few of those things which bring him nearer the Malay, and at the same time under an obligation to collect rattans for his creditor, various kinds of eagle-wood, ("gharu" and "chandan"), camphor, resin or "dammar," wax, and "gutta taban."[1] These articles, with the exception of the "dammar," of which he makes torches, are articles of no value in his own eyes, but in which his forests so abound that, if a more equitable system of exchange were established between him and the Malays, he would not only find himself in possession of a large supply of all those articles which are now sparingly doled out to him, but actually also of a growing capital. The collection of the above commodities, however, does not form a constant or regular employment for any of

[1] Hervey, in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 8, pp. 103, 104, says, in writing of the Jakun of Johor: "At this place, Kampong Kenalau, I found a clearing, but no cultivation; on asking the reason, I was told they were too busy getting rattans for the Malays, which they do at a fixed price in rice and other articles, such as clothing, crockery, parangs (choppers), salt, and tobacco."

the Jakun. It is only when there is an unusual demand for any of them in Singapore that the Malays hurry to the interior and induce the Jakun to engage for a time in procuring a supply of whatever happens to be in request. At the period of Logan's visit nearly every man in the country was searching for "gutta taban," to which the name of "gutta-percha," a gum yielded by a different tree, is erroneously applied by Europeans. This tree was one of the commonest in the forests of Johor. It is not found in the alluvial districts, but in undulating or hilly ground (such as that which occupies the centre of the Peninsula between the Endau and the Batu Pahat) it occurs frequently, and in some places abundantly. Wherever Logan penetrated he found that collectors of "taban" had preceded him.[1]

The Jakun, after felling the tree, "ringbarks" the trunk by making an incision completely round it, from which the viscous milk flows. Similar incisions are made at distances of from 6 to 18 inches throughout the entire length of the trunk. The rings are no broader than the blade of the chopper with which they are made, no bark being removed save the rough superficial coating for an inch or two on each side. Many trees felled by Malays had rings of bark to the breadth of about an inch cut right out instead of a single incision. A Malay woodman who had been employed in different places in procuring the gutta stated that this was the usual Malayan system. The bark is not stripped off the tree, as has been stated. Logan asked both the Malays and the Jakun in different parts of the country whether they could not procure the gutta in the same way as they collect the dammar,

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 260, 261.

without destroying the tree. But the answer always was that the "taban" would not run like dammar, or like many other guttas, such as caoutchouc, and this is probably the fact. Varying statements were made as to the produce per tree, the extremes mentioned being two kati's and fifty kati's,[1] but it is doubtful whether anything near the latter quantity is ever obtained from a single tree. Many of the Jakun who had been engaged for some months in collecting assured me that they had occasionally obtained as much as eighteen kati's, but never more, and that the quantity obtained is usually nearer from three to five kati's than it is to the maximum mentioned. Logan described the collection of "taban" at length, because nearly the whole of the Jakun tribes had for some time past been withdrawn by it from their usual pursuits. They were not, however, under any apprehension that it could be extirpated, as it was only full-grown, or nearly full-grown, trees that repaid the labour of felling them and extracting the gutta, and the younger trees which they were compelled to leave would be amply sufficient (they believed) to keep up the stock. They were, no doubt, to some extent correct, but the effect of thinning out the "tabans" too rapidly had already been to reduce the annual supply of seed and seedlings. The seeds were eaten by the Jakun, but they did not, like the Malays in some countries (*e.g.* at Siak), extract an edible vegetable tallow from them.[2]

Of the methods in which the other articles of traffic yielded by the jungle were procured, Logan considered it unnecessary to speak at any length, because he did not learn that they differed in any respect from

[1] A "kati" = 1⅓ lbs. [2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 262, 263.

those adopted by the Malays. He mentions, however, that both races had very superstitious ideas regarding the collection of camphor. When engaged in searching for it they abstained from certain kinds of food, ate a little earth, and used a kind of artificial language, which was called the "Camphor Language" ("bhasa kapor"). This language Logan found to be the same on the Sedili, the Endau, and the Batu Pahat. From specimens which he subjoined it appears that most of the words are formed from the Malayan, in many cases by a mere periphrasis, such as "grass-fruit" for "rice," "far-sounder" for "gun," "short-legs" for "hog," "leaves" for "hair," etc.[1]

It was believed that if care were not taken to use this "Camphor Language," great difficulty would be experienced in finding camphor trees, and that when found the camphor would not yield itself to the collector. Whatever may have been the origin of this superstition, it was evidently based on the fact that although camphor trees were abundant, it very frequently happened that no camphor could be obtained from them. "Were it otherwise," said an old Jakun, who was singularly free from superstition, "camphor is so valuable that not a single full-grown tree would be left in the forest." Camphor was not collected by the Berembun tribes, at least on the western side of the Peninsula, and they were, therefore, unacquainted with this Camphor Language.[2]

But the present sketch of the Jakun trade in jungle produce would be incomplete were no reference made to the regular organisation established by the Malays for the purpose of exploiting their unsuspecting neighbours.

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 263, 264. [2] *Ib.* pp. 265, 266.

The Malayan Penghulu, Jinang,[1] or other headman in each river-district was also the head of the monopoly of trade with the Jakun. Hence traders entering the river most commonly visited him, and he either supplied them from his own store, or purchased what they required from the riverain Malays, or allowed them to do so themselves. This system was enforced with more or less rigour, according to the character of the Penghulu, but traffic was always to a certain extent carried on without his intervention, though strangers were absolutely prohibited from trading with the Jakun direct.[2]

To get a more complete understanding, however, of the system by which this monopoly was maintained and worked, it is necessary to explain the scheme a little more fully.

The Malays settled on the rivers leading into the country of the Jakun might be divided into three classes: (1) the Penghulu and his relatives and dependants; (2) the Johor Malays (who frequently belonged to Telok Blanga, and enjoyed a certain consideration and prestige owing to their means and their Singapore connexion); and (3) miscellaneous settlers who did not possess these advantages. The trade with the Jakun was chiefly in the hands of the first and second classes, who acted in concert. The prices at which purchasable articles were to be valued was from time to time regulated by the Penghulu, who in this, as in all other matters, consulted the principal men of the river. The Penghulu next conferred with the Jakun chiefs or Batins, and so managed the discussion as to carry the point already agreed upon. The principle on which the sliding scale of prices was

[1] Cp. *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 273, 274. [2] *Ib.* p. 286.

managed was simply that of maintaining a high value for anything that was sold to the Jakun, and a low one for what was bought from them. When the Jakun rice-harvest had been reaped, they were persuaded that rice was everywhere so plentiful that its price was very small, and that, on the other hand, the price of cloth had advanced as much above as the price of rice was depressed below that of the Singapore market. The conclusion of all the inquiries made by Logan, and of numerous instances of barter of which he was a witness, was that the Malays sold the goods which they purchased in Singapore at advances of from 100 to 400 per cent, whilst they bought "taban," camphor, dammar, and other produce of the forest at from 100 to 400 per cent below the prices which they received in Singapore. Thus a voyage of two or three days enabled the Malay to double or quintuple the value of goods transferred from Singapore to Johor and from Johor to Singapore. As the trade was almost entirely carried on by barter, the Malays had a double profit on every transaction. Yet they were not satisfied with having established this vulture-like system of trade. They resorted, besides, to every indirect means of enhancing their gains that was at all consistent with the preservation of the trade. They made, for instance, advances of goods, and as their debtors were entirely unacquainted with writing and accounts, they had little difficulty in exacting far more than the stipulated return from those Jakun whose memories were not very tenacious; for the return was made in small quantities from time to time, as the jungle produce happened to be collected. But the most certain and constant mode of defrauding the Jakun was in weighing the goods which were the

subject of the bargain. This was generally done very hurriedly, and when a pretence was made of doing it more carefully the beam was brought into a horizontal position, not by the counterpoise of the weights, but by the finger of the Malay. This method of weighing had, at the time of Logan's visit, become so general, that although the Jakun generally were aware that the Malays did not weigh fairly, and some had even acquired so much knowledge of the balance as to point out in what the fraud consisted, the Malay would laugh it off, insist that it was all right, and either deliver the article to one of his attendants, or toss it into his canoe. To show more definitely the extent to which the Malays took advantage of the ignorance of the Jakun, Logan added the following lists of prices of various articles, as ascertained in several localities :—[1]

Trade on the Sembrong.

Articles sold to the Jakun.

	Local Price.	Singapore Price.
	$ c.	$ c.
Tobacco . . . . . per kati[2]	1.00	.13
Salt . . . . . per gantang	.18½	.04
Coconuts . . . . . each	.04	.01 to .02
Common "sarongs" or skirts . . each	2.00	.50
Bugis "sarongs" (inferior)	5.00 to 6.00	1.00 to 1.25
White cotton jackets ("bajus") . . each	.38 to .75	.10
Headkerchiefs . . . . . each	.58	.14
Common red cotton cloth . . per yard	.38½	.10
Large plate (common) . . . . each	.38	.10
Small plate (common) . . . . each	.09	.04
Saucers . . . . . each	.03¾	.01
Cups . . . . . each	.09	.01

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 286, 287. But see *n.* to p. 95, *ante*.

[2] These are the actual prices examined, and the Singapore prices in general are those of articles of the same quality. A "kati" = 1⅓ lbs. = $\frac{1}{100}$ pikul. A "gantang" varies, but roughly = 1 gallon.

Articles bought from the Jakun.[1]

	Local Price.	Singapore Price.
	Cents.	Cents.
Eagle-wood (lignum aloes) . per kati	.38	.50 to .66
Camphor . . . . . per kati	.16	.30
Dammar . . . . . per pikul	.35	.57 and upwards
Benjamin (mixed) . . . per pikul	.09	.60 to .80

On the Lenggiu.

Articles sold to the Jakun.[2]

	Local Price.	Singapore Price.
	$ c.	Cents.
Rice (coarse and uncleaned) per 5 gantangs	1.00	.33⅓
Tobacco . per kati (of about 12 tahils)	.18	.09 to .10
Salt . . . . . per 13 gantangs	1.00	.50
1 small earthenware pan or "blanga" . .	.09	.04
1 small rice-pot or saucepan ("kuali") . .	.38½	.15
1 large rice-pot	.77	.39
1 chopper or parang	.38½	.11½
1 common knife	.20	.08

Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.

Sabimba.—The colony of Orang Laut who were living (*circ.* 1850) near the source of the Tembrau (which falls into the "Sĕlat Tembrau" or "Old Strait" of Singapore, opposite the most northerly point of the island) consisted of twenty-five men, thirty women, and fifteen children. They were slaves of the reigning Chief of Johor (Temenggong), being under a Malay "Jinang," who employed them in collecting "taban," "dammar," rattans, eagle-wood ("gharu"), ebony, "chandan," and wax. In return he supplied them with rice, sago, and (very rarely)

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 288. [2] *Ib.*

with a little cloth. Other Malays were also allowed to carry on a little trade (by barter) with them,[1] and by this means they obtained a supply of axes, hatchets, earthenware, cooking-pots, iron pans, salt, chillies, and tobacco.[2]

Elsewhere we read of the Sabimba tribe as consisting of eighty individuals, young and old, and as being employed in cutting rattans for the Malays, who furnished them with rice, weapons, and utensils in return.[3]

Orang Muka Kuning.—The Orang Muka Kuning (we are told) were entrusted to the care of a Malay headman or Batin, named Pajar, who lived on Pulau Loban, and was appointed by the chief (Yam-tuan Muda) of Rhio. He visited them from time to time, bringing rice and other articles, and receiving in return the jungle produce that they had collected for him. We are further expressly told that the Orang Muka Kuning were prohibited from trading with other persons "under penalty of a ducking." Rattans, dammar, and eagle-wood they barter for rice, cloth, implements, tobacco, and salt.[4]

For 1000 rattans they received four "gantangs" of coarse rice;[5] for 100 dammar torches, six "gantangs"; and for one basketful (measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot deep and broad) of eagle-wood, four "gantangs" of the same commodity.[6]

Beduanda Kallang.—Similarly we are told that the Beduanda Kallang were fishermen and foresters, dividing their time equally between the two pursuits, and that they were in the habit of collecting jungle

[1] Except in "taban," which they cannot dispose of to others under pain of a ducking.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 298.

[3] *Ib.* p. 347*.

[4] *Ib.* p. 337*.

[5] *Ib.*

[6] *Ib.* p. 338*.

produce for a Malay headman under the reigning chief (Temenggong) of Johor, who had charge of them.[1]

Orang Akik.—The Orang Akik erected temporary sheds along the coast whenever they had occasion to go ashore, to collect dammar and wood-oil, etc., etc. For months together, however, they resided in their boats, employed not only in fishing, but in collecting agar-agar (*Zostera*), and tripang or bêche-de-mer (*Holothuria*), etc. When the season or the weather did not permit of this, they employed themselves in gathering wood and pork-oil.[2]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 300.

[2] *Sic* in original, but I cannot be sure what is meant by "pork-oil," unless, as I think most probable, it = "hog's grease," the Malay for which ("minyak babi") may be so translated; *v. ante*, p. 129. Newbold, ii. 413, 414.

CHAPTER VI.

Weapons and Implements.

Stone Implements.

Stone implements are very numerous in the Peninsula, especially in Perak and Pahang, but it is an open question whether any forms of stone implement, except possibly chips or flakes, were ever manufactured by any of the wild tribes, the weight of evidence being decidedly against it. It is necessary, however, to deal with this question here, as it is to the wild tribes that their use has perhaps been most generally attributed.[1]

Captain J. Bradley (a sportsman travelling in the Malay Peninsula in 1876) speaks of finding in the tree-huts of the aborigines (though without giving any details which might identify either the tribe or the district) "a curious instrument made of bone, and apparently intended to serve as a knife, together with a sort of tomahawk formed by fixing a pointed stone

[1] See, for instance, the tradition quoted by De Morgan, vii. 157, of a tribe that was "ignorant of metals, and employed nothing but implements of stone"; and the same story as referred to by Hale, p. 285: "A Sakai chief in Kinta told me of a race who did not know anything about iron, but used stone axes to cut down trees." And cp. Swett. p. 228: "It is believed that comparatively recently some at least of these tribes used implements of flint or slate."

The prevalence of this tradition may, however, easily be explained if any of these aborigines had previously used chips of flint (or other kinds of stone) for knives.

upon a stick." Elsewhere (p. 331) the same writer speaks of finding (in the same locality) "a number of sharpened stones, serving the purpose of knives." But both statements are far too vague to base any conclusions upon.

Again, we have the statement of Vaughan-Stevens to the effect that a tribe of Negritos (whom he terms "Orang Pangan," and assigns to the district that he calls No. 2) informed him that they had formerly been in the habit of using stone weapons; and that they made, at his request, wooden models of these very implements. He adds, moreover, that the Pangan "recognised" some stone implements which he showed them as their "old work-tools." Unfortunately, however, it does not appear whether he showed these stone implements to the Pangan before or after the models were made; but the former would probably have been the case, and at all events Vaughan-Stevens' own editor very properly points out that a scrutiny of these models shows them to be identical in shape with iron tools *of the Malay type* still in use in the Peninsula.[1]

Lastly, one of the facts that has been much relied upon, viz. that aboriginal (non-Malay) names exist for

[1] In the passage referred to, Vaughan-Stevens remarks that it had been especially interesting to find that the Pangan knew that their ancestors had employed stone weapons before they obtained iron from the Siamese (*sic*). Vaughan-Stevens was not, however, able to properly establish this fact until he had been formally received into the tribe. When he asked the Pangan what tools they had used in ancient times, before they could obtain the Malayan chopper ("parang")—since they themselves did not know how to work iron—they at once replied that they had used stone. On Vaughan-Stevens further inquiring after such stone tools, it transpired that they no longer possessed any, but "from their traditional knowledge" they at once manufactured some wooden models. Vaughan-Stevens, however, possessed three or four genuine stone implements, and, without saying a word, laid them before the Snahut, who at once exclaimed, "Those are Menik" (*i.e.* "Those belong to the Pangan"). Other Pangan, moreover (later, and in other places), recognised these implements as their "old work-tools' (Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 99). But see also p. 437, *n.* 2, *infra*, where the teeth of Bamboo-rats are mentioned as being used before the introduction of iron.

such articles as "axes," "spears," and "knives,"[1] does not, unfortunately, prove that the *material* of which these implements were made was necessarily any sort of stone; whereas the fact adduced by Wray that no single stone spear-head or chopper (or, I may add, arrow-head) has ever yet been found in the Peninsula (although in several dialects aboriginal names for them occur) appears conclusive in the opposite sense.[2]

On the general question, Grünwedel, in reporting the receipt of forty-nine stone implements ("batu lintar") sent home by Vaughan-Stevens from the Malay Peninsula, remarks that these implements are distributed throughout the entire Indian Archipelago, and reappear even in Further India, Burma, Cambodia, etc. Vaughan-Stevens could not say what race they were once used by, for neither the (civilised) Malays nor any of the wild tribes knew anything certain either about their origin or their use. The latter paid no attention to them when they met with them on their wanderings, and the superstitious Malays only believed them to be the missiles of evil spirits, and, when they found them, would store them away in their huts without having

[1] Clifford in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 24, p. 27.

[2] Wray, *Per. M. N.* iii. p. 3. Mr. H. N. Ridley informs me that he has found about seven main types of stone implements in Kelantan. The seven chief types obtained were as follows:—

(1) Stone club (or mallet?).

(2) Stone chisel or gouge (New Guinea type). [It may, however, be doubted whether these so-called chisels are in reality chisels or axes. Of the latter there are two types: (1) the axe whose head fits into a socket; (2) the one whose long and chisel-shaped head goes through the helve.—ED.]

(3) Stone adze (ordinary Peninsular, *i.e.* Malayan type).

(4) Stone adze (New Guinea type).

(5) Skinning-knife (?). It is a "flat, thin lamina of diorite or greenstone, slightly concave and convex, and measures about 1 foot in length by 2 inches wide by about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick in the thickest part."

(6) Small knife.

(7) Large knife or chopper.

According to Mr. Ridley, the supposed agate of which these implements are often said to be made was probably a burnt diorite.

Not a single specimen either of a spear-head or of an arrow-head was found.

For a recent find in Pahang, *v.* Swan in *Man*, 1904, 34 (with diagrams). The most curious of these specimens is the stone ring here figured.

Swan (*Man*, 1904, 34).

STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM PAHANG.

Vol. I. p. 244.

McGregor.

JAKUN MAN IN HUNTING ACCOUTREMENTS,

showing bark cloth girdle, blowpipe, and quiver, with bone fastener. Ulu Batu, Selangor.

any idea of their real use. They are found at various depths below the surface, and although nothing certain is known about them in the Peninsula, yet as the various wild tribes nevertheless assert that in former days a race of men, differing both from themselves and the Malays, lived in the Peninsula, it may be assumed that it is to them that the use of stone implements is tacitly attributed, though this evidence is altogether too vague to rely upon.[1]

By the aid of the microscope traces of copper and iron may be identified on these stones. The stones showing such traces are used by the Malays to furnish tips for the metal spurs of their fighting-cocks, since they believe that tips thus furnished cannot be blunted. The Malay children play with them, and try to make them smoother than they were when first found.[2] In no case did Vaughan-Stevens discover them *in situ*, the specimens being all obtained from Malays during his twelve months' journey between Johor and Kelantan.[3]

Stone implements are numerous in Pahang, Negri Sembilan, Selangor, and South Perak, very rare in Johor and Kelantan. Sometimes they occur in Kedah and Trengganu, but are very rarely found in Patani.[4]

The arguments bearing upon this most difficult subject were excellently stated many years ago by Wray, who, in an article on the cave-dwellers of Perak, remarked that it had been somewhat too rashly taken for granted that the cave-dwellers (of Perak, etc.) were the makers of the stone implements which had been dis-

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 832.

[2] But their most important use among the Malays is medicinal.

[3] *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 833.

[4] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 101. The comparative rarity of the specimens obtained from the eastern sea-coast of the Peninsula, and the abundance of those found on the western coast, point to the possibility of their having been introduced from some part of Sumatra.

covered in such abundance in Perak and the neighbouring states. The least reflection would have served to show that these implements indicated a much higher intelligence than would be compatible with the evidences afforded by the remains discovered in the caves.[1]

All the stone implements were of axe or chisel blades, and not one single spear-head had ever been found. The second division of the stone age was divided from the first by the introduction of axe-pointed implements and all the important advances that were indicated by the use of this type of tool. If the cave people had been acquainted with the use of stone, they would almost certainly have employed spear-pointed implements of the rudest kind; as when they had advanced as far as the making of chisels and axe-pointed tools, they would have been able to build houses and be independent of the shelter of caves, and have been in a position to cultivate the soil and raise food instead of having to subsist on shell-fish and the animals of the jungle. The multiplicity of the types of stone implements found in Perak showed that the users of them must have been in a comparatively high state of civilisation.[2]

The remarkable absence of all palæolithic patterns might be explained by supposing that there had never been a period in this part of the world when the ruder implements were in use, but that the people (whoever they were) that employed them were settlers from some other locality who on arrival had reached the second stage of the stone age. There was of necessity no means of fixing, even in the most approximate manner, the date of the introduction of the use of stone in Perak, but the similarity of the types

[1] L. Wray, *Cave-dwellers*, pp. 43, 44. Cp. *L'Homme*, ii. 494 *seq.* [2] *Ib.*

of the implements was quite sufficient to indicate that it was a continuation of the same wave of progress which led to the evolution of these tools in other countries. This was, of course, far from saying that the stone age in Malaya had been contemporaneous with that of Europe. The number of the stone implements was, however, as striking here as in other parts of the world, pointing indubitably to the long continuance of the use of these lithic tools.[1]

The finding of a few implements in the cave-deposits would by no means prove that the inhabitants of these caves were the makers of them, but only that they were of the same age. For it was quite likely that there had been two races of different degrees of advancement living in the country at the same time, and that the lower might occasionally acquire either by barter or other means the weapons of the higher race. In the same way the wild tribes were now accustomed to the use of iron axes, pottery, clothes, and other things bought from the Malays, whilst the Malays themselves in turn used articles of European manufacture.[2]

The aborigines, again, might well have been able to fashion weapons out of bamboo with knives made of the same material (especially when hardened by the application of fire), and these would be probably supplemented by the use of sharp fragments of stone [as well as of bone]. In this way it would be quite possible to make bamboo-pointed spears, blowpipes, darts, and bows and arrows. Bamboo weapons would, of course, have left no trace, in view of the long

[1] L. Wray, *Cave-dwellers*, p. 43, 44. Mr. Wray informs me that he purchased for the Perak Museum, from Mr. Bozzolo, about 150 specimens obtained in Ulu Perak, and Patani.

[2] *Ibid.*; cp. Wray, *Journ. F. M. S. Mus.* I. i. pp. 13-15.

period that must have elapsed since they had been in use. That the aborigines used fire was abundantly evident, and this, in the hands of other savages, had been made into a most effective means of shaping wooden objects.[1]

In other words, the rudimentary stage of culture through which these tribes have passed, and in some cases are still passing, may perhaps be more accurately described as a "wood and bone" age than as an age of stone.

To sum up, we may conclude that the wild tribes (Sakai and Semang) were not the manufacturers of the stone axes and chisels found in the Peninsula, and the case in fact appears to be a close parallel to that of the Andaman islanders, of whom Man has recorded (p. 161) that "they never, even when iron was scarce, made arrow-heads, axes, adzes, or chisels of stone."

The following list includes, on the other hand, the stone implements which certainly are, or are at all likely to have been formerly used by the wild tribes of Malaya. They are the anvil and hammer recorded by De Morgan (consisting of an upper and a lower stone),[2] the whetstone,[3] chips or flakes used as knives, and cooking-stones.[4] To this list, which so far agrees with the list of implements used by the Andamanese, may be added the stone rasp or file, consisting usually of a piece of sandstone,[5] which is used especially for filing the teeth among the Pangan of Kelantan.

On the other hand, the wild aborigines of the Hills (Orang Bukit) of to-day, who possess no imple-

[1] L. Wray, *Cave-dwellers*, p. 46.
[2] De Morgan, vii. 415.
[3] Sometimes a stone axe-head itself is used; cp. Hale, p. 286.
[4] *V. supra*, p. 124, etc.
[5] *V. infra*, vol. ii. 33.

ments of iron, rely almost entirely upon wood or bone for the blades of their weapons, as well as for all their implements.[1]

Knives and Spears.

The most primitive form of knife, and at the same time the most natural form for the country, still to be found among the wild tribes (as also on some ceremonial occasions among the Malays) consists of a sharp sliver of bamboo, which makes a very fair knife.

It is possible, and perhaps even probable, that flakes and chips of stone may have been used in former times when the knife of Malay civilisation was not procurable,[2] and when the work required could not be performed by a knife of bamboo,[3] or bone.

The Malay "dagger" or "kris" and other kinds of Malay weapons are also occasionally used by the wild tribes, especially the Jakun, but wooden and bone awls (for boring purposes) are used to this day.[4]

In its earliest form the spear of the country seems to have been some form of throwing-stick or "squailer," the use of which has been recorded among the Jakun by Logan,[5] whilst at least two forms of it[6] are certainly still known to the Pen-

[1] De la Croix, p. 340, where this statement is, however, confined to the Sakai.

[2] Capt. J. Bradley, p. 298, also mentions finding in one of the tree-huts which he discovered "a curious instrument made of bone, and apparently intended to serve as a knife." And on p. 331 he says: "The only other articles found were a number of sharpened stones, serving the purpose of knives." Cp. p. 269, *n.* 1, *infra.*

[3] Such cases would, however, be exceedingly rare, these bamboo knives being more effective than might at first be supposed. In Borneo, for instance, a bamboo knife is used by the executioner for cutting off heads; being merely sharpened whenever it is used.

[4] For examples, see pp. 316 and 329, *infra.*

[5] For the spear, *v. J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 257, and Lake in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 25, p. 3. It is pre-eminently a "savage Malay" weapon, and is used universally by the Jakun.

[6] One sharpened at one end, the other at both.

insular Malays.[1] The bamboo spear is still largely used, especially by the wilder aborigines. The metal spears, which are of several types (all of them Malayan), are used for fishing as well as hunting.

The fact that no stone spear-head has yet been found in the Peninsula is certainly a notable one, and may point to the fact that the spear-heads used by the men of the Malay stone age were made of bamboo or of some other equally perishable material. There is little differentiation of metal spear-types as between the aborigines, doubtless owing to the fact that all have borrowed alike from the Malay. In war, spear-heads are sometimes lashed to the muzzle-end of a blowpipe.

Hatchets.

The hatchets now used by the wild tribes throughout the Peninsula are obtained by barter or purchase from the Malays, except, perhaps, in a few cases in which some sort of rude substitute is roughly forged. Even in the latter case, however, the blades are, I believe, invariably copied from Malay models, and there appears to be no record of the use of an independent axe-type among either Sakai or Semang, even though they may (and certainly do) have non-Malay names for them.[2]

On the other hand, there is, I believe, a good deal still to be learnt from the nature of the rattan

[1] Cp. J. Bradley, p. 298: "Outside the (tree-) huts a number of spears were laid amongst the branches of the trees. They consisted merely of long sticks of hard wood sharpened at both ends." And cp. also *ib.* p. 320: "Some of them (the wild men) seized their spears, or pointed sticks." Also p. 331: "In the interior of one of the huts were a number of short thick sticks, intended, apparently, as missile weapons. Several of them had traces of blood and feathers adhering to them, as if they had been used for knocking down birds."

[2] Capt. J. Bradley (p. 298) alone mentions finding in a tree-hut "a sort of tomahawk, formed by fixing a pointed stone upon a stick."

lashings by means of which the adze-head is made fast to the helve, for I was repeatedly assured by Malays living in the Besisi and Blandas country (on the Langat) that the difference between the lashings of a Malay and a Jakun adze-head could be detected without the least difficulty by the expert.

Firearms.

All branches of the wild tribes now generally possess some form of firearm, which most usually takes the shape of an old Tower musket, and is not unfrequently owned, or at least used, in common by all the men of the tribe who claim it.

These guns are obtained by barter at extortionate rates from friendly Malays or Chinamen.

The use of firearms by the Sakai and Semang appears, however, to have been of extremely recent date, as it is only since the establishment of a strong government in the Malay States that there has been any sort of peace between them and the Malays, and before the establishment of this peace the Malays were not likely to be willing to put such dangerous weapons in the hands of their victims.[1]

The Bow.

The use of the bow in the Peninsula is confined to those tribes which are (wholly or partly) of Negrito origin. It is indubitably their chief tribal weapon, as the blowpipe appears to be that of the Sakai,[2] and as the spear is that of certain of the Jakun tribes.

There are, it is true, several references in old writers to the use of the bow by Sakai and Jakun, but upon examination it will easily be seen that they

[1] See *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 272.

[2] Cp. De Morgan, vii. 415.

are not of such a character as to shake the statement made in the foregoing sentence. Some of these statements, especially those of M.-Maclay,[1] De la Croix,[2] and perhaps even De Morgan and Maxwell, are due to the fact that none of these writers were able to distinguish between the Sakai and the Semang, and habitually applied the term "Sakai" to groups of Negritos. Pleyte, therefore, in his great monograph on "the Blowpipe and the Bow," was perfectly right in correcting M.-Maclay, who is perhaps the most typical example of this class of writer. And although it must be admitted that when all these statements (based on misnomers) have been discounted, there still remain one or two testimonies to a knowledge of the bow, on unimpeachable authority (not on the part of the Sakai, but on that of the Jakun), even these latter yield to investigation.

Logan, for instance, informs us that the bow and arrow were known to the Jakun (whom he calls "Benua"); but he immediately proceeds to qualify this statement by adding that though they were known they were not used, and I think there can be no very great doubt that the tradition was based on a rumour of the bows of the far-off Semang.[3] Again,

[1] Cp. M.-Maclay in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 2, p. 214.

Miklucho-Maclay says, "Another not so dangerous, but ethnographically a much more important weapon, is the bow ('loids'), the use of which I have only seen among the unmixed Orang Sakai. It is about two metres long, is made of bamboo, and the arrows have iron points." This quotation, however, is a tissue of misstatements. The bow of the aborigines of the Malay Peninsula can neither be described as more important ethnographically nor as less dangerous than the blowpipe, on which latter point, see Pleyte, *loc. cit.* It is also entirely incorrect (as Pleyte points out) to describe the bow as a Sakai weapon, it being the distinctive weapon of the Negrito tribes. The alleged Sakai bow described by Miklucho-Maclay is, as his map shows, a Pangan bow, and it is very unlikely that the arrows, still less the bow, would be of bamboo. Lastly, for "loids" we should read "loidd" or "loydd," which is the ordinary Semang name for the bow.

[2] De la Croix, p. 331.

[3] Logan in *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 272.

another observer (quoted by Pleyte[1]), when staying in Singapore, observed and described in detail some methods of arrow-release employed by the Temiang tribe (of the Orang Laut), and states that the bow of which he writes was used for shooting small game and fish; adding that the same weapon was employed in the magic ceremonies of the tribe.[2]

This account, at first sight, seems clear enough, but it has to be noted that the giver of the information had come from Sumatra, and that what he was describing was probably a Sumatran custom, and had nothing to do with the customs of the "Orang Laut." If correct, it is one of the interesting instances of Semang influence in the south, of which we sometimes get examples.

It cannot, therefore, be considered as yet established that the bow is employed as a tribal weapon by any tribes that are either of Sakai or Jakun extraction; and I may add that there is very little probability of its ever being so established. If, however, this should ever prove to be the case, it must certainly be in a mixed Semang-Sakai or Semang-Jakun tribe, in which the Negrito influence has remained so strong as to resist effectually the incursions of the alien culture. A survival of this kind is not impossible, even in the extreme south of the Peninsula, where the Semang influence, in small patches, is sometimes particularly strong. But apart from this remote possibility, I think that any idea of discovering the bow in use either as a Sakai or a Jakun weapon may once for all be definitely abandoned, and that, if it should ever happen to be so found among either of these two races, it will only be in the guise of a "borrowed plume."

[1] *Internat. Arch. f. E.* Bd. iv. S. 34 *et seqq.*

[2] Doubtless as a "fleam."

There is not much more to add with regard to the bow, unless it be to note the fact that the bows of the Semang very closely resemble one figured by Man, who describes it as coming from the southern group of the Andamans.[1] The bows from the North Andamans appear to be of a different character, and it is therefore in these South Andamans that it might be advisable to look first for evidences of connexion between Semang and Andamanese culture. Unfortunately, however, these are just the islands of which least is known, and I am therefore only able to draw attention to the subject as one that especially requires to be worked up.

The Blowpipe.

The distribution of the bamboo blowpipe or blow-gun, as Geiger, following Pleyte, has recently shown, is (with the possible exception of the Mentawai Islands) inseparably bound up with the use of Ipoh poison, the region covered being in either case limited, broadly speaking, to the confines of the Malayan region, using that word in its widest sense.

In the Malay Peninsula itself the blowpipe is found among all tribes, from Johor, in the extreme south, to Singora, in the north.[2]

The blowpipe is to be seen in its highest development (as far as the Peninsula is concerned) among the Sakai, Besisi, and Mantra, whilst among the Semang (and some Jakun) it is found in its lowest and roughest form.

The Sakai and Jakun, on the other hand (as has already been shown), do not employ the bow, the use of

[1] Cp. p. 280, *n.* 1, *infra.*

[2] M.-Maclay in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 2, pp. 213, 214. For exceptions, *v. J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 25, p. 3, and No. 26, p. 14.

which is confined to the Semang.[1] It is in fact now quite certain that the natural weapon of the Semang is the bow, and that they only learnt the use of the blowpipe from the Sakai. Hence even when they did take to it, they adopted it quite perfunctorily, and at no time took such trouble over its manufacture or pride in its possession as the two other races mentioned.[2]

In the islands of the Malay Archipelago (in Borneo, for instance), the blowpipe consists of a long wooden barrel or tube the interior of which has to be bored out.[3] This method of manufacture is much clumsier and more laborious than that by which its bamboo fellow of the Peninsula is made, and it stands, I think, more or less to reason that if the wooden blowpipe of Borneo (or that made by some of the savage Malay tribes in the Peninsula) had had to be invented before the idea of utilising *Bambusa Wrayi* for the purpose had arisen, the bamboo blowpipe as we know it would never have existed. On the other hand, the sporadic existence of the wooden blowpipe may reasonably be due to the rarity or the absence of the particular species of long-jointed bamboo (*Bambusa Wrayi*)[4] from which the wild tribes of the Peninsula manufacture their blowpipes, for it is inconceivable that any intelligent race that had once

[1] Cp. Swett. p. 228: "The Sakai use no other weapons than the blowpipe, but the Semang have a very powerful bow and iron-barbed arrows, with which they can kill the largest game." Cp. also De Quatrefages, pp. 230, 231.

[2] This remark applies especially to the Semang tribes furthest removed from Sakai influence, *e.g.* to the Semang of Kedah, and perhaps in some degree to the Pangan of Ulu Patani and Ulu Kelantan. On the other hand, Mr. L. Wray writes me that he has seen some beautifully made blowpipes among the Semang of Upper Perak and Selama.

[3] H. Ling Roth, vol. ii. pp. 184-187.

[4] Mr. Wray writes me that *B. Wrayi* is only used by the Semang of Upper Perak and Selama, and the mixed Sakai-Semang tribes of the Plus district in Perak. In other districts of Perak another species is used, of a kind not yet determined, with internodes of 3 to 4 ft. in length. Cp. Wray, *Per. M. N.* iii. pp. 54-58.

discovered the ready-made blowpipe of bamboo would ever again have resorted to the method of boring its tube out of wood, or to the perhaps still clumsier process of uniting a couple of wooden half-cylinders, which when fitted together do duty as a tube.

Speaking generally, it appears on the whole most reasonable to suppose that the blowpipe was introduced into the Malay Peninsula by the Sakai, upon their first advent into that region, that it has since been perfected by the same race, and that the modern blowpipe of the Malayan tribes in the Peninsula (as well as that of the Archipelago) was either an inferior imitation of the Sakai weapon, or else that the wooden blowpipe was an altogether independent invention, which appears at the best most improbable.

The only point in which the Bornean blowpipe is in any way an improvement on that of the Sakai is in its possession of a "sight," which the Sakai blowpipes are, I believe, universally without. Yet even a rifled blowpipe has been recorded from Perak,[1] and although the statement is unsupported, in all other important respects—in the labour required for its construction, in the important matter of weight, and in finish—the Bornean weapon is certainly inferior, not only to the Sakai blowpipe, but even to that of the Semang.

The exact distribution of the various types of blowpipe in the Malay Peninsula yet remains to be worked out. Some information on this point is, however, already forthcoming. The most highly developed (and decorated) type of blowpipe is, as has already been said, found among the central Sakai

[1] See De Quatrefages, p. 231 (*note*). This must be a mistake of M. Lias. I believe what he saw was a "choke-bore" blowpipe, such as is found among the Besisi (*v.* p. 308, *infra*).

(Senoi), the Besisi, and the Mantra. To these the Blandas of southern Selangor should, I think, be added. In its rarest form, that of the jointless tube, this blowpipe is only found within a yet more restricted area, *i.e.* in parts of Perak,[1] and (according to one writer) in the Nenggiri[2] district of Kelantan. Outside the geographical area covered by these tribes we find, as a rule, rougher and less-finished specimens of this weapon. The Semang of the north, for instance, and, as far as I am aware, the Semang alone, make use of a roughly made blowpipe which bears very little decoration, but which not unfrequently has a mouthpiece of native gutta or resin.

The most interesting type, the wooden split-tubed blowpipe, which is identical with one used in Peru, is said to be "only used south of the Pahang river in the state of that name."[3] Yet the specimen now in the British Museum came from Kuantan, which is a good way north of the Pahang river. Vaughan-Stevens is, however, probably right in stating that the tree from which this wooden blowpipe is made (*Calophyllum*, sp., called in Malay "Pĕnaga") is used because it is proof against warping, but that it is only of local distribution.

Quiver and Darts.

What is true of the blowpipe in general, is true of the quiver and the darts. Thus the quiver of the

[1] Messrs. R. H. Yapp and Laidlaw (who were with me in 1899-1900) found the bamboo from which these blowpipes are made on Mt. Inas, on the north Perak frontier, and obtained single-jointed blowpipes in the same district. Mr. Yapp tells me that this bamboo closely resembles the blowpipe-reed of S. America (*Arundinaria Schomburgkii*, Benth., *Bambuseæ*).

Other proofs of prehistoric intercourse between the old and new worlds consist in stone and bronze implements, round towers, pyramids, coins, methods of embalming and skull-deformation, circumcision, early carvings of elephants found in Central America, and prehistoric tobacco-pipes found in Ireland.—Wray in *Per. Mus. Notes*, vol. iii.

[2] *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 834.

[3] Vaughan-Stevens, *l.c.*

Borneo natives presents several marked points of contrast with the quiver used by the Sakai. The device of having a separate reed for each dart has not been adopted by the Borneans, who have, however, invented the long wooden "hook" or "prong" which is attached to the quiver, and is inserted through the hunter's belt to keep the quiver in position. This appears all the more natural, since it is more likely to have been invented by a race wearing better and stronger loincloths than those of the Sakai, who may perhaps once have gone naked, and who still fasten their quivers about their waists with a cord.[1]

As regards the dart, Professor Tylor was, I think, the first to point out as a general distinction that the blowpipe darts of south-east Asia do not have the butt made of cotton, whereas this is commonly the case with the dart of the South American Indians.[2]

Iron dart-points are never employed by Sakai or Semang, though they are used by Borneo natives, the point being always (among the former) of one piece with the shaft. The Semang dart is of much coarser and clumsier construction than that of the Sakai, and that of the Bornean is clumsier still, the shaft of the dart being driven right through the butt, so that it often slides up and down, a piece of bad workmanship not found among the Semang or the Sakai.

[1] For an account of the Borneo weapon, *v.* Ling Roth (ch. xxii.). Here perhaps may be mentioned the somewhat gratuitous assumptions of Vaughan-Stevens, who considers the evolution of the cap or cover used for the quiver to have been carried out as follows :—(1) cover made from cuticle of trees, as used by the O. Kuantan and (formerly) by O. Kenaboi ; (2) cap made of wood hollowed out by fire, as used by the O. Sakai ; (3) cap made of wood hollowed out by a knife, as used by the last-mentioned. He adds that the wooden cap is now used by the Sakai, the rattan one by the Mantra, Besisi, and Kenaboi (V.-St. ii. 120). Mr. Blagden tells me that the Malacca Mantra use wooden caps bound with rattan.

[2] For a good deal of miscellaneous information about the darts (which, however, is of small value in view of the way in which the tribes have been mixed up together), see Vaughan-Stevens, ed. Grünwedel, in *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 835, 836.

Use of Clay Pellets.

Captain P. J. Begbie, an old and painstaking and (for his time) fairly accurate authority on the Malay Peninsula, records the shooting of clay pellets (as well as darts) from the blowpipe by the Jakun[1] at Malacca in 1833. This statement is confirmed by Mr. L. Wray, who informs me that these pellets are often employed by bird-collectors at Malacca, where they have been used from time immemorial. Mr. Wray himself had a Malacca bird-collector (an Eurasian Malay) who used these pellets for collecting purposes in Perak. Mr. Douglas, of Sarawak, also tells me that boys in Borneo commonly use small clay pellets for shooting small birds, and that these pellets are shot out of a small blowpipe.

Use of the Blowpipe.[2]

In loading, the blowpipe is held vertically in one hand and the pointed end of the dart inserted with the other into the orifice in the centre of the mouthpiece.[3] The latter is always fitted to the root-end of the bamboo. Into the tube of the blowpipe, and behind the butt-end of the dart, is almost invariably inserted a small wad for the prevention of "windage." This wad is made from the flocculent down that

[1] Begbie, pp. 5, 6.

[2] As an example of the extreme difficulty of obtaining information from the aborigines about the blowpipe, Vaughan-Stevens remarks that many Malays living near the O. Kuantan have never seen their blowpipes, though they know that they possess them. In some cases these weapons were *hid in the stems of living bamboos* in the jungle (the nodes being removed for their reception), and he was only able to obtain four specimens altogether (V.-St. ii. 113).

[3] So Borie (tr. Bourien), p. 78: "Into the bore of the inner bamboo, at the mouthpiece, is placed an arrow several inches long." For an unique and questionable exception see Maxwell in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 4, p. 48: "I had always regarded the blowpipe as a breechloader," etc.

collects about the leaf-bases of certain palms, especially the "tukas" (*Caryota Griffithii* or *C. mitis*), or certain kinds of rattan (*Calamus geminiflcris*), and results from the destruction of the softer tissues.[1]

In shooting, the entire mouthpiece is, as a rule, taken into the mouth, the fingers being commonly crossed beneath the tube (near the mouthpiece). Sometimes, however, the edges of the mouthpiece alone are inserted between the teeth and the lips. As the dart leaves the tube, there is a sharp hollow "ping" like that of a pop-gun.[2]

Range of Dart.

The effective range of the blowpipe darts used by the best "shots" of these tribes may be put at from 50 to 60 yards as an outside limit, but in practice a range of 100 feet is seldom exceeded.[3]

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 116. Really the fibro-vascular bundles of the leaf-sheaths.

[2] Cp. Newbold, ii. pp. 400, 401: "It is propelled by collecting a considerable quantity of air in the lungs, and suddenly emitting it with a sharp noise resembling that occasioned by the discharge of an air-gun."

[3] Cp., for example (of the Sakai), (1) Hale, p. 289, where it is stated that the range is effective up to 60 yards (55 m.), and that at 50 yards (45 m.) a skilled performer will put five out of six darts into a playing card.

(2) De Morgan (vii. 417) says they can shoot straight up to 80 metres, but in practice do not shoot more than 30 to 35 paces (23 m. to 27 m.).

(3) Letessier puts the range at 28-30 yards (25 m. to 27 m.), but he is no doubt speaking of the ordinary range of their shooting. They usually shoot at fairly short range, in order to make sure of their aim, as they do not wish to risk wasting their arrows.

(4) J. A. G. Campbell says: "I have myself seen birds and monkeys killed on high trees at a distance of 60 yards" (55 m.); and adds: "The Sakai seldom misses his shot" (*S. J.* iii. 241).

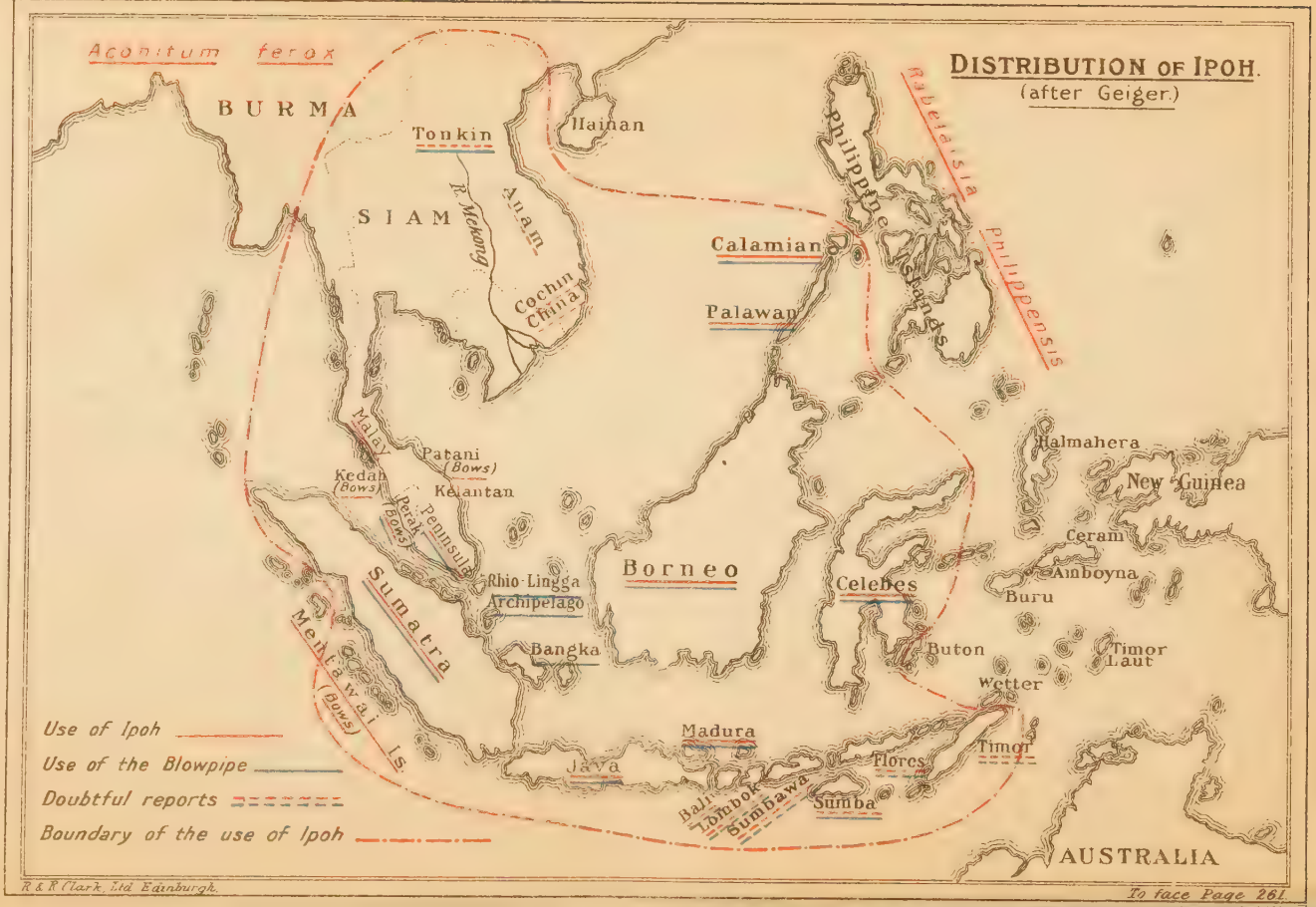
Of the Jakun—(1) Logan (in *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 262) states that the range (of the blowpipe-dart) to take proper effect is about 70 or 80 feet (21 m. to 24 m.). "Some can reach 140 or 150 feet (46 m. to 49 m.), but then there will be little chance of their inflicting a dangerous wound."

(2) Borie (tr. Bourien), p. 78, says 50-60 yards (45 m. to 54 m.).

(3) Newbold, ii. 400, 401, puts the effective range at 60-70 feet (20 m.).

(4) Vaughan-Stevens, in *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 835, 836, puts it at 20-30 metres in a horizontal direction, and more in a vertical.

(5) The Kuantan blowpipe is very roughly made; it has a range of 40 paces (30 m.) only (Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 113).



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The Use of Ipoh.

The question whether the use of Ipoh is of Malay origin must (says Geiger, p. 38) in all probability be answered in the negative. It is clear, however, that he is here using the word Malay in its narrowest sense, as he subsequently points out (pp. 40, 41) that the eastern boundary-line between those who use the blowpipe (and Ipoh) and those who do not does correspond to the boundary-line between the Malay and the Polynesian languages (p. 41). In this latter case he is clearly using the word Malay in its wider sense, as applied to what may be called "Greater Malaya" (including the countries inhabited by the "savage Malays" of Wallace). Moreover, he then proceeds to quote Brandes' remark, that "the natives who use the blowpipe form one family of languages."

The true conclusion, after all, appears to be that the use of Ipoh may be of Malay origin, but only in the wider sense of the word; and in the same way, it is just conceivable that the blowpipe may be (in its wooden form at least) of "Greater Malayan" origin. On the other hand, the wooden blowpipe is so different a weapon from the blowpipe of bamboo that it will perhaps be maintained that the two forms may have arisen independently. Even, however, if this was the case, the bamboo weapon must certainly have been invented in some country like the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra, where *Bambusa Wrayi* or *longinodis* is known to be indigenous; and further, as has been remarked already, it is inconceivable that any intelligent race should descend to using the wooden form of blowpipe when it had once known and used the infinitely

superior blowpipe of bamboo. The only other possible alternative seems to be to accept the wooden blowpipe as the original form, and to suppose that the race which invented it failed to improve upon it, the invention of the (improved) bamboo form being conceded to a race infinitely behind the Malayan race in the matter of culture. To speak frankly, this last alternative does not appear credible, and unless on the whole we prefer to concede the possibility of the invention of at least two independent blowpipe types in the Malayan region, we are forced back upon the first of these two alternatives, viz.: the supposition that the bamboo blowpipe was introduced by the Sakai, who subsequently perfected it, and that it was then more or less roughly copied by the aboriginal tribes of Malayan origin in districts where *B. Wrayi* was wanting.

I have spoken mainly of the blowpipe itself, rather than of the poison that was used with its darts, partly because I think that Geiger has shown that for all practical purposes the introduction of the one meant the introduction of the other, and partly because it is easier to get at the facts about the blowpipe than it is to get at those about "Ipoh." But I will now proceed to a discussion of the poison itself.

In remarking that the various kinds of Ipoh poison are, as a rule (though not exclusively), rather used for hunting than for warlike purposes, Geiger explains that both Ipoh antiar and derrid, taken internally, are practically harmless, whereas Ipoh tieute, on account of the strychnine contained in it, "might be dangerous." Hence the latter poison is usually employed for the destruction of beasts of prey such as the tiger (Newbold and Malbec and Bourgeois),

though it certainly is used for apes. And this is probably, as Geiger suggests, the reason why the part struck by a poisoned arrow is usually excised before the game so killed is cooked and eaten—a practice which is doubtless of far more importance in the case of some of these poisons (*e.g.* tieute) than it is in the case of the others.

The arrow and dart poison called "Ipoh" by the Malays has obtained its native name from the fact that the two chief substances which (either separately or in combination) form its basis are derived from plants distinguished, the one as the Ipoh tree (*Antiaris*), and the other as the Ipoh creeper (*Strychnos*). *Derris elliptica* or "tuba," on the other hand, is but rarely used, so that the poison-mixture almost invariably contains one or other of the Ipoh's as its main ingredient. The action of these two chief poisons is very different, and the choice of one or the other is, as has already been pointed out, dictated by the circumstances of supply. Incomparably the most famous of these two ingredients is, however, the sap of the Ipoh or Upas tree, which owes its notoriety to the inventions or exaggerations with which Foersch once "amused the credulity of Europe."

The deadly exhalations attributed to the Ipoh tree (*Antiaris*) certainly have, as has long been proved, no foundation whatever in fact, at all events so far as the tree itself is concerned.

But it seems, on the other hand, well worth pointing out that the sap of the "Rĕngas" tree certainly produces at the least contact (as is well known locally) an extraordinary inflammation of the skin. When I was residing at Klang in Selangor, there was a fine Rĕngas tree growing at the back of

my house, and one day, not dreaming of the consequences, I ordered my Boyanese *sais* to climb the tree and lop off a few small branches which obscured the view. This he did, not knowing the tree, the result being that both his face and his hands quickly became inflamed and swollen beyond all recognition, and I was obliged to send him to hospital for treatment. This fact about the Rĕngas tree sap is well known in Malaya, and taking it in conjunction with the fact that Rĕngas sap often forms one of the ingredients of Ipoh poison, I cannot help thinking that here we have a quite possible source of the Upas-tree fable.[1]

Ingredients of the Poison.

The proper proportions of the ingredients used in making the dart-poison of the wild tribes have doubtless been ascertained by centuries of trial, and are now in many cases handed down from father to son. Although, however, the basis of the poison may be the same among all the members of a given tribe, the exact proportions, and even the exact ingredients, forming the "blend" vary to a very great extent with the individual and (of course) with the locality and the season, and hence any conclusions reached must be necessarily general ones.[2]

[1] For an actual legend of the Upas-tree type, see the Besisi tradition in vol. ii.

[2] According to M.-Maclay the chief ingredient of this poison was the juice of the well-known Upas tree of the Javanese, the *Antiaris toxicaria*. With this juice a great many other substances were mixed, the number and nature of which depended partly on chance, and partly on the science of the preparer. The poison fangs of different kinds of snakes, the juices of a number of trees and fruits, even arsenic, which the "tame" aborigines got in exchange from the Malays, were mixed up together. It thus came to pass that the dart-poison not only of every tribe, but of every individual of each tribe, was made up of different materials, and that in consequence of this the effects were very various. The effect on man was certainly very deadly and very rapid: thoroughly trustworthy Malays in different parts of the Peninsula told him that they knew from actual observation that a man who had been wounded by it was not able even to finish his "sirih" (betel-chewing),

Even Vaughan-Stevens, who talks of the "real arrow poison" as if it were a certain definite composition (instead of a set of compositions), states that individuals of the same tribe disagree as to the proper composition of the poison, and that if a man dreams of killing a beast even with some perfectly harmless substance, he will in future add this to the ingredients which make up his own particular "blend" of the poison in question.[1]

Miscellaneous Ingredients.

The employment of pepper, tobacco, capsicum, onion, and other comparatively harmless ingredients may be due (*vide* Geiger, p. 18) to the fact of their pungent qualities being regarded as likely to produce inflammation. According to Van Hasselt, on the other hand, they are added to give the poison the desired consistency, but this does not seem very probable. Scorpions' stings and snakes' fangs, etc., are also added to the mixture, as well as *Pangium edule*, Reinw., which contains prussic acid. In this last case, however, as well as in that of some of the other ingredients just mentioned, Geiger points out that the poisonous principle is almost certainly evaporated by boiling, and it may well be that some of the substances aforesaid are employed rather for magical than for pharmacological reasons.

Use of Mineral Poisons.

Geiger further informs us (p. 18) that no single poison (of all those that he investigated) showed the slightest

but was seized with violent cramps and severe vomitings, and so died. In some experiments that M. - Maclay made upon animals the poison had a very rapid effect, even when administered in very small doses (*J. R. A. S.*, *S. B.*, No. 2, pp. 213, 214).

[1] ii. 128. Cp. also ii. 108.

chemical trace of either arsenic or antimony in its composition. Hence he elects to consider them as pure plant poisons. On the other hand, the weight of native testimony (of all kinds) as to the addition of arsenic to these poisons is so universal and overwhelming, that I am inclined to think we have not yet quite got to the bottom of the matter, though in the view of Mr. L. Wray it is the use of arsenic by the *Malays*, in the cleaning of their *kris* (and other) blades, that has given rise to these reports. "As a dart-poison" (Mr. Wray writes me), "arsenic would be useless, and it is not found in the Peninsula in a state in which even the Malays could extract it from its ores." It is sold in the bazaars, however, and may be used for special purposes; *e.g.* in shooting tigers.

Durability.

As regards the durability of Ipoh poison, Geiger is doubtless right in ascribing the conflicting reports which characterise it in that respect to the variability of the ingredients composing the poison.[1] There is almost certainly a great difference in durability between the poison obtained from the Upas creeper and that of the Upas tree.

Effect of the Poison.

Small birds or mammals when struck by a dart coated at the point with poison of an average strength are killed almost instantaneously, but bigger ones take, as a rule, some minutes to die. In the case of the largest and strongest monkeys the effect of the same (average) poison may take a quarter of

[1] Geiger, p. 24. The chemical aspect of the question, which is beyond the scope of this book, is fully treated by Geiger, *loc. cit.*

an hour or perhaps rather longer. In all cases the time which elapses before the animal dies depends naturally upon the strength of the poison which has been used.[1]

In the words of De Morgan, "a man or (big) animal," struck by one of these poisoned arrows, feels for several minutes nothing but the pain of the wound. This is followed by muscular spasms and vomiting, and death follows in a few (more) minutes, if a strong preparation of the poison has been used. If, however, the poison is no longer fresh (or in any way too weak), the agony lasts for several hours, in the course of which the wound inflames and acquires a bluish tinge.[2]

Vaughan-Stevens says that apes and gibbons when struck run a little further through the branches and then fall down in about twenty minutes—less if Upas (Ipoh) is added to the poison. Old men (of the wild tribes) say that Ipoh makes the poison spread more rapidly through the blood. Ipoh acts instantaneously even when hard and dry; without it the poison works much more slowly.[3]

Antidotes.

The antidotes mentioned by Geiger (p. 26 *seqq.*) consist of certain plant-roots,[4] the leaf-stalks of a tree called "pule,"[5] the chewed root of *Hernandia sonora*, L.; as well as that of *Ophioxylon serpentinum*, L., and

[1] Cp. J. A. G. Campbell (p. 241): "For a large bird (as a hornbill) or a monkey it takes about a quarter of an hour for the poison to work, after which time the animal falls to the ground; with small birds or beasts the poison is almost instantaneous."

[2] De Morgan (vii. 417; *L'Homme*, ii. 621) is here writing of the poisoned arrows of the Semang bow, but the Upas poison is used for these as well as for the darts of the blowpipe.

[3] ii. 128; and cp. Wray, *J. A. I. l.c.*

[4] *E.g.* those of *Crinum asiaticum*, L., or *Radix toxicaria*, Dutch.

[5] *Sic* (? sipulih) = *Alstonia scholaris*, Br. In Malay "pulih" = "return to life."

Andira Horsfieldi, Lesch. (*Papilionaceæ*), as well as certain indescribable emetics such as that referred to by Friar Odoricus.[1]

To these may be added the plant called "crab's-fat" ("lĕmak kĕpiting")[2] mentioned by Newbold, and common salt, which is also (according to De Morgan) occasionally referred to as an antidote. According to the Malays, a particular kind of black maize if applied to the wound will act as a remedy. Some such substance may possibly be of use as an absorbent where a very mild preparation of poison is used, but as a rule the aborigines declare that the only remedy is to cut out the part affected immediately, whenever the strongest preparation of the poison (for which there is no known antidote) is used. This, however, is seldom possible, because even at a distance of from 20 to 30 yards the aboriginal can drive his dart into the flesh up to the butt.[3]

I.—Semang.

Stone Implements—Knives and Hatchets.

The attempt of Vaughan-Stevens to identify certain stone implements, of which he obtained models, with tools of East Semang or Pangan workmanship, can hardly be sustained, for the reasons already set forth, and it may, I think, be taken as a certainty that no branch of the Negrito race in the Malay Peninsula has ever arrived at a sufficiently advanced stage of civilisation to enable them to produce the highly finished neolithic implements that are so common in the Peninsula. On the other hand, it is exceedingly probable that the Semang, like their Andamanese

[1] *Odorici Lib.* p. 21. [2] Newbold, ii. 403.
[3] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 128.

cousins, formerly employed both chips and flakes of stone for various cutting purposes, as well as the simple two-stone apparatus which with the Andamanese takes the place of hammer and anvil.

Slivers of bamboo, again, were and still are undoubtedly used by the Semang as knife-blades[1] and spear-heads, whilst long needles and other boring instruments are made of bone or wood.

For filing the teeth (Malay fashion) the Pangan employ a piece of sandstone.

The iron knives ("pisau"), choppers ("parang" or "golok"), and hatchets ("b'liong"), ordinarily employed by the Semang, are undoubtedly all of Malay origin, and are usually made by Malays, or by Chinamen following the ordinary Malay patterns, and have nothing particularly distinctive about them, which probably accounts for their being omitted from the accounts given by the usual authorities. I have ventured to draw attention to them, however, because even in cases where the blade may be actually of Malay manufacture, yet both the helve (or shaft) and its rattan lashings may be, and no doubt often are, distinctive of the race, and as such would repay any attention that might be given them. Indeed, I have often been informed by Malays that the axe-fastenings of the aborigines could be easily distinguished from those employed by the Malays in the same neighbourhood.

The Malay dagger, or "kris," and the "Tower musket" have both found their way to some extent into the hands of the Semang, by whom they—especially the latter—are greatly prized.

[1] Mr. G. C. Bellamy has sent me a bone-hafted knife, from the "Pangan" of Ulu Jĕlei, Pahang; cp. p. 249, *ante*, *n.* 2.

The Spear.

Kedah Semang. — Hardly any writer, except De Morgan, mentions the use of the spear by the Negritos (Semang), though many talk of their bows and blow-pipes. It is, however, interesting to find that the Semang of Kedah have a word of their own for the spear, and that their name for it[1] is totally different both from the word used by the Sakai[2] and that used by the Jakun and Malays.[3]

A spear which was collected among the Semang tribes of Upper Perak (Gunong Sapi) by Grubauer, and which is now in the Ethnographical Museum at Cambridge, measured 53½ in. (1307 mm., over-all length) by about 1 in. (25 mm.) in diameter at the thickest part.

Its shaft was made of some tough and heavy wood, and had received a certain amount of polishing. The upper end of the shaft tapered to a point, which its owner had evidently been in the habit of planting in the ground. Its blade, which was of iron, measured 6½ inches (153 mm.) from point to shoulder, and a little less than an inch (*ca.* 20 mm.) in width.

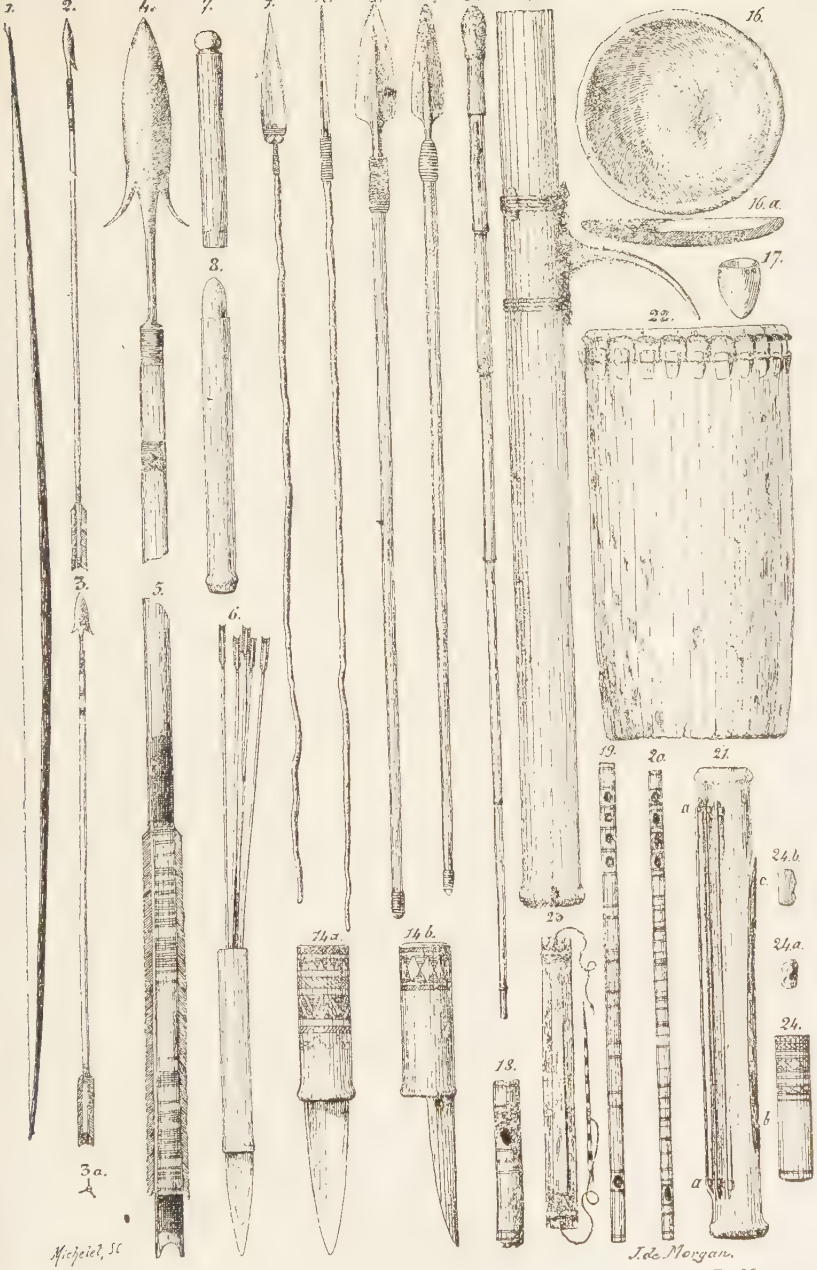
The Bow.

Kedah Semang.—The Semang living at Siong were evidently quite familiar with the bow, as they described it to me minutely in every detail, but they told me that they had now given up using it. It is quite possible, on the other hand, that they were concealing their bows, as they are known not unfrequently to do. The bow ("loydd") that they once used (and of which

[1] "Ād." For De Morgan's account cp. *L'H.* ii. 618.

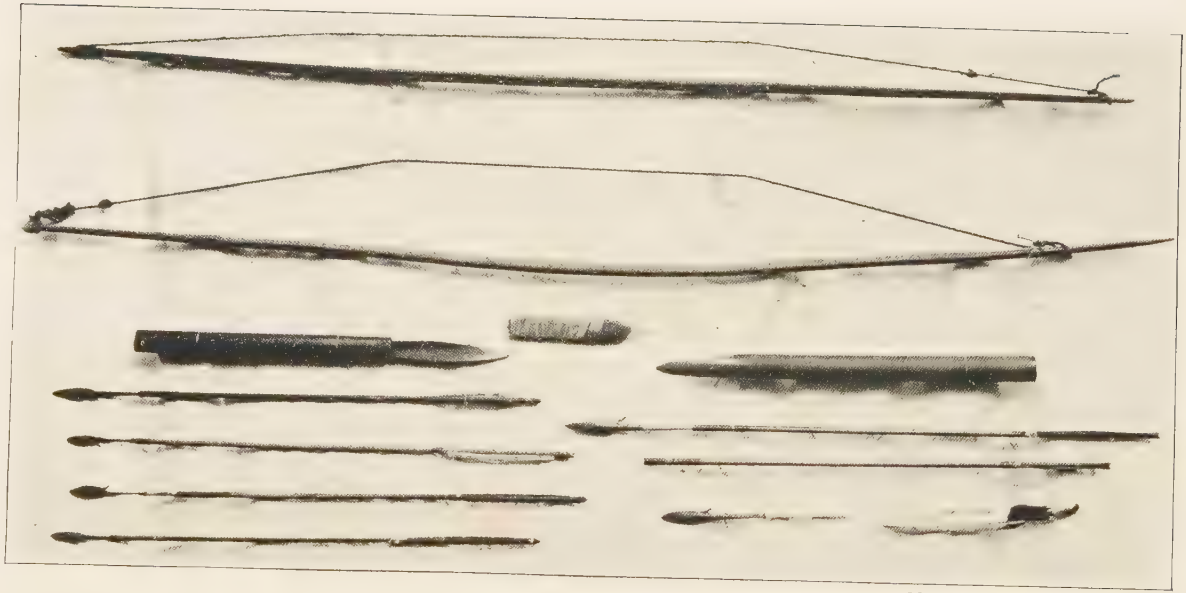
[2] "Tarok" (Senoi dialect); "bĕlush" (Tembeh dialect): both of which words are of Malayan origin, and thus support the view that the Sakai learnt the use of the spear from the aboriginal Malayan tribes.

[3] "Lembing" or "bolos"—connected with Mal. "buloh"=bamboo.



SEMANG IMPLEMENTS.

1. Semang bow. 2, 3. Arrows. 3 *a*. Transverse section of shaft. 4. Arrowhead with two barbs. 5. Butt-end of arrow showing vanes and notch. 6. Arrows in their quiver. 7, 8. Bamboo tubes used as poison receptacles. 9, 10. Spears with bamboo heads. 11, 12. Spears with iron heads. 13. Cane. 14 *a*, 14 *b*. Bamboo fishing receptacles. 15. Large bamboo water-tube with arm. 16, 16 *a*. Wooden plate. 17. Small box or receptacle made from the hard outer part of the "kapayang" fruit. 18. Bamboo whistle. 19, 20. Flutes. 21. Bamboo "guitar" with strings made by raising the skin of the bamboo itself, and inserting wedges beneath them. 22. Drum with wooden barrel, and headed with skin tightened by wooden wedges. 23. Bamboo Jew's-harp. 24, 24 *a*, *b*. Flint and steel, with bamboo receptacle.—De Morgan in *L'H.* 25th October 1885, p. 619.



TWO SEMANG BOWS, TWO QUIVERS, AND THEIR ARROWS,

poison-spatula with leaf wrapped round it, and hornbill feather, from which the vanes or the arrows are cut.

(Presented by Ridgeway.)

Skeat Collection (from Grubauer).

Vol. I, p. 271.

they made me a model) was, they said, roughly speaking, "a fathom and a half" in height (probably 2.1 m. to 2.4 m.), and was made of a kind of wood called, in the Semang dialect, "tĕmākåh." The string was of twisted jungle-fibre and the arrows ("wong loydd") were of bamboo with barbed iron heads.

I was further informed that the string was made from carefully twisted strands of tree-bark, greased and waxed,[1] and the arrow-shafts from an internode of bamboo.

The same informants told me that the shafts of the arrows are often decorated with incised patterns, and have barbed-iron points which fit into a socket at the end of the shaft. This part of the shaft is bound round with a thin sliver of rattan, and the point is so fitted into it that any wounded animal that tries to rid itself of the arrow (by rubbing itself against the brushwood) may succeed in breaking off the shaft, but will leave the point sticking in the wound. A wound from this point, moreover (which is crusted with several coatings of Upas poison), soon kills its victim. The arrow is usually winged with feathers of the hornbill, and the point is rudely forged by pounding a red-hot piece of iron between two large stones.

Perak Semang.—The Semang (of Perak) have a very powerful bow and iron-barbed arrows, with which they kill the largest game.[2] It is usually about 7 ft. (2.1 m.) in length, and the iron heads of the arrows, which are given a high finish, are of good workmanship, and poisoned.[3] Mr. L. Wray writes me that the arrow-heads (of the Perak Semang) are made of

[1] De M., who confirms this (*L'H.* ii. 618), adds that sinews of wild animals (deer or bull) are also used for the cord.

[2] Swett. p. 228. According to De M. "āk" = bow; "yaô" = bow-string; "loi" = arrow-point; "prēg" = feathers or "vane"; and "go" = quiver. The bow is of "ibul" wood, and 2 metres in length, with a curvature of 0.30 m. The arrow is 90 cm. in length. For further details, cp. *L'H.* ii. 618.

[3] Hale, p. 290.

hard wood, of thin sheet-iron cut from meat-tins, etc. (mounted in wood), and also of forged iron, and that he has sent specimens of all these kinds to the British Museum from Selama and Upper Perak.

Mr. Wray further states that, besides the blowpipe-darts, the Semang used bows with poisoned arrows. These arrows had detachable fore-shafts, with either barbed-iron or hard wooden heads. The heads are about 2 in. in length by $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in breadth (50 mm. by 19 mm.), and are thickly coated, except near the point, with poison. Mr. Wray had not seen the effect of one of these arrows on an animal, but the Semang amongst whom he lived for about three months on one occasion said that they were able to kill pig, sambhur deer, wild oxen, and even rhinoceros with them, and as he saw bones of these animals at their camps, there appeared to be no reason to doubt the truth of the statement. It was asserted that a deer would drop in from 30 to 40 yards (27 m. to 36 m.) after being struck by an arrow, the rapidity of the action of the poison depending on the vascularity of the portion of the body pierced by the arrow.[1]

But the best idea of the Semang bow can be formed from the description of two specimens which were collected in Perak by Grubauer on his recent expedition to the Malay Peninsula, and which were purchased from him by me on behalf of the Cambridge University Museum.

The first of these two bows, the stock of which was made of a light-coloured but tough kind of wood, measured 77 in. (over-all length) by 1 in. (1957 mm. by 25 mm.) in thickness at the handle, and the shoulders, which took the knots at each extremity of

[1] *J. A. I.* vol. xxi. (1892), pp. 477, 478. Cp. *L'Homme*, ii. 618.

the bow-cord, were 3 in. (76 mm.) from the tip of the stock at the lower end, and 1½ in. (38 mm.) from the tip at the other. The length of the cord, which was made of stout twisted jungle-fibre (probably manufactured from the bark of the artocarpus or "t'rap" tree), was about 68 in. (1907 mm.) from knot to knot.

The second bow was made of a different kind of wood, which was of a dark brown colour, and polished. Its over-all length was 71 in. (1983 mm.), and it was rather thicker at the handle (1½ in. = 38 mm.); the distance from the extreme upper tip to the shoulder taking the upper knot of the bow-cord was 1½ in. (38 mm.); the corresponding measurement at the lower extremity being 2 in. (5 cm.), and the length of the cord itself, from knot to knot, 63 in. (160 cm.).

Together with the bows just described were a couple of quivers containing poisoned arrows. Each of these quivers was made from a bamboo internode, the lower knot of which formed the bottom of the quiver, but neither had any sort of cover or lid, the projecting butt-ends of the arrows preventing it.

The body of the first quiver was made from a particular kind of bamboo which appeared to me to resemble the kind called "buluh kasap." It bore no decoration of any description, and its diameter was 1½ in. (38 mm.), its length being 19½ in. (484 mm.). In this latter measurement, however, is not included a projecting spike which served as a foot when planted in the ground, and which, in the present case, measured 5 in. (126 mm.) in addition; so that its over-all length was 24½ in. (611 mm.).

Its contents were a couple of arrows and one long hornbill feather measuring 14½ in. (344 mm.) in length.

The length of the first arrow (over-all) was 40 in.

(101 cm.), and its diameter two-fifths of an inch (1 cm.). The shaft was of bamboo, and the arrow was made on the harpoon principle; that is to say, its head was fitted into a short wooden socket-piece with a sharp upper end which fitted into the hollow at the lower extremity of the shaft or "stele," so that the head could be drawn out without difficulty when required. The head itself was of iron, and was thickly coated with a dark brown (almost black) incrustation of Upas poison. It had only a single barb, which before it was caked over with the crust of poison must have been about an inch in length, and had been fitted into the socket-piece by a whipping of some strong but fine jungle-fibre (probably the strong thread-like fibres of the "langkap" palm, or some allied material). The entire length of the head (including the socket-piece) was 11 in. (28 cm.), and the latter was nicked all round at the point where it joined the shaft.[1]

At the butt-end of the shaft was the rounded nock, about a fifth of an inch (5 mm.) deep, and just below this nock was the outermost of the two fastenings of the feathers, the precise object of which latter is not very clear. The feathers used are those of the horn-bill, and only two are used at a time. The quill having been split, the feather is divided, half being attached to one side of the shaft and half to the other, by means of two lashings, one close to the nock (as described) and the other about a quarter of the way down the shaft, the exact length of the feathering being $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. (204 mm.). But the extraordinary part about the feathering of these arrows is that the web of each

[1] For a Semang quiver, *v. J'H.* ii. 618.

[2] The exact method by which the head was fitted into the socket-piece could not be ascertained in the case of these first two arrows, since the juncture was entirely concealed by the lashing.

feather is clipped right up to the quill, so that it can have only the very slightest effect upon the flight of the arrow. Moreover, the two webs are affixed (all that is left of them) at a convergent angle, and the question which at once suggests itself, in view of this peculiar method of fastening them, is whether the Semang really understand the principle of feathering, and whether they do not rather employ it either as the mutilated survival of more intelligent methods, or perhaps make use of it for solely magical reasons. At all events, the probability that they do not understand the principle is borne out by the independent observations of Vaughan-Stevens, in continuation of the passage quoted below; and the (apparently inevitable) conclusion that in the Semang we have a race of archers who employ feathering, but do not understand its elementary principles, is a sufficiently remarkable fact, and one which may perhaps be taken as showing the extreme simplicity of the civilisation that we find among them. I should add that the only part of this arrow which is decorated is the part covered by the feathering, which has a large number of incised rings cut round it.

The second arrow (of the first quiver) was like to the first, from which it only differed slightly in respect of its measurements. Its shaft, for instance, was $37\frac{4}{5}$ in. (897 mm.), over-all length, and two-fifths of an inch (1 cm.) in diameter. The length of the feathering, including the lashings, was $8\frac{3}{10}$ in. (210 mm.), and the web was clipped off as above described. The iron head, which was single-barbed, like that of the first arrow, was, however, a trifle shorter.

The second quiver,—which is decorated with a number of concentric rings and a bold geometrical

design consisting of two rows of triangles, with converging points (called "puchok rĕbong" or the "bamboo-shoot" pattern), and below this with a pattern consisting of a number of the concentric and conterminal curves, known to the Semang as the "hawk's-eye pattern" ("mata lang"),—measured $24\frac{1}{2}$ in. (611 mm.) over-all, the projecting spike or foot being $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. (204 mm.), and $1\frac{2}{5}$ in. (35 mm.) in diameter.

There were no loose feathers inside it, but four arrows, whose over-all lengths were $32\frac{4}{5}$ in. (814 mm.), $34\frac{1}{2}$ in. (864 mm.), $33\frac{4}{5}$ in. (834 mm.), and, again, $32\frac{4}{5}$ in. respectively, with a length of feathering varying from 7 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. (177 mm. to 200 mm.). In diameter they were a fraction less than the arrows contained in the first quiver, but the only important respect in which they differed consisted in the treatment of the head.

Two of these arrows were of the same type (roughly speaking) as those in the first quiver; *i.e.* their iron points were spliced into a short wooden socket-piece, which latter in its turn was inserted into the hollow end of the bamboo shaft. Between these two the only noticeable difference lay in the manner in which the juncture had been effected between the wooden socket-piece and the iron point; in the first case the spike of the iron point had been driven into the socket-piece (which latter had been bored out on purpose to take it), the two parts of the head being bound very firmly together at the point of junction with a lashing of split rattan coated with resin; in the second case the juncture was effected by setting the spike of the iron arrow-head between two short prong-like projections (of the socket-piece), somewhat on the "rat's-tail" principle, and binding the two parts round as before.

Both these two arrows are single-barbed, and are decorated, like those contained in the first quiver, with a number of incised rings between the two extremities of the feathered portion of the shaft.

The remaining two arrows of the second quiver, which have not yet been described, are much more roughly made, and make no pretension to any skill of workmanship. In both of them the iron spike of the arrow-head is inserted into the hollow at the bottom of the shaft direct, and they are entirely unprovided with the wooden socket-piece or holder present in all the other specimens. Also, they are quite undecorated.

I think there can be no doubt that these last two arrows have been hurriedly made, for use, perhaps, in an emergency, and that they are less typical of the arrows ordinarily used by the Semang than those which have received the greater care and finish.

According to Vaughan-Stevens, the feathers of the rhinoceros bird ("tekub") are used *as a charm* to make the arrow fatal when it is employed against the tiger, and only tiger-arrows are so equipped.[1]

Vaughan-Stevens further remarks that this feathering is not adopted to make "the arrow fly straight as in Europe," or at least that the Semang does not understand the principle involved in it. "The feather is stuck in the middle of the shaft, and its vane may point either forwards or backwards, and it does not matter how it happens to be fastened on." When Vaughan-Stevens pointed out that the arrow, when released (if the vane pointed forwards), would offer resistance to the wind and flutter sharply towards the left, the Semang replied that if the

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 135.

"wing" of the feather pointed backwards, it would be "compressed" (?) when in actual use. Vaughan-Stevens further remarks, somewhat naïvely, that, "at all events, as a tiger is always attacked at a distance of a few yards only, *an exact aim is of little consequence*"![1]

The feathers are of five types, which are considered to be of varying values. In one the full breadth of the wing is cut down whenever it is required for use. The least valuable kind is only used if the better sorts are rare or unobtainable. In one sort the feather is split with a chopper ("parang"), an operation which requires the greatest care and precision.[2]

In order to make the feathers more effective, the Putto is said in ancient times to have pronounced a charm over them, but nobody now knows this charm, for the Puttos are long ago dead and gone.[3]

The illustrations which accompany the foregoing account represent the following objects:—(*a*) quiver as used by the Semang, not for hunting but on his travels through the jungle. It does not contain more than ten arrows, which are, however, of different sorts, two being tiger-arrows; (*b*) quiver with magic rings; (*c*) obsolete tiger-arrow, headed with bamboo; (*d*) and (*e*) other types of arrows.[4]

The decorated bamboo quiver, which holds only three or four arrows, terminates in a point which enables it to be planted in the ground, and is either simply carried in the hand, or passed through the back of the wearer's belt.[5]

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 135.
[2] [3] [4] [5] *Ibid.*

Preparation of the Poison.

Perak Semang.— The methods employed in preparing the arrow-poison of the Perak Semang are identical with those used for the manufacture of poison for their blowpipe-darts.

De Morgan states that a coating of poison is applied directly to the arrow-head, which is dried over the fire like the wooden spatula, when it is covered with the dart-poison. A considerable number of coatings (of poison) are applied, so that the arrow-head gets thickly encrusted with it.[1]

The same writer's account of the effects of the poison, which of course vary considerably with its strength and that of the victim, has already been given, and so need not here be repeated.[2]

The ordinary range at which the Semang bow is used is from 30 to 40 paces (23 m. to 30 m.)—no greater than that of the blowpipe. The actual distance, however, to which the arrows will carry is something much greater; De Morgan, in fact, places it at about 150 metres.[3]

This same authority states, and here he is in complete accordance with what I have heard from the Negritos myself, that these arrows are employed by the Semang for attacking all kinds of animals, not only monkeys and birds, but big and dangerous game such as the elephant, rhinoceros, and the tiger. And although Vaughan-Stevens alleges that they are employed for tigers only, the statement of De Morgan is undoubtedly, I think, the right one.[4]

Patani Semang.—Of the bow used by the Eastern

[1] De Morgan, vii. 417.
[2] *Supra*, p. 267.
[3] De Morgan, vii. 415.
[4] *Ibid.*

Semang, or Pangan, we know little more than what is contained in the account given by De la Croix. The Semang of Patani employ instead of the blowpipe an immense bow of about 6 to 7 ft. (1.8 m. to 2.1 m.) in length, which is made either of bamboo or of ironwood, the bow-string being a cord of twisted rattan.[1] The arrow, which is 0.70 m. in length, is made of bamboo, and carries at the butt-end a couple of feathers, clipped and fitted to it longitudinally, and at the point an iron blade sharpened and furnished either with one or with two barbs.[2]

These arrows, like the darts of the blowpipe, are always poisoned with "Ipoh."[3]

The Blowpipe and Darts.

Kedah Semang. — In addition to their national weapon, the bow, the Negritos also very frequently make use of the bamboo blowpipe, which they have undoubtedly borrowed from some of their wild neighbours, either Sakai or Jakun.

The blowpipe has received but little elaboration among the Semang. It consists of a long and delicate inner tube (which is the actual blowpipe), protected by an outer tube or casing, which serves the double purpose of preserving the fragile inner tube from damage and of keeping it from warping as the sap dries out of it.[4]

[1] De M. (iii. 42) declares, and I agree with him, that bamboo is not used for bows. It is too weak. If the illustration given by De la Croix on p. 341 of the article here quoted be compared with those of Negrito bows in Man's *Andamanese* (Plate VI. pp. 174, 175), it will be seen that this Semang bow is exactly similar to that of the Little Andaman Negritos (which differs widely from that used by the natives of Great Andaman); and that even the arrows (though the similarity is less marked than in the case of the bow) nevertheless show a general resemblance.

[2] De la Croix, p. 331. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Cp. De Morgan, vii. 415, and Begbie, pp. 5, 6.

1 2 3 4 5 6 *Skeat Collection.*

SEMANG APPARATUS FOR POISONING BLOWPIPE DARTS (SEE P. 284).

1. Bamboo tray with poison. 2. Bamboo spoon or ladle. 3. Receptacle for poison before boiling. 4. Bamboo sliver for taking up the poison. 5. Wooden spatula for heating the poison. 6. Bamboo slip for working up poison on spatula before heating it.

Vol. I. p. 281.

Skeat.

PADANG THE SEMANG COLLECTING POISONOUS SAP FROM THE UPAS TREE (SEE P. 284). ULU SIONG, KEDAH.

The inner pipe or blow-tube naturally requires to be absolutely free from any roughness or inequality, such as might in the least interfere with the propulsion of the dart. Hence it is manufactured when possible from a single internode of a particular species of bamboo, whose stem combines the two essentials of great length of internode with an extremely small diameter.[1] This plant, however, is very rare, and has only been recorded hitherto from one or two mountains in the Peninsula (*e.g.* G. Inas and others), and bamboos whose internodes are of sufficient length to form a single jointless tube are rarer still;[2] though even these are occasionally met with.

Most usually, therefore, the inner tube is composed of two internodes. The node or joint is excised, and the two extremities brought carefully together and clamped by means of a closely-fitting sheath (usually of palm-wood), which is slipped over the two abutting ends on what may perhaps be called a sort of fish-plate system.

Up to this point the method of manufacturing the Semang blowpipe does not differ in any essential from that employed by the Sakai. The Semang, however, apparently finds it too much trouble to poke out the central node of the blowpipe case, and to polish it within (Sakai fashion) by drawing through it the prickly whip-ends of the rattan. Hence he simply cuts the outer tube through at the central knot, and having excised the latter, slips the two portions of the now bisected casing over the inner tube, and unites them by a mere splice of the roughest description. Again, he seldom takes any great

[1] *Bambusa Wrayi* or *longinodis*.

[2] Cp. Hale, p. 288: such weapons are also made by the Senoi and Tembeh (see Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 112).

trouble in decorating or giving a "finish" to the completed weapon.

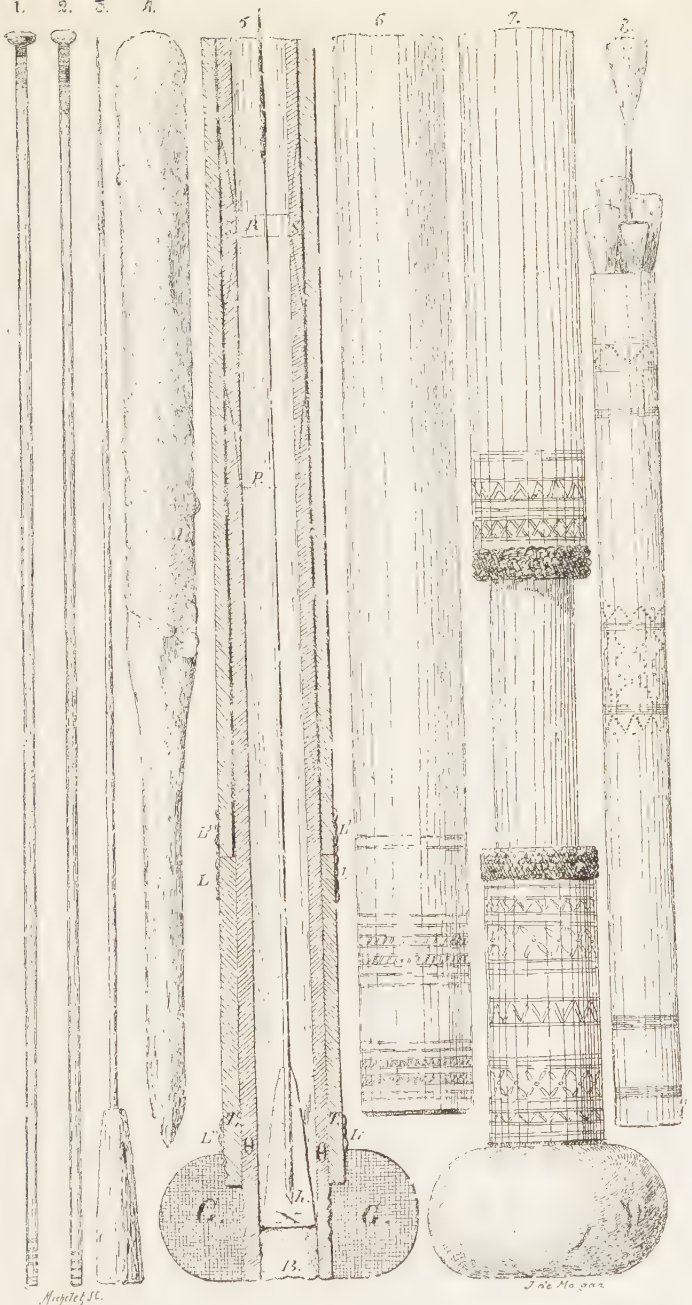
Perak Semang.—Another peculiarity about the Negrito blowpipe is that its mouthpiece is frequently made of gutta-percha or resin.[1]

One of the blowpipes that was brought back by Grubauer from the same district possessed a jointless inner tube of *Bambusa Wrayi*, and measured 85½ in. (217 cm.), over-all length.[2] It had a round wooden mouthpiece of the type found among the Semang in the northern frontier of Perak and in Kedah. This specimen is now in the Cambridge Ethnographical Museum, together with another blowpipe, collected at the same place and time, the peculiarity of which is that its mouthpiece is made of a solid lump of resin, apparently as a substitute for gutta-percha, which is more frequently used for the mouthpiece by Semang tribes.

The over-all length of this latter specimen is 80½ in. (204 cm.). It has a spliced inner tube, joined in the usual way, and it also has what one hardly expects to find in a Semang blowpipe, viz. the short cylindrical bamboo block inside the muzzle-end, which is so commonly used by Sakai tribes, though its exact *raison d'être* is not very clear.

Pangan or East Semang.—Among the Eastern Semang (Pangan) the shaft of the blowpipe-dart is generally of rougher workmanship than it is among the Sakai. The former manufacture it from the leaf-stalk of the "bĕrtam" palm (*Eugeissona tristis*), the shaft being simply pared down with a knife until it reaches the dimensions of a rather thick knitting-needle or "crow quill," when it is generally polished with

[1] De Morgan, vii. 416; *L'H.* ii. 613, 614. [2] See p. 255, *n.* 4, *supra.*



SEMANG BLOWPIPE APPARATUS.

1, 2. Negrito blowpipes. 3. Dart. 4. Poison-spatula. 5. Section of mouth-end of a blowpipe, showing dart in position in centre of inner tube, with wad (*B*) behind the butt-end (*X*) of the dart, *P*, *R*, *S*, being the arrangement for splicing the inner tube, and *L*, *L'*, that for joining when necessary the mouthpiece-end on to the outer tube (6, 7). 8. Semang dart-quiver.

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SEMANG OF SUMPITAN, NEAR LENGGONG, UPPER PERAK, SHOWING BLOWPIPES AND QUIVERS (SEE p. 8).

Way.

"tiger's-tongue" leaves ("mĕmplas rimau"), lightly touched with resin, and fitted into a small cone-shaped butt-end. It is then sharpened to a fine point, and has a slight incision or nick cut all round the shaft at the commencement of the point. This nick enables the point (whenever the shaft collides with anything) to break off short, and thus, bee-like, the dart leaves its sting in the wound when the quarry tries to escape through the jungle. It is not, perhaps, going too far to describe the dart as a sort of human bee-sting, and it is not impossible that this feature of the wild man's armoury may have been copied from nature. It is of course only the point, below the nick, that is coated with poison.

The point itself is as long and fine as a needle, but is nevertheless as a rule wonderfully strong, though this strength naturally depends upon the qualities of the stem from which it is made. The conical butt, which steadies the dart in its flight and assists its momentum, is fitted on to the thicker end of the dart-shaft, and is made of a species of rattan ("rotan 'lang"), which is pared down with a knife just sufficiently to allow it to pass with freedom through the tube.

As regards the length of the darts, a Semang named Chintok told me that the Pangan of Ligeh make use of the foot (from heel to toe) as the recognised standard of length for a blowpipe-dart, but that longer darts carried both further and truer than the shorter ones. Another standard which was said to be in use was the bone of the forearm measured from the elbow to the little finger-joint.

The quiver in which the Semang kept their new-made darts was of the simplest possible type,

consisting of nothing but an internode ("joint") of bamboo, which was, however, often highly ornamented exteriorly,[1] but was nevertheless entirely devoid of the elaborate fittings which are to be found in the quivers used by the Sakai.

Preparation of the Poison.

Kedah Semang. — The following is a detailed account of the method employed by the Semang for tapping the Upas tree. During my stay at Siong (in the interior of Kedah), a Semang named Padang went out one morning to collect Upas poison for his darts, and I was allowed to accompany him. He took with him a poison receptacle made out of a bamboo internode (it was about one foot long, and just big enough in diameter to admit a man's thumb), a jungle-knife or chopper ("golok"), and a small lump of wax obtained from the comb of a small wild bee.[2] A few yards away from the hut, in heavy jungle, he stopped in front of a fine tree from 40 to 60 ft. (12 m. to 18 m.) high, and with smooth bark not unlike an English beech. This was a specimen of the Upas tree. Picking a leaflet of the low-growing "bĕrtam" palm,[3] he cut off a part of it, taking a strip of leaf about 9 inches long. This strip he affixed by means of the wax to the stem of the tree. He then vigorously slashed the bark of the tree with the chopper, cutting a succession of large V-shaped marks, one above the other, in the bark. This process, he declared, was dangerous, from the liability of the sap to spurt into and blind the operator's eyes. The poison, however, is a blood poison, and there does not appear

[1] Cp. *L'H.* ii. 617 (illustration). [2] Mal. "kĕlulut."
[3] *Eugeissona tristis*, Griff. (*Palmæ*).

to be any real danger, as even the practice of cutting out the flesh surrounding the wound, before eating an animal which has been killed with a blowpipe-dart, does not appear to be practised universally,[1] and there is probably no great harm in the poison unless (as stated) when it gets into the blood.[2]

To return to the subject, another Semang (named Chintok) showed me how to apply the poison to the darts. This process was usually performed over one of the numerous hearth-fires within the palm-leaf shelter, but on the present occasion it was performed outside. Chintok took the bamboo containing the poison, and borrowing a fire-log from his own hearth, settled down quietly to the work. Having first poured the poison into the bamboo tray (formed from a diagonal section of a big stem of bamboo), he next took up a little of the liquid in a primitive kind of bamboo ladle, and pouring it out upon a broad wooden spatula, commenced to toast the latter at the fire, working up the poison with a small bamboo spatula. When first deposited on the spatula, the poison was very fairly liquid, and of a light brown, liver, or coffee colour, but Chintok continued to heat it until it became of a very rich, dark "Vandyke" brown, little (if at all) lighter than the dried poison which is still to be seen on the darts. As soon as it had sufficiently thickened and browned, Chintok rolled the tip of each of the

[1] For an exception see Borie (tr. Bourien), p. 78 (of the Mantra).

[2] The wild tribes certainly appear, or pretend to be, very much afraid of the tree, but on this point Vaughan-Stevens says: "I have myself felled four, have spent three to four hours sitting on the trunk, and waited till the sap flowed out of the cut rings, have had my hands and arms quite sticky with the sap, and for experiment have lain along the trunk, sleeping there for a whole night, without its having the slightest effect on me. I have held my head close over the boiling sap and breathed the strongly-smelling steam for an hour together without getting even a headache, and I never felt a burning if I put the juice on my skin or any irritation in the eyes" (V.-St. ii. 112).

darts in turn in it until they acquired a thick, coagulated clot about the point, which extended as high as the nick already referred to. The darts, thus poisoned, were dried in the sun, being made to lean against a stick or log, with the points directed upwards.

It was alleged by the Semang that the "blackening" of the dart would render it less visible when in use, but even if the assertion were true, it seems hardly necessary. Yet some of the Semang maintained that the dart-point (when coated with the poison) is regularly "blackened" by being smoked either over a fire or in torch-smoke. Possibly, however, the reason of the popularity of the black tint may be merely that it shows that the dart has been well dried.

The poison used is of several strengths, which vary according to the kind of quarry which it is designed to kill. Chintok informed me that when it was used in its full strength a thin line was burnt across the butt-end thus, ⊖; but that when the poison used is of inferior strength (as it would be if designed for small game or birds), no mark was made on it.

None of the Kedah Semang were in the habit of mixing anything with the Upas poison. This, however, was due (they said) to the fact that they used poison derived direct from the Upas *tree* (*Antiaris*), which can be utilised without any further admixture, whereas other Semang tribes, *e.g.* those north of the Plus, employed the Upas *creeper* ("ipoh akar," or "ipoh gunong"), which has been identified with *Strychnos tieute* (*Bl. Loganiaceæ*).[1]

The cuticle or bark of this latter plant is (by the Semang north of the Plus) shredded and boiled till it

[1] See Ridley's *Plant-List*, *s.v.* "Ipoh." Cp. also J. A. G. Campbell, p. 241.

becomes sufficiently thickened for use, but they believe the fumes of the boiling liquor to be so poisonous that they sit yards away from the pot during the operation.[1]

According to Vaughan-Stevens, the Ipoh by itself does not kill in twenty-five cases out of thirty, and, in the other five, does so only through the piercing of an artery or other vital part. This statement, however, must be received with caution, as the poison is not required to kill, but merely to bring down the quarry, which is usually followed up and despatched by hand,[2] the strength of the poison used naturally varying greatly according to the resisting power of the object struck. If the quarry, *e.g.* a small bird, were allowed to fall dead in thick jungle, it would certainly be hard to retrieve, whereas when it is wounded and trying to escape through the jungle, it can be tracked more easily (from a native point of view) by the rustling it makes. Moreover, the aborigines naturally husband their scanty stock of poison as far as possible, and seldom if ever waste their ammunition.[3]

The question of antidotes has been much debated, but the only one that the Semang of Kedah could suggest was the eating of earth mixed with "asam

[1] For a similar instance of the use of the tree-Ipoh poison alone, see Hale, p. 289. See also De Morgan (*L'H.* ii. 620), who is perfectly clear on the point, and bears out what I myself independently observed. De Morgan remarks that "if they require a less-powerful poison, they employ the sap of the Ipoh *tree*, with the addition of the sap of certain small roots ('tubercules'), or even the sap of the Ipoh by itself."

But the most conclusive evidence on this point is that of Vaughan-Stevens himself, according to whose account the poison of the Benua-Jakun tribes is based not on the Ipoh creeper (*Strychnos*) but on the tree Ipoh; and as no mention is made of *Strychnos* ("Blay") being added to it, and Vaughan-Stevens himself adds that even for large birds the "Ipoh" itself was sufficient, the conclusion is obvious. Moreover, on p. 107 he distinctly implies that in some cases only *Antiaris* poison is employed.

[2] Cp. *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 169, where monkeys wounded by one of these darts are described as being despatched by the chopper ("parang").

[3] Cp. *L'H.* ii. 617, where we are told they never shoot at a moving object.

k'lubi" (an acid jungle fruit), but this does not seem to agree with the Sakai and Jakun prejudice, which is directed against the eating of acid fruit with the flesh of animals killed by the dart. On the other hand, the eating of the earth would no doubt in itself be good.

Perak Semang. — De la Croix quotes[1] from Sir Hugh Low's journal the results of some experiments with Ipoh poison which Sir H. Low had carried out. He quotes, *inter alia*, Sir Hugh Low's remark to the effect that the Semang informed him that in preparing their poison they mixed the sap of the tree-Ipoh with that of a particular kind of climbing plant, and that they then dried it immediately on a spatula over the fire, no further preparation being required.[2]

Sir Hugh Low is further quoted as writing that on a particular day one Lela Perkasa had just brought him some fresh sap from an Ipoh tree growing near-by, the trunk of which had been cut down, and that in view of previous experiences, he (Sir H. Low) had the poison prepared in his own presence.[3]

The man began by making a small wooden spatula, on which he spread successive layers of the poison. This he dried gradually over a slow fire, or rather over hot embers, the substance immediately turning a nut-brown colour. He assured Sir Hugh that the poison was thus carried on the spatula, and that when it was required for use it was only necessary to moisten the point of the arrow and rub it over the poison.[4]

The tree which furnished the sap had been cut down, but young branches had sprouted since, and those that he brought in proved that it was essentially the same as an artocarpus, from which Sir H. had obtained

[1] Sir H. Low, quoted by De la Croix, p. 331.
[2][3][4] *Ibid.* Cp. *L'Homme*, ii. 620-622.

some poison some time back on the banks of the Plus.[1]

After describing further experiments with the poison, Sir H. Low remarks that Lela Perkasa had assured him that the sap of the Ipoh creeper, when not quite fresh (as in the previous day's experiments), could not produce so rapid an effect as that which had been prepared the same morning.[2]

Lela Perkasa further stated that the sap of the Ipoh[3] was absolutely innocuous until it had been heated as above described. When a stronger poison is required, the sap of the Ipoh is mixed with sap obtained from the roots of a plant called "lĕkir" ("lekyer"—a common *Amorphophallus*). A tenth part of this latter added to the mixture will make the poison strong enough to kill a rhinoceros or a tiger; if it merely touches the skin it will raise a blister, and hence they are afraid to keep it ready-made for fear of accidents. There is another plant called "gadong," which is described as a species of wild yam, and whose sap increases the activity of the poisonous principle of Ipoh; yet Lela Perkasa declared that none of these saps is poisonous in the state in which it is gathered from the tree, but requires admixture and heating over a slow fire. This operation, he said, should only be performed in the jungle, and in the presence of not more than two persons.[4]

The "lĕkir" has a stem about 9 feet high. The leaves, which branch into three separate parts, are from 4-5 feet long. The stem of the biggest, though not yet quite full grown, was 4 inches ("pouces") in

[1] Sir H. Low, quoted by De la Croix, p. 331.
[2] *Ib.*
[3] Probably the Ipoh *tree* is here meant. For Vaughan-Stevens' experiments with the sap, see p. 287, *n.* 1.
[4] Sir H. Low, *loc. cit.* p. 333.

diameter, and was variously coloured with shades of brown, green, and grey. The blossom is white, and only appears when the leaf and stem are already dead. At the moment of expansion it emits an intolerable odour, resembling that of putrefying matter. The lower part of the blossom continues to shoot up as the ends ripen. Sir Hugh had seen it reach a height of 4 feet and with pericarps (?) more than a foot long. He had also had brought him a specimen of "gadong," which was a thorny creeper with trefoil leaves, growing out of a bunch of slightly flattened roots.[1]

Yet another excellent account of the methods of poisoning the dart-points, as practised by the Perak Semang, is that given by Mr. Wray, who states that he once visited Ulu Selama, where some of the Semang lived, and was taken by them to a place called Kuala Jah, at about five hundred feet of elevation, where he was shown, growing in the virgin forest, within a hundred yards of one another, two large Ipoh trees. The larger was about five feet in diameter at a height of five feet from the ground, and had a trunk full a hundred feet in height at the first branch. It had been tapped many times, the bark being deeply scored up to a height of twenty-five feet from the ground; the smaller tree was also scored all over. The bark externally was white, and internally orange-brown, and was very thick and fibrous. On fresh scores being cut into the bark, the dirty whity-brown sap ran very sparingly out, and was conducted down palm leaves, stuck on to the trunk of the tree with clay, into bamboos. The scores were cut slanting alternately right and left, like what is known as

[1] Sir H. Low, quoted by De la Croix, p. 333.

herring-bone stitching, with the lower ends of the scores pointing inwards. At the bottom of each series of scores was put a leaf, fastened to the bark with clay, to lead the sap which trickled down into a bamboo. Only about three ounces of sap was got the first day; but two days afterwards, by erecting a scaffolding around the tree and extending the scores up the trunk, about one pint was obtained. Three ounces of sap, the Semang declared, was enough to poison a hundred blowpipe-darts.[1]

The sap having been collected from the trees, a spatula-shaped piece of wood was taken and heated over a clear wood fire, and a small quantity of the sap poured on to it and spread out with another but smaller wooden spatula, and held over the fire till nearly dry, and the process repeated till all the sap was evaporated. There remained on the spatula a dark brown gummy substance, on which the points of the darts were rubbed three times, being dried over the fire between each application of the poison. This simple process completed the preparation of the poison, with the exception of the other things that are sometimes mixed with the Ipoh.

The sap, which proved to be bitter and biting in taste, and decidedly acid to test-paper, on exposure to the air quickly darkened to a brown colour, and yielded, when dried on a water-bath, twenty-nine per cent of solid Ipoh. This substance, if put thinly on a slip of glass and examined by a microscope, is seen to contain numerous crystals of antiarin.

In the course of the same account Mr. Wray further observes that what Griffith says about the poisonous properties of the Ipoh being derived from

[1] L. Wray in *J. A. I.* vol. xxi. (1892), pp. 476, 477.

admixture of arsenic was information probably derived from the Malays, for the aborigines are quite ignorant of that poison; and, as Professor Ringer pointed out, the action of arsenic is very different from that of Ipoh, besides which animals killed with arsenic would be quite unfit for food.[1]

Mr. Wray here observes that it is the aborigines alone who use poisoned weapons in the Peninsula. The Malays put arsenic on their krises and spears, but it is employed solely with the view of bringing out the damascening of the blades, and not as a poison.[2]

Mr. Wray once had the opportunity of noticing the effects of Ipoh poison on a human being. It occurred while he was descending a river in Upper Perak in 1889, and he made at the time a note to the effect that, while unloading and carrying the baggage over the rocks, a poisoned blowpipe-dart fell out of a quiver and stuck into the upper part of one of the men's feet. It was at once pulled out, and a Semang squeezed the wound to get as much blood as possible, then tied a tight ligature round the leg and put lime-juice on to the wound. The man complained of great pain in the foot, of cramp in the stomach, and vomited, but these symptoms soon passed off. The point only went into the foot about one-third of an inch, and the dart was instantly pulled out. The Semang said that had it gone deep into a fleshy part of the body it would have caused death.[3]

As stated above, the Semang sometimes mix other poisons with the Ipoh. The plants from which these are derived are known to the Malays as "lĕkir" and "gadong." In both cases it is the expressed juice

[1] L. Wray in *J. A. I.* vol. xxi. (1892), p. 477. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Ib.*

of the tubers that is employed. The "lĕkir" is an Aroid belonging to the genus *Amorphophallus*, and the "gadong" is a thorny climbing yam belonging to the order *Dioscoreaceæ*. Botanical specimens of both these plants had been sent to the Calcutta Botanical Gardens, but identifications had not (when writing) been received. It was probable that the specimens of "lĕkir" had been transmitted to Kew by Dr. King, in which case they would be found numbered 3327.[1]

The tubers are rasped up fine with a knife, and the soft mass put into a piece of cloth, which is then forcibly pulled through two pieces of stick tied firmly together a short distance apart, so that the juice, which is very acrid, is expressed without coming in contact with the hands. The juice of the "lĕkir" and "gadong" tubers so obtained is mixed with the Ipoh sap, and the mixture dried on a wooden spatula over a fire, and the darts poisoned in the way that has already been described.[2]

The tubers of both these plants, which contain starch in large quantities, are cut up into thin slices and suspended in a basket in running water and allowed to steep until the poison contained in them has been dissolved out. They are then cooked and eaten by the aborigines, and also occasionally by the Malays.[3]

The acrid juices of these plants are said not to be fatal by themselves, and the part they play when mixed with the arrow-poison is to cause local irritation, which hinders wounded animals from escaping before the antiarin has time to act; but all the Semang and Sakai encountered declared that the pure Ipoh was more deadly than the mixture.[4]

[1] L. Wray in *J. A. I.* vol. xxi. (1892), pp. 478, 479. [2] [3] [4] *Ib.*

The juice of the tubers of the "gadong" is decidedly acid when fresh. It smells somewhat like raw potatoes, and is bitter and astringent, producing a stinging sensation on the tongue, and a very unpleasant dry feeling in the mouth, which persists for a considerable time. The acidulated juice yields a yellowish-brown precipitate to a solution of iodine in iodide of potassium. The precipitate redissolved in sulphurous acid and evaporated yields long, branching, needle-like crystals. The juice mixed with spirits, filtered and evaporated to dryness and redissolved in dilute sulphuric acid, filtered and evaporated again, also yields long branching crystals, which have an astringent taste like the juice, and are possibly the poisonous principle.[1]

The freshly expressed juice of the "lĕkir" tubers is faintly acid to test-paper. It smells somewhat like beetroot, and is acrid and causes irritation when applied to the skin. It appears not to contain alkaloid, as it affords no precipitate when a solution of iodine in iodide of potassium is added to the filtered and acidulated juice, nor when the juice is just rendered alkaline by potash. When distilled, the distillate smells like the juice, and is slightly opalescent, but it does not cause irritation when applied to the skin, or even to a wound. It tastes the same as it smells, and does not injuriously affect the tongue.[2]

Antidotes.

The only antidote for Ipoh poison (said Lela Perkasa) was to eat earth. Any sort of earth will do, and the patient, however ill, will always end by getting

[1] L. Wray in *J. A. I.* vol. xxi. (1892), p. 479. [2] *Ib.* pp. 479, 480.

better. He learned of this antidote by seeing a crow that he had wounded fly down to the ground, swallow some earth, and resume its flight.[1]

Pangan or E. Semang.—The following is a summary of Vaughan-Stevens' description of the preparation of Ipoh poison by the Pangan. The sap of the tree (obtained by shaving the stem and bruising it with the back of a "parang") is poured into a vessel made of twisted palm-leaf. It is stirred till it turns bright yellow, when it is poured into a pot for boiling. The bark of "perghoo," "choichoi," "kree," "lendow," and "garsung" is put into a bamboo with the leaves of "rumpi" (*sic*, ? "rami") and "jelatang"[2]; water is added, and the mixture heated for about ten minutes. The liquor is then added to the pot, the lees of wet bark being wrapped in a leaf and wrung out to extract the remainder of the liquid. Meanwhile the bark of "Blay kechil," "Blay besar," "Blay hitam," and "Bhoi" is similarly boiled and added to the liquor. The tubers of "gadong" and "kĕpayang" fruits are cut up small and boiled for four hours, when they too are added to the mixture. The fruit of "s'lowung" and "chow" and the roots of "bal," "sedudo'," and "begung" are boiled in yet another bamboo and put into the pot with the rest. The sap of two rattans (Riong and Butong) follows, and the heads of centipedes and snakes and scorpions' tails are smoked between two knife-blades and added also. Fresh Rĕngut ("ringhut") fruits may now be added if procurable, and the pot containing the mixture is boiled till its contents are reduced by one-half.[3]

The contents are then poured through a palm-leaf funnel into a clean bamboo, the pot washed, the

[1] Sir H. Low, quoted by De la Croix, p. 333. [2] V.-St. "jelatung." [3] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 111 *seqq.* The account is probably (as usual with V.-St.) eclectic. For identifications, *v.* App.

"filtered" liquor poured back and the Ipoh (Upas) sap added, the pot being then boiled till the mixture becomes a golden-yellow syrup. When sufficiently thickened it is poured off into bamboo tubes, and is ready for use. Its preparation takes about $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours.[1]

II.—Sakai.

Stone Implements.

Perak Sakai. — The remarks already made with regard to the use of stone implements by the Semang apply with no less force to the Sakai tribes, none of which, any more than the Semang, has ever yet reached a stage of civilisation at which such implements might have been produced, though they may nevertheless have quite well been in the habit of using chips and flakes of stone to do their cutting.

On the other hand, they are, like the Semang, undoubtedly acquainted with the use of cutting and boring instruments made of bamboo or bone, and like them too they now obtain their axes and spear-heads and choppers from the neighbouring Malays.

The Spear.

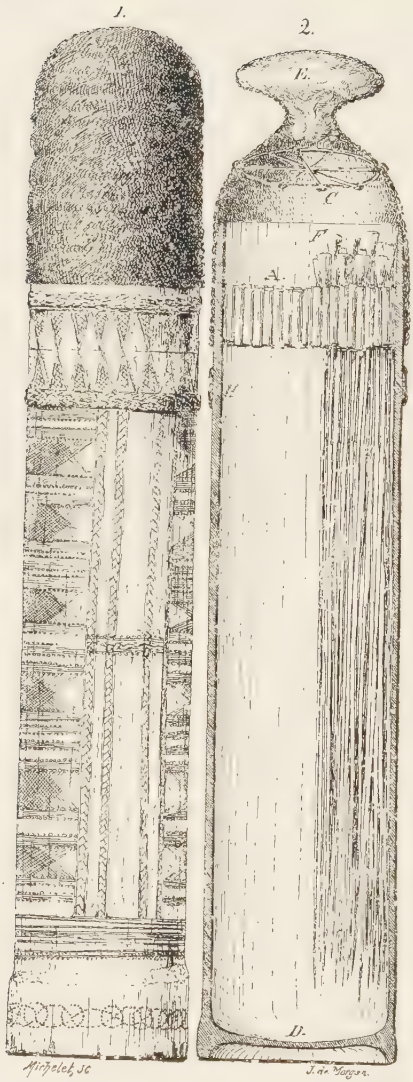
Perak Sakai.—Of the Sakai of Perak Hale[2] says, in fact, that they purchase spears and other implements from the Malays, but that though he also saw spears which they made for themselves, and which were furnished with fire-hardened bamboo blades, the Sakai told him the latter were only used for setting in spring-traps. This statement on the part of the Sakai was doubtless true as far as the specimens that Mr. Hale saw were concerned, but in those parts of the country

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 111 *seqq.*

[2] Hale, p. 288.

Cerruti.

SAKAI OF SOUTH PERAK, WITH BLOWPIPES.



De Morgan.

SAKAI QUIVERS.

1. Sakai dart-quiver (S. Kinta, Perak).

2. Sakai dart-quiver (S. Bernam): section showing darts (*F*) carried in small bamboo tubes or reeds (*A*); also the node (*D*) forming the bottom of the (bamboo) quiver; a rattan ring (*C*) for holding back the wadding; and the recess (*E*) in which the wadding is carried.—De Morgan in *L'H.* 25th October 1885, p. 616.

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where iron blades are scarce, spear-blades made of bamboo with palm-wood shafts are nevertheless employed as the most natural and usual substitute.[1]

The Bow.

Perak Sakai.—There are only two cases known to me in which the use of the bow has been attributed to the Sakai.

According to De la Croix, the Sakai of Kenering possessed a bow[2] which was similar to that used by the Semang of Patani; and a similar statement was made by Miklucho-Maclay, who was, however, quite rightly corrected by Pleyte. In both cases, however, there can be no doubt that the error arose entirely from applying the name "Sakai" to Negritos, and that these so-called Kenering Sakai of De la Croix, no less than Miklucho-Maclay's Sakai, were in reality of Semang (or, at least, Semang-Sakai) origin.[3]

The Blowpipe.

Perak Sakai.—The Sakai blowpipe has the same arrangement of an outer and an inner tube, and is constructed of the same material as that of the Semang. The inner tube is closely fitted into the outer tube or casing, which (unlike the casing of the Semang weapon) is made in one piece, the central node (should a jointless tube be unobtainable) being knocked out with a wooden spike, and the jagged edges rasped away by means of the prickly "leaf-whips" of a kind of rattan, and finally polished so as to allow the inner tube or blowpipe to be fitted into it without

[1] De Morgan, vii. 417; viii. 225, and elsewhere.

[2] De la Croix, p. 331; cp. *L'Homme*, iii. 42.

[3] The "Hill Kreans" (*i.e.* "Karens"), whose "long bows and arrows" are referred to in *J. I. A.* (vol. iv. pp. 429, 430), must certainly have been so too.

injury. This doubling of the tube, as has been said, is intended to keep it straight and to prevent warping, and generally to protect the blowpipe, which would be otherwise too frail to sustain its own weight.[1]

The Sakai blowpipe is, as a rule, far more highly decorated (with incised rectilinear designs) than that of the Semang, and has a wooden mouthpiece which, for shooting purposes, is either placed between the lips and the teeth or taken directly into the mouth itself.[2]

The darts, which are not of bamboo but of the hard leaf-rib of the "bĕrtam," are of the usual "knitting-needle" type, and have butt-ends not of rattan but of "bĕrtam" wood, but are more delicately finished and symmetrical than those of the Semang, which in comparison are very roughly made. They are from 8-11 in. (20 cm. to 28 cm.) long. The usual wad of flocculent palm-down is inserted in the tube behind them to prevent windage.[3]

This down is obtained from the cuticle of a tree, fined down with a knife, sun-dried, and rolled in the hand in order to eliminate the harder tissues.[4]

The quivers of the Sakai are much more elaborate than those of the Semang. They are made from a bamboo (internode), which is highly decorated, and which contains small bamboo tubes or reeds in which the darts are kept; they further contain all the requisites for making new darts and for poisoning them.[5]

[1] For descriptions and illustrations, see De Morgan, vii. 416; *L'Homme*, ii. 614; and Hale (who gives measurements), pp. 288, 289; cp. also *J. I. A.* vol. iv. pp. 429, 430, where, however, bamboo (!) darts are spoken of.

[2] [3] De M. and Hale, *loc. cit.*

[4] De M. *loc. cit.* Hale (p. 289) says it is composed of the natural fluff or down obtained from the leaf-bases of certain rattans (*Calami*).

[5] De Morgan, *L'H.* ii. 616, and vii. *l. c.* Hale (p. 289) adds, "At the bottom of the quiver a supply of bees-wax is always kept, with which to polish the quiver as well as the blowpipe, exteriorly; this polishing, combined with the fact that they are always suspended over the fire, where the smoke can get at them, helps to give them the rich red colour that the Sakai admire."

Cerruti.

SAKAI OF SOUTH PERAK, CARRYING BLOWPIPE.

Wray.

SAKAI MEN, ONE (STANDING) WITH BLOWPIPE AND QUIVER, THE OTHER (SEATED) WITH BACK-BASKET.

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A ring of woven cane (encircling the quiver) affords the means of attaching the quiver to the waist-cord, a similar ring being used for fastening the hinge of the lid, which latter is of basket-work,[1] and is fitted interiorly with a ring of bent cane for holding the wadding, and preventing it from falling out when the lid is opened.[2]

The girdle is made from the cuticle of the Artocarpus finely plaited, and is fastened about the waist with a buckle made of bone.[3]

The range of a blowpipe-dart is about 80 metres, according to the strength of the operator. But the usual range actually employed is never more than 30 to 35 paces (23 m. to 27 m.). At this distance, however, they are marvellously clever, and a Sakai has been seen to hit with his first shot a dollar deposited on the trunk of a fallen tree at about 30 paces (23 m.) distance.[4]

M. Brau de Saint-Pol Lias declared[5] that he had seen a blowpipe which was rifled, but he gives no details, and until some confirmation comes to hand, his statement, which is entirely unsupported, cannot be received with too much caution.

When the Sakai require a very powerful poison they mix together in a bamboo tube the sap of a tree called Ipoh and the sap of a small root. They then gently dry the mixture over a slow fire, adding moisture from time to time in order to dry it afresh.

[1] Or of wood hollowed out by fire and knife, that of the Kenaboi being of basket-work.—V.-St. ii. 120, 121.

[2] De M. *loc. cit.*; *L'Homme*, ii. 620.

[3] Cp. Hale, p. 289, where we are told that the quiver is "supported round the waist by a cord of native manufacture, and fastened with a buckle made from the bone of a monkey, the upper mandible of a hornbill," etc.

[4] De M. *L'H.* ii. 617. Cp. Hale, p. 289. The blowpipe is a very deadly weapon for any animal up to the size of a siamang, and up to a distance of 60 yards (55 m.), whereas at 50 yards (45 m.) distance "a Sakai, clever in the use of it, will put five darts out of six into a common playing card." Cp. De la Croix, p. 334.

[5] Lias, pp. 258, 259; cp. p. 256, *ante*.

The boiling is completed in four processes; and just before the last boiling a little poison obtained from the poison glands of snakes, scorpions, and centipedes is added. A little of the poison is then applied to a small spatula, which is dried slowly over a smouldering fire; a fresh layer is then applied and the spatula moved slowly to and fro over the fire. The poison thus prepared is dark brown, and is very soluble in water. If a less powerful poison is required, the sap of the Ipoh and the root is alone employed, or else the Ipoh by itself; in either case the methods of preparation are identical. The poison is now ready for immediate use, the point of the dart being slightly wetted and rubbed upon the small spatula which is covered with the poison.[1]

To complete his inquiry into the sources of the arrow-poisons of the aborigines, Mr. Wray visited the district of Batang Padang, to ascertain how the Sakai prepared their poison. As previously mentioned, they only used it on their blowpipe-darts, as bows and arrows are not employed by them.[2]

Mr. Wray visited two Ipoh trees, both of which were deeply scored like those in Selama. The scoring of the bark was not, however, so regular as with the Semang, and no sign of the herring-bone method was to be seen. The usual plan was to cut detached V-shaped incisions, and the method of collecting the sap differed also from that already described.[3]

Several pieces of bamboo were taken, and to each was fixed a piece of wood, which was ingeniously cut,

[1] De M. *l. c.* Cp. Hale, 289. The sap of the Ipoh tree is "boiled down to the consistency of thick treacle, a large quantity at a time. It will then, in a properly stoppered bamboo, keep for any length of time. When required for use, it is put on a spatula moistened and warmed over the fire, and then applied to the dart." Cp. also De la Croix, p. 334, as to the varying strengths of the Sakai poison (even on the darts of the same quiver). [2] [3] Wray, *l. c.*

so that when its chisel-shaped upper end was applied to the bark of the tree below a score the sap flowed, first down its upper surface till it met with a cut channel which conducted it round to the under surface, and then into the bamboo receptacle.[1]

The sap being collected, two wooden spatulas were prepared, and a piece of large bamboo split in half so as to form a small trough, and the sap poured into it. The larger spatula was heated over a fire and the sap ladled out of the bamboo and spread on its heated surface by means of the smaller spatula, and dried by being held with the uncoated side over the fire; it was then reversed and sap spread on its upper or uncoated side, and when that was in its turn nearly dry, again reversed and a fresh supply of sap applied to the surface first coated. This was repeated until all the sap had been inspissated.[2]

The darts are coated in the manner before mentioned, and when the poison is very hard and dry and will not soften by being heated, a few drops of water are put on to the spatula and mixed, by means of a smaller spatula, with the poison until it acquires the right consistency to apply to the points of the darts.[3]

The Sakai and Semang methods of collecting and preparing the poison are really the same, only differing in details. The Sakai, however, do not mix "lĕkir" juice with the Ipoh, and the way they mix the "gadong" juice with it is not the same as that employed by the Semang. For this purpose the Ipoh sap is prepared as just described, and a piece of the "gadong" tuber is peeled and sliced up fine and placed in a joint of a bamboo, and ground up with water by means of a wooden pestle. The fluid is then poured off and

[1] *J. A. I.* vol. xxi. (1892), pp. 479, 480. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Ib.*

fresh water added and the process repeated. The fluid is then boiled and filtered through leaves in which some fine scrapings of bamboo are put. It is then evaporated in an open vessel over a fire to the consistency of a thick syrup, and mixed with the Ipoh in the proportion of three parts of Ipoh to one of "gadong."[1]

The Sakai living in the plains employ the *Antiaris* poison, as a rule, since the plants from which it is prepared are low-country forms; but the Sakai of the hills use a poison prepared from three hill plants known as "Ipoh akar," or root Ipoh—in contradistinction to the *Antiaris* or "Ipoh kayu" (tree Ipoh)—"prual," and "lampong."[2]

"Ipoh akar" is a large climbing *Strychnos*, with a stem often as much as three inches in diameter. It has dark green glabrous, opposite leaves, with three prominent longitudinal veins. The fruit is said to be large and round, and to contain seeds about half an inch in diameter, and the flower is stated to be reddish. It grows on the hills, and is to be seen at over 4000 feet elevation. The specimens procured were collected on Gunong Batu Putih in Batang Padang. The portion of this plant from which the poison is extracted is the bark of the roots and lower part of the stem. It is often employed without admixture, and is then prepared[3] as follows:—

The bark, which is burnt sienna coloured, is scraped with knives from the roots; the scrapings are put into a pan with water and boiled, the water is poured off and filtered. Fresh water is added to the bark, which is again boiled for some minutes, and the water poured off a second time. The exhausted

[1] *J. A. I.* vol. xxi. (1892), p. 480. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Ib.*

shavings of bark are then thrown away, and the filtered infusion, which is bright burnt sienna coloured, is reduced by boiling in an open pan to a syrup. It is then poured while hot into a bamboo, where it solidifies. It is applied to the darts in the manner already explained, and is said to be more powerful than the *Antiaris*, but is rendered quicker in its action when mixed with the poison derived from the other two plants above mentioned.[1]

Of these "prual"[2] is also a climber, growing on the hills. The largest stem Mr. Wray had seen was one and a half inches in diameter. It has opposite bright green entire leaves, but of its flowers and fruit he had neither seen nor been able to get any description. The young shoots contain a very fine strong white silky fibre. His specimens were also collected on Gunong Batu Putih. The bark of the roots, which is rather pale yellow in colour, is the part of the plant which is employed in making the poison. This arrow-poison is said not to be so strong as *Antiaris*, but to be quite capable of killing when used by itself.[3]

The third plant is called "lampong," and is also a climbing species of *Strychnos*.[4] It has opposite three-veined leaves like "Ipoh akar" (only they are considerably smaller), and it is stated to have similar fruit, but grows lower down on the hills, Mr. Wray's specimens being collected on the Cheroh hills. Like the two preceding plants, the bark of the roots, which is white, is the part from which the poison is extracted. It is said to be not so powerful as "prual," but is often employed by itself.[5]

In making the mixed poison six parts of scraped

[1] *J. A. I.* vol. xxi. (1892), p. 481. [2] *Coptosapella flavescens.*
[3] Wray, *l. c.* [4] *Str. Maingayi*, Clarke. [5] Wray, *l. c.*

"Ipoh akar" bark are taken, to which is added one part of each of "prual" and "lampong" bark, and the mixture is exhausted with boiling water, filtered and evaporated in the same way as has already been described when simple "Ipoh akar" is treated.[1]

It was stated by the Sakai that *Antiaris* and "Ipoh akar" are rarely if ever mixed with one another. The latter poison is said to retain its virulence, in the form of an extract, for years.[2]

III.—Jakun.

Weapons and Implements.

The same remarks that have been made with regard to stone implements in the case of the Semang and the Sakai apply with at least equal force to the third branch of these aboriginal tribes, and need not therefore be recapitulated here. The weapons and implements of the Jakun at present are the "parang" or chopping-knife, the "sĕligi" or "squailer," the spear (originally of bamboo), the blowpipe, and (finally) the adze, although knowledge of this latter appears to have been merely borrowed by the Jakun from their more progressive neighbours. As has already been recorded, an old writer declares that he met a Jakun at Malacca in 1833, who claimed to have killed a man at the distance of 40 yards (36.5 m.) with a clay pellet that he had discharged from his blowpipe.[3]

The Spear.

Of the Jakun spear, we are told that it consists of an iron blade of about 1 ft. long (30 cm.) and 1 in. (2.5 cm.) broad in the middle, attached to a thick, rudely worked shaft about five or six feet long, and sharp at

[1] Wray in *J. A. I.* vol. xxi. (1892), p. 481. [2] *Ib.* [3] Begbie, pp. 5, 6.

McGregor.

MAN USING BLOWPIPE, BUKIT PRUAL, SELANGOR; AT HIS LEFT SIDE IS THE OPEN QUIVER WITH DARTS.

McGregor.

Jakun using Blowpipe, Lubo' K'lubi, Ulu Langat, Selangor.

the inferior extremity, in order to enter easily into the ground; for before the Jakun enter a house they strike the end of the spear into the ground, where it remains until they go away. It is scarcely possible to meet a single Jakun without his spear,[1] which is both a stick to walk with and an offensive or defensive weapon as occasion may require. The "parang" is an iron blade of about 1 ft. (30 cm.) long, and 2-3 in. (5 cm. to 7.5 cm.) broad, with a shaft like that of a large knife; they use it to cut trees employed in the building of their houses; and to cut branches to open a passage when journeying through thick jungle; as well as for a defensive weapon against wild beasts. On one occasion Logan heard of a Jakun who, being attacked by a tiger, defended himself with a "parang" (the only weapon he had with him at that time). Nearly half an hour was spent in this singular combat; the Jakun lost an eye and was seriously wounded in the head; but the tiger paid the forfeit with his life.[2]

Jakun, N. Sembilan.—Of the weapons of the Negri Sembilan tribes scarcely any records have been published. Rowland, however (*loc. cit.*), cannot help expressing his astonishment at the certainty with which they could hit a target measuring only 1 ft. (30 cm.) square at distances ranging up to 80 m. At the same time he describes in detail their method of discharging the blowpipe, which was to take the mouthpiece partially into the mouth (so that the mouthpiece for at least 2 cm. was covered by the upper lip, and to a lesser extent by the under one). And the same writer has also remarked that instead of the arms being

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 262. Cp., however, Wray, who states that "the Jakun of the Menangkabau States use the parang, the sumpitan with poisoned arrows, and *a few* of them the spear."

[2] Cp. vol. i. p. 272.

stretched far forward to support the shaft of the blowpipe (as it might be expected would be the case), it is the mouthpiece itself that is held (firmly and in both hands) immediately in front of the operator's mouth.

Blandas.—The Blandas (Langat) blowpipe is hardly distinguishable from the Besisi weapon, and will be described more fully under that head. The dart was of the midrib of a fan-palm leaf ("sĕrdang" or "kĕpau"), its butt-end ("basong") of "akar mĕnitan," and the leaf carried inside the lid of the "tabong tĕla," or "dart-quiver," as a squirrel-charm, was "sălērik tupei."

The Spear.

Besisi.—The Besisi, like the Blandas, get their spears from the Malays. A favourite form of spear among the Besisi is the fish-spear, of which there are several varieties; most of these types, however, have been borrowed from the Malays, as was their Besisi name "tiruk."

The Blowpipe.

The inner tube of the Besisi blowpipe is made (as among all the tribes already referred to) from a couple of internodes of the long-jointed bamboo (*Bambusa Wrayi*). The middle node having been excised, the abutting ends of the two pieces are brought together again, coated with a little resin to make them adhere better, and spliced, as among the Sakai of Perak, by means of a connecting cylinder or jacket, which is fitted over their abutting ends.

One of these pieces of the blowpipe is invariably longer than the other, and is called by the Besisi the "man-piece," the shorter one being called the "woman-piece," the Besisi women being, as a rule,

markedly shorter than the men of the tribe. Occasionally, however, these pieces are called the "mother-piece" and "child-piece" respectively. The connecting-piece is called "chĕmat" (as among the Mantra).

For making the mouthpiece, which is always of wood, a hole is bored right through the piece of wood selected for the purpose; it is then fitted by hand into the butt-end of the inner tube, the end of which is cut off flush with it. In order to make the fit a tight one, the lips of the mouthpiece (which are made long and thin to facilitate their introduction between the inner and the outer tube) are in many cases cut or broken at one side, thus enabling a fine slip of cane to be pushed into the interstice, so as to act as a delicate wedge. In some cases leaves are used as a wedge (instead of this slip of cane), and some of these bear traces of fire at their edges, as if it had been intended to dry or harden them. Thin strips of cloth are also sometimes similarly used by the more civilised tribes.

The mouthpiece when complete is fitted on to one end of the inner tube, which then only requires to be fitted carefully to the bigger tube that forms the case or sheathing. The latter, on account of the connecting-piece or jacket that unites the two inner parts, has naturally to be rather larger than would otherwise be necessary.

The outer Tube or Casing.

The casing is manufactured either from *Bambusa Wrayi* or some similar kind of long-jointed bamboo, by poking out the central node with a sharpened spike or boring-rod ("jengröh" or "jengrök") made of a hard

kind of palm-wood. The ragged portions of the internode which still remain are rasped down with the formidably armed leaf-whip ("onak") of a rattan (or "Wait-a-bit Thorn"), which is thrust down into the tube and worked to and fro until the jagged remains of the node have been entirely removed.

Both the inner tube and its case having thus been prepared and cut to the same length, it only remains to push the former with great care into its casing.

Treatment of the Muzzle-end.

But in order to obviate the inconvenience and risk of a "loose fit," several narrow and long wedge-shaped strips about a foot and a half long (like the "gores" in the waist of a lady's skirt) are excised at the muzzle-end of the case, and the inner tube, which is now cut shorter than the case (by about 3 inches), is pushed down into it as far as it will go (*i.e.* to within 3 in. (7.5 cm.) of the muzzle-end of the case).

The split ends of the case are now drawn together till they fit the blowpipe tightly, and a short thick cylinder, of a woody kind of bamboo, and measuring about 3 in. (7.5 cm.) long, having been fitted into the vacant space inside the muzzle-end (to which the blowpipe does not reach), the whole affair is bound round either by a single long strip of cane, or by numerous rings of plaited cane, and coated over with a thick crust of tree-gum or resin in order to keep these lashings from working loose, this elaborate arrangement being finished off by a small ring-shaped piece of coconut- or tortoise-shell which is imbedded in the resin at the muzzle-end of the blowpipe in order to protect the muzzle from fraying or from similar

injury.[1] The blowpipe is now ready for use, and it only remains to decorate it with the customary patterns or magic emblems employed by the tribe.

Ornamentation.

The question of ornamentation will be treated more conveniently elsewhere, but I may remark in passing that although the patterns of the Besisi blowpipes were, with few exceptions, of the highly conventionalised rectilinear incision type, I nevertheless more than once noticed the delineation of some animal or reptile (*e.g.* a lizard) upon their polished shafts. The ordinary motive in the blowpipe and quiver patterns of this tribe—at least as the matter was explained to me by the Besisi themselves—consisted of the representation (in an extremely rudimentary form) of the limbs and body of the spectacled monkey or "lotong" (*Semnopithecus*).

The outer case of the Besisi blowpipe was divided, as a rule, into two approximate halves by the central node or knot. Subdividing it further, roughly speaking, into quarters, the second quarter (counting from the muzzle-end) was almost invariably left undecorated, except perhaps by one or two rings or zigzags, this being the part by which it was, I understood, most

[1] There can be little doubt that the object of this device is simply to strengthen the blowpipe. Vaughan-Stevens, in describing a similar device among the Mantra, supposes it to be due to a wish on the part of the Mantra to obtain a sharper tone or note from the dart as it leaves the tube, probably (he thinks) because the sharper tone would be less audible to the quarry. There does not, however, appear to be the slightest foundation for any such supposition. The majority of blowpipes in the Peninsula are without this device, yet the quarry is so little disturbed by their "tone" that a bird sitting on a tree may be shot at and missed several times before it will move. Moreover, the sharper tone would necessarily be heard *further*. At the same time this device undoubtedly improves the weapon by rendering it less liable to warp interiorly, and by weighting it better. It also has the advantage of keeping out insects.

generally held when it was being carried on a hunting expedition. I cannot say for certain whether this explanation is of wider application, but if so it would explain why this part of the bamboo is so frequently stripped of its outer cuticle and polished with wax.

The Cleaning-rod.

A primitive kind of cleaning-rod which was frequently used by the Besisi was called "jenghek." It was made on the ramrod principle, a long rod of palm-wood being perforated at one end, and strips of palm-leaf threaded through the perforation. This rod, when worked up and down the tube, made the cleaning of the interior of the blowpipe an easy matter. The muzzle of the blowpipe was in addition, not unfrequently, stoppered with leaves in order to keep out white ants, the small wild bees called "kĕlulut," and many other kinds of insect—a precaution which is of no small importance in the Malay Peninsula.

The Dart.

The following are the names given by the Besisi to the different parts of their blowpipe-dart ("dămăk"). The shaft is called "huyang," the butt-end "bentöl," the point "chen," and the nick above the point "gret."

The conical butt-end (also called "tom bentöl") is only made of what is called in Besisi "long angkau," —which is the stem of a kind of creeper called in Malay "akar lada luan,"—or of some light wood such as "pulai."

The stem or shaft of the dart is made from the leaf-ribs of various kinds of palm, especially the "sĕrdang," "ranggam," "kĕpau," "kumung" (?), and

"bĕrtam," though a shaft made of the last-named material is generally considered to be of inferior quality.[1]

The shaft of the dart with the point broken off is called "pandong dåmåk."

The polishing process, which is carried out very carefully by the Besisi (with "memplas" leaves), is called "chĕngāt."

The Poison.

We now come to the Besisi dart-poison, the ordinary ingredients of which were given me as follows:—

(1) "Ipoh batang" (in Besisi, "chēs")=*Antiaris toxicaria*, the Upas tree (the Poison-tree of Java).

(2) "Malai."[2]

(3) "Tenet."[3]

(4) "Jĕnū'," or "tuba," the well-known Malay fish-poison similarly used by the Besisi.

According to another account that I received, the ingredients of the Besisi poison[4] were:—

(1) "Chong ches" (root of the "ipoh" *creeper*=*Strychnos tieute*).

(2) "Ches (*i.e.* "ipoh") malai."

(3) "Ches (*i.e.* "ipoh") tenet."

(4) "Ches (*i.e.* "ipoh") kroi."

(5) "Jĕnū'" (Mal. "tuba").

(6) "Pĕdas," or pepper.[5]

(7) "Warang," or arsenic.

[1] Occasionally we meet with the statement that these darts are made of bamboo. Darts made of this material, however, would be of inferior quality, and where the report of its use is not due to careless observation, its employment is doubtless due to some temporary difficulty of obtaining a better material. This employment of bamboo is not at all usual, and the fact of its being used at all requires corroboration.

[2] = "Blay" (V.-St.). For identifications, *v.* App.

[3] = "Kannet" (V.-St.).

[4] For identifications, and a similar receipt given by Bellamy (p. 229), *v.* App.

[5] For a suggested reason (for the employment of pepper), see p. 319, *n.* 7.

(8) "Gengang"—a kind of large millipede.

(9) The "teeth" ("lĕmoyn") of tigers, centipedes, and snakes.

When the sap of the Upas *creeper* was used instead of, or in conjunction with, that of the *tree* Upas, the roots of the creeper were simply grubbed up and shredded. When the sap of the *tree* Upas was used, the collector, using his jungle-knife ("parang"), would slash the outer bark of the Upas (a tall forest tree growing sometimes to 100 feet in height), making V-shaped incisions, at the lowest point of each of which the sap would naturally accumulate, which was accordingly drawn off at will. When the scar was healed (but not before) a fresh supply of sap may be obtained by slashing the bark in a fresh place. Each new incision was generally made a little higher up than the last, and I have seen a tree covered with the scars, the highest of which perhaps reached a distance of at least 30 or 40 feet from the ground.

The sap thus collected was gradually reduced by long and patient boiling, as among the Sakai, to the consistency of treacle, and when sufficiently inspissated, was poured off into a small bamboo poison-tube called "jĕlok," which is carefully stoppered with a wooden stopper until required for use. Bellamy (*l. c.*) says that prepared opium ("chandu") is also sometimes added.

Poisoning the Dart.

When the time arrived, the poison was applied to the dart-point as usual, forming a thick clot about the point, and an entire quiverful of darts having been poisoned, they were at once deposited upon a highly ingenious drying rack or stand, and placed in

McGregor.

ONE OF THE UPAS (*ANTIARIS*) TREES THAT FURNISH THE DART POISON, BERANG RIVER, PERAK.

McGregor.

YOUNG UPAS TREE ("POHUN IPOH"), NEAR BERANG RIVER, PERAK.

BOILING THE POISON FOR THE BLOWPIPE DARTS.

Three ingredients—sap of the "tenet," "akar ipoh," and wild pepper. The sap of the "tenet" is being strained through a cloth into a bamboo. The small bamboos stuck in the ground are the vessels for the poison. Bukit Prual, Selangor.

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the sun to dry, the stand being designed not only to hold them in position, but also to prevent them from being accidentally knocked against, or perhaps blown away in a high wind.

When the drying was completed the darts were fitted into the reed-bundle of the quiver, and their butt-ends branded or marked with lime and water, in order to distinguish the various strengths of the poison, the designs consisting of bars, crosses, and dots.

The usual nick (as has been said) was made round the dart, but there was a belief among the Besisi that no acid fruit should be eaten with the flesh of animals killed by these darts, as they believed this would bring out the full effects of the poison in the eater.

In addition to the above must be noticed the belief, which was related to me by the Besisi, to the effect that even the branch struck by a poisonous dart dies, not immediately, but slowly and surely.[1]

The Quiver.

The Besisi quiver (like that of the Sakai) was carried on the left hip, and fastened about the waist with a cord of twisted tree-bark, secured by a buckle of bone or tortoiseshell.

The interior of the quiver is fitted with a rolled-up bundle of small tubes or reeds made of young bamboo twigs, about as big as an ordinary lead-pencil. These reeds are united by lashings inside the body of the quiver, each reed holding a single dart, the butt-end of which fits closely into its own individual reed at the upper extremity.

[1] I may also mention that the Besisi, like many other aborigines, asserted that maize was the only antidote for this Upas poison.

The cover or cap of the quiver, which was made of finely woven basket-work (of rattan), was fitted on to its upper end or top.[1] It consisted of three triangular sections of basket-work, the edges of which overlapped, and were so brought together as to make a kind of peaked lid. Inside this cap was kept a supply of the usual palm-down (or tinder),[2] the interiorly projecting edges of the cap-sections being left free to hold this down or fluff in its place.[3] An additional supply, together with the complete apparatus required for poisoning fresh darts when the supply runs short, is sometimes pushed down into the centre of the spiral formed by the rolled-up reed-bundle. It was also the rule among the Besisi to carry in the quiver a little beeswax for polishing the points of their darts, so as to prevent them from adhering to the sides of the reeds. To effect this polishing they wax a rectangular panel on the front of the quiver, after scraping off the surface of the cuticle, and work up the points of their darts by rolling them upon it.

The quiver is called "lök" in Besisi (="tĕlak" elsewhere), and its cover (Mal. "tudong") was called "tĕbong lök." Inside this cover, which was hollowed out of a soft wood resembling "pulai," was carried the tinder or palm-fluff (the "rabok tukas" of the Malays = Bes. "barok"), which was used, as has been said, as a sort of wadding for preventing windage in shooting with the blowpipe.

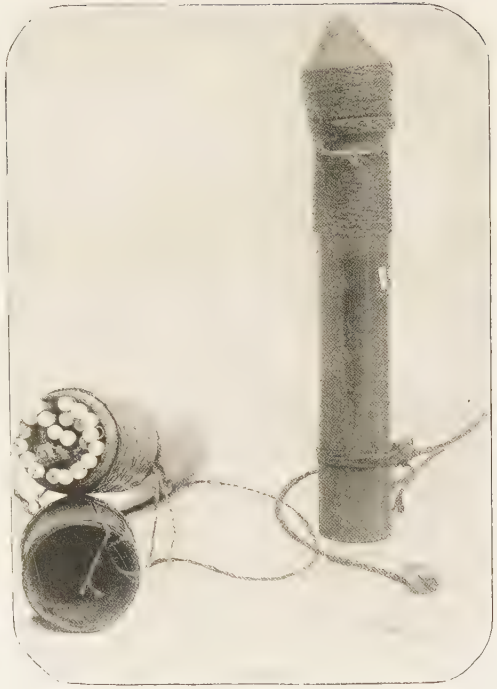
In addition to this tinder, two or three leaves of a creeper called the "Bringer-down of squirrels"[4] ("akar pĕnurun tupei"), or of another creeper called

[1] Cp. V.-St. ii. 121.

[2] See p. 260, *ante*, *n.* 1.

[3] In the wooden cap a slight bamboo bar takes their place.

[4] ?="Pĕnurun lotong" ("Bringer-down of monkeys"), *Galearia subulata*, Muell. It is called by the Blandas "sălĕrik tupei."



Skeat Collection.

BESISI QUIVERS CONTAINING DARTS POISONED WITH UPAS SAP.

In the quiver on the left the butt-ends of the darts show various markings to denote the strength of the poison.

Skeat Collection.

DART-QUIVERS AND POISON-CASE.

1. Four dart-quivers, one Besisi, with leaves (2) called "daun chengat," "s. lerik tupei," "penurun tupei" or "p. lotong" (the "bringers-down-of-squirrels" or "monkeys"), which are carried inside the quiver as charms. 3. On the left a Semang dart quiver from Perak (coll. Grubauer) of different type. 4. In centre a small (boy's) dart-quiver from Siong, Kedah; and at bottom a Pangan dart-quiver (5) from Belimbing, Ulu Kelantan (obtained from Malays). Also a poison receptacle (6) obtained from the Besisi.

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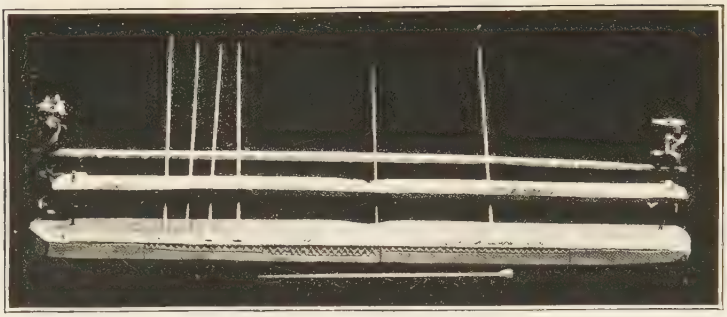


Skeat Collection.

DRYING-RACK FOR BLOWPIPE DARTS EMPLOYED BY THE BESISI.

Skeat Collection.

BESISI APPARATUS FOR BREWING DART-POISON.

1. Pestle for pounding "ipoh." 2. Cloth strainer. 3, 4, 5. Receptacles for the poison. 6. Poison-holder or tube for carrying "ipoh."

Brit. Mus.

KUANTAN DARTS WITH POISON SPATULA.

Presented by Mr. Douglas to the British Museum. (See p. 326.)

"akar samūgā'," are carried by way of a charm for success in hunting, like the "siyap" of the Dayaks.

The reeds (of the reed-bundle in the quiver) are called "plēt."

The Blowpipe.

Mantra.—The weapons of the Mantra are the blowpipe, spear, the Malay dagger or "kris," and a kind of (Malay) sword called "chĕnangkas."[1]

There is no important difference between the Mantra methods of manufacturing the blowpipe, and those practised by the Besisi. A few words with regard to the polishing and other processes may, however, here be added. The polishing of the interior of the blowpipe-tube is begun by means of bamboo shavings fixed to the end of a cleaning-rod.[2]

The process is then repeated a second time with "polishing-leaves" (of "akar simplas"), and again a third time with a small strip of bark-cloth, which is used merely to give it a "finish."[3]

The two portions of the blowpipe-tube are then spliced in the usual way (as among the Besisi). The only difference lies in the nomenclature used by

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 330*.

[2] [3] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 114. For the Mantra blowpipe, see Barbe: "To procure (their food) they use the sumpitan, which is a bamboo from 6 to 8 feet long; the arrows are slips of bamboo 10 inches long, with a piece of light wood at the bottom, shaped to the bore of the tube, which they propel by blowing hard. The point of the arrow being anointed with a prepared poison called 'ipoh,' communicates it to the blood, and after two or three minutes the animal vomits and falls dead. Should the arrow penetrate the skin of large animals, many of them die, but they are generally lost to the sportsman, as they are able to run (after having been wounded) to a great distance. These savages seldom miss their aim. I have seen them thus shoot with their arrows monkeys seated on trees of 70 or 80 feet high, when the wounded animal, after jumping on some other branches, and throwing away what he was eating, immediately after fell down, if the 'ipoh' had been well prepared" (Rev. M. Barbe, in the *Bengal Catholic Herald*, 12th June 1850; quoted in *J.I.A.* vol. v. pp. 487, 488). Cp. also Borie, *ante*.

the Mantra, who call the longer portion of the inner tube "sulu" ("sooloo"), and the shorter one "tongkat," the outer shaft or case being called "tāgu" ("targoo"). As among the Besisi, the connecting-piece or "jacket" (of "rappen" bamboo) is called "chĕmat."[1]

The hollow in the mouthpiece of this blowpipe, which is made of "jĕlotong" wood, is bored with "a wooden awl"—"jĕlotong" being a very soft wood, which lends itself readily to this treatment.[2]

The knots of the outer shaft are pierced in the ordinary way, and the hole enlarged as usual with the prickly leaf-whips or "onak" of the "Rotan tunggal." Next the leaves of the "Rotan riong" (?) are substituted and the process continued, until the enlarging process is complete, when the interior is polished in the usual way (as among the Besisi). The bamboos are often dried and kept for a considerable time before they are made into a blowpipe.[3]

The external cuticle is next scraped or shaved off at the muzzle-end for a distance of a short span (measured from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the forefinger) to enable the resin to adhere more securely. This portion of the tube is then split into the desired number of subdivisions, one of which is again split to take the end of a "rattan" lashing, which is pushed home. A small hole is made at the upper end of one of the splits, and the end (of the lashing) pushed through it and fastened off there.[4]

A quantity of resin is then melted and coloured with black from the cooking-pots, and poured round the whole of the split part. Before the binding process

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 114 *seqq.* The "sulu" measures the maker's "full arm-stretch," the "tongkat" half of it; the sheath from tip of index-finger to the opposite thumb. Both tube and case are of "temiang" bamboo. [2] [3] [4] *Ib.*

has been completed, however, a small (tubular) piece of another kind of woody bamboo ("pagai") of small calibre is inserted into the aperture of the muzzle. This serves as an internal block ("sunglork" = "senglåk") for supporting and protecting this portion of the tube, and for keeping the splits in their proper (relative) position. It forms part of the case, not of the inner tube.[1]

The longer portion of the blowpipe-tube is fitted to this block, and a ring of coconut-shell called "lĕngait" ("linghite") is imbedded in the resin at the muzzle-end, which is heated to receive it.[2]

This "muzzle-block" produces an especially sharp note as the dart passes out at the muzzle. It is difficult to describe this note, which, however, is much less audible than the note produced when no muzzle-block is used, and Vaughan-Stevens supposes it to be the result of an effort to weaken the note and make it less audible to the quarry.[3]

The outer cuticle of the case is also scraped or shaved off in several places, part being polished and rubbed with bees-wax, which latter substance is also used for rubbing that part of the case which is neither shaved nor polished.[4]

The Dart.

The darts are of the thick outer rind of the "krĕdok" palm, the butts of the soft inner wood of

[1] V.-St. ii. 119. See the Besisi blowpipe, p. 308, *supra*. The description in the original (p. 119) is very involved and muddled, owing to a confusion of the muzzle-end and the mouthpiece. The diagrams, too, in the original passage, have evidently got mixed. The description of the "sunglork" (probably "senglåk") as being placed in position "where the curve of the mouthpiece begins" should be corrected to "at the extremity of the muzzle-end," where the "sunglork" is invariably placed, and indeed if it were not so how could the darts pass out of the blowpipe? The muzzle-end, too, has no curve as the mouthpiece has. These errors have been corrected in the present text. [2] [3] [4] *Ib.*

"habong," or of "tarentong."[1] The butt-end is fixed on with resin, and the shaft of the dart is rubbed with beeswax; warped darts are straightened over the fire by hand, and marks are only added to the butt-end when it is necessary to distinguish two strengths of poison in one quiver; in which case it is (as might be expected) the darts tipped with the stronger poison that receive the marks.[2] Various standards of measurement[3] for the darts are given, a dart of the longest standard being always used first at the trial of a blow-pipe, and then the next and the next longest, until the one which appears most suitable is selected.[4]

The Poison.

Vaughan-Stevens' account[5] of the Mantra poison appears to be a jumble of several receipts, but is given here as the details may be worth verifying.

To make a spoonful of poison five strips of "kroie"[6] bark are pounded with a pestle ("pomonong," *sic*) in an iron pot which has first been prepared by waxing. Water is added, and the liquor boiled about ten minutes. The pot is then taken off the fire and deposited on a stand consisting of a wooden fork which has a cross-piece, intended to hold the pot, fastened across the bifurcated portion. The fork-ends rest on the ground, and the upper end or shaft is supported at a sharp angle of about 45 degrees. The pot is then tipped up

[1] Or of bamboo, see p. 315, *n.* 1, *supra*. "Habong" is unidentified; "krĕdok" is *Cyrtostachis læca;* "tarentong" is *Campnosperma auriculata*. See p. 331, l. 2.

[2] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 123.

[3] *E.g.* "ukor susu," *i.e.* breast to breast, or elbow to nearest breast (of the maker); and "satu tulang," an "[arm]-bone," from elbow to wrist. Length of the butt-end: shortest little finger-joint; thumb or thumb-nail (?); thumb-joint; breadth of forefinger, or "tampong k'ladi" (yam-calix), about half of the first-mentioned.

[4] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 124.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 125 *seqq.*

[6] *Lophopetalum pallidum*.—Ridley.

till the liquor is close to the brim, and one end of a roll of bamboo shavings (about 4 inches long) is inserted in the liquor, the other end being placed in a special receptacle made of bark, so as to draw off the poison by suction. The liquor thus drawn off is put back into the pot and root-shavings of the "umpas padi," "koopur,"[1] "prachek,"[2] "mundess," "chantong badak," and "gadong"[3] are added. The pot is then boiled for about ten minutes more, when it is again set on the stand and skimmed with a kind of woolly leaf — that of a plant called "chapa-neng."[4] The bark receptacle (covered with a species of sieve-shaped filter) is now set on the ground (underneath the forked stand on which the pot is resting). A funnel is made of the woolly leaves referred to, and the liquor drawn off into the funnel by the suction of the bamboo shavings (already described), a few fine punctures being made in the bottom of the funnel to facilitate the process.[5]

The pot is then rinsed, the liquor put back, and the "ipoh"[6] and "tuba"[7] added (the latter being first, however, pounded and mixed in the bark receptacle with a little liquor from the pot).[8]

The bark receptacle is then rinsed and the rinsings added to the pot, together with a pod of chillies ("Spanish pepper").[9]

After ten minutes' boiling the pot is again removed and set down on the stand, and the process of filtration repeated in exactly the same manner as before.

[1] *I.e.* "kupor" ("akar"). Prob. *Rubus moluccanus*, L., the common wild raspberry. For identifications, *v.* App.

[2] Or "pĕrachet" = *Tabernæmontana malaccensis*, Hook. fil.

[3] *Dioscorea dæmonum*, Roxb.

[4] *Clerodendron velutinum.*—Ridley.

[5] V.-St. ii. 125.

[6] *Antiaris toxicaria* (Upas tree) or *Strychnos tieute* (Upas creeper).

[7] *Derris elliptica*, Benth. [8] V.-St. *l.c.*

[9] This is to keep evil spirits from entering the poison and destroying its power (Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 128).

The pot is once more rinsed and dried on the fire, the liquor (in the bark receptacle) put back into the pot, the fire reduced, and the pot slowly boiled till a mere spoonful of gold-brown syrup is all that remains.[1]

When properly made, as described, the liquor can (by dipping a spatula into it) be drawn out into long thin elastic strings about an inch in length, though this only happens when a sufficient quantity of "tuba" is used.[2]

When the poison has been transferred (by means of the spatula) into the bamboo poison-tube or poison-carrier,[3] fresh poison obtained from snakes, centipedes, and scorpions may be added to it. A lemon- (or lime ?) pip is spitted upon the point of a dart and burnt, the charred pip being mixed with a lump of arsenic "as big as the head of a match," and stirred round in the poison-tube.[4]

Three drops of the sap of "Rotan kĕmanting" may be added, but this appears to be an innovation. The Mantra poison is very sticky, and seldom dries properly unless "ipoh" is mixed with it.[5]

Antidotes.

In speaking of antidotes, it is interesting to note Logan's remark to the effect that the Mantra were in the habit of saying that they found resistance to the Menangkabau Malays in vain, because the latter were armed with muskets, and had learned the use of antidotes to their "ipoh" poison, so that the

[1] V.-St. ii. 127. [2] V.-St. (*ibid.*) adds that when a ring of lighter colour is seen at the edges of the "ipoh" during the boiling, it is believed to be a sign of strength (of the poison), and is called "tahi m'ret" ["tahi mĕret" = "ants' dung" in the Jakun dialect].

[3] In original, "into the tube of the *quiver*" (*sic*).

[4] [5] V.-St. *l. c.*

slender darts of the blowpipe inflicted but little injury upon them.[1]

The Quiver.

Their quiver, which is of "tĕlang" bamboo, is dried at leisure when not required for immediate use. Often, however, it is merely filled with hot ashes and dried in the sun for two to three days to expedite matters.[2]

The cap is manufactured from a small block of soft wood (that of the "jĕlotong" tree). After it has been roughly shaped, a small depression is made at one end, in which red-hot embers are laid. When it has been charred sufficiently deep the hole is cleared out and shaped with a knife, and fresh embers put in to complete the burning-out process. The outside is shaped with a knife as required.[3]

The Mantra quiver alone has a broad band woven according to what is called the "bat's-wing" pattern, near the top, in addition to the ordinary rings or lashings.[4] The girdle is of "t'rap" bark, with a knot as buckle.

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 273.

[2] Vaughan-Stevens (ii. 120) gives several words for this process, as used by various tribes, but with one probable exception they are all bad Malay meaning "quick" or "rapid."

They are—

"chŭpat" (used by Sakai) = Malay "chĕpat":

"banghat" and "dras" (used by Kĕnaboi) = Malay "bangat" and "dras":

"ertjoos" (used by Besisi), which is merely a corrupt form of the common Besisi word "jö-jöss" (which undoubtedly stands for "jös-jöss" = "quick-quick").

[3] The description here (Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 123) is very obscure and confused. The key to the employment of this process is the use of "jĕlotong" wood, the soft central portion of which has necessarily to be burnt out to prevent it from decaying, the hole being then plugged with wax to make the cap water-proof.

[4] This same (bat's-wing) pattern as seen (in the same position) on the quiver of the O. Kuantan may perhaps be a reminiscence of the time when a woven band, similar to that of the Mantra, occupied its place. This woven band (of the Mantra quiver) encircles externally that part of the quiver in which is kept the "so-called pintal tukas."

[*Sic* Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 122. But here there seems to be a considerable muddle, as on the same page "pintal" is explained as the name of the girdle, and "pintal tukas" as the name of the flocculent wad which goes behind the

The Mantra, like the Besisi, make a rectangular patch or panel in front of the quiver by scraping off the surface of the cuticle and waxing it. It is on this patch that they work up (by rolling) the points of their darts. Vaughan-Stevens states that the effect of wax is also occasionally obtained by their rubbing the nose upon it, the required effect being produced by the natural moisture of the skin. Grotesque as this statement sounds, it may yet have some truth in it. I myself have more than once seen the Besisi rub the nose upon the panels of their quivers, though I have never seen or heard of the remainder of the operation here described, and at the most, all that can be safely said against it is that Vaughan-Stevens' account requires further corroboration.[1]

The Mantra, like most of the other tribes, carry a small stock of resin at (or near) the bottom of the quiver, this being chiefly intended for fixing on the butt-ends of the darts should they work loose at any time. The interior is fitted with the usual reeds.[2]

butt-end (*pfropfen*) of the dart, and which is the material really referred to in the last sentence. For "pintal tukas," therefore, in this passage read "tukas" or "rabok tukas," *i.e.* fluff of the tukas-palm (and *passim* when this fluff is referred to), but keep "pintal," *i.e.* plait or plaiting, for the girdle. "Tukas" has nothing whatever to do with "tikus," as suggested by Vaughan-Stevens (note to V.-St. ii. 121).]

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 121-122. This rectangular patch was only seen by Vaughan-Stevens among the Mantra, who use, he says, a very sticky poison which seldom properly dries. The Mantra, he says, call it "linghur," which Vaughan-Stevens' editor suggests may = Mal. "lingga." The nearest word that I can find, however, is Malayo-Javanese "lenga" = oil. The sense is right, and with Vaughan-Stevens' wretched orthography its corruption into such a form as "linghur" would be more than probable. I myself have frequently seen these same patches on the quivers of the Besisi.

[2] See Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 105, 106; 122. Vaughan-Stevens says this resin is obtained from a tree which he has been unable to identify, but which is called "keeji" (*sic*). According to Blagden, "kijai" is (properly speaking) the resin obtained from the "kĕdondang" tree, and there can be little doubt that this is its right meaning here. He adds that it was formerly used for fixing on the rattan rings which encircle the body of the quiver, but that now "the Malay cement," prepared "from buffalo-milk and chalk," is substituted. I am unable to corroborate this, and it should be quite unnecessary, as the wedging, to

Blowpipe and Quiver—first type.

Pahang Jakun (Kuantan).—Of the blowpipes used by the O. Kuantan there appear to be at least two types, one of which is the roughest form of blowpipe made, and the other resembles that of the aboriginal Malayans. The former is described as being made from long internodes of the "sĕmĕliang" ("semi-liang") bamboo, whose internodes are much shorter than those of the *Bambusa Wrayi* ("buluh tĕmiang"). The internal tube, therefore, is made in two lengths, which are joined by means of an outer tube or sheath which is manufactured from the midrib of the leaf of the "langkap" palm, and drawn over them.[1]

When the two abutting ends have been fitted together, a piece of rag (formerly, it is said, it was a ligature of plant-fibre) is smeared with heated resin and wrapped first round the end, the wrapping being coated over with a thin layer of gutta-percha, which is melted by turning it round a firebrand. The mouth-piece is also made of (*sic*, ? covered with) gutta-percha instead of the more usual material, wood.[2]

These blowpipes are the least effective of all those known in the Peninsula, and cannot propel a dart above forty paces. They are little used, and are, according to Vaughan-Stevens, hidden inside the stems of living bamboos, the nodes of which have been knocked out. Vaughan-Stevens was only able to obtain four.[3]

The bamboo internode from which the quiver of

which V.-St. himself makes reference, is a much simpler method of tightening these rings.

One of the kinds of resin thus employed by the O. Kuantan is "damar tooyoom" (Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 113).

[1] Cp. Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 112.

[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

the O. Kuantan is manufactured is not slowly dried like that of the Benua-Jakun, and hence the rings round it work loose and require to be tightened by wedges. The cap is made by the women of woven (and untrimmed) pandanus-leaf (*P. furcatus*). The waist-cord, which is made of "akar dow" (? "dauk") has no buckle, but a knot at the cord-end, and its decoration is peculiar to itself. The interior of the quiver is only fitted with a small reed-bundle, room being left, whenever it is used, for the insertion of the bamboo poison-holder. At the bottom of the quiver a little resin ("tuyum") is kept (as among the Mantra) and used for making fast the butt-ends of the darts. The arrows, which are made of the leaf-stem of the "langkap" palm, are very roughly made, and are frequently used, without poison, for killing small birds, and only rarely for killing apes, when poison is obtainable. Their length is "from elbow to wrist," but they are often shorter.[1]

Not more than one out of every five or six of the O. Kuantan possesses poison at all, and that which he has is frequently compounded out of ingredients which are quite harmless.[2]

Blowpipe and Quiver—second type.

The second type of blowpipe used by the Orang Kuantan appears to be peculiar to the Jakun or savage Malayan race. A specimen of this rare and interesting blowpipe, which has been presented to the Ethnological Department of the British Museum by a member of the Malay States Service, was de-

[1] Cp. Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 113. The breadth (*sic*, ? length) of the butt-end is said to be the combined breadth of the first two fingers. [2] *Ibid.*

scribed in *Man*,[1] whence the following description by the present author has, with slight alteration, been drawn:—

Mr. F. W. Douglas, of the Malay States Service, obtained this blowpipe on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula in the Kuantan district of Pahang, during October 1897, from a man belonging to one of the jungle-tribes dwelling on the borders of Pahang and Kemaman. Its measurements are as follows:—

Total length (over-all) . . .	5 ft. 2 in. (157 cm.)
Interior diameter at mouthpiece	$\frac{7}{16}$ in. (10.9 mm.)
Interior diameter at muzzle-end	$\frac{3}{8}$ in. (9.37 mm.)

Hence the bore of the tube at the muzzle-end is *a fraction less* than it is at the mouthpiece, so that we have here an instance of a wooden blowpipe imitating the natural proportions that obtain in the original bamboo blowpipe, from which it was copied; for in the bamboo blowpipe it is always the *root-end* which is placed nearest the mouth, so that the bore at the muzzle-end is generally a fraction less than at the mouthpiece; in other words, this blowpipe, like its bamboo original, has a slight "choke" in the bore.[2]

The illustrations here given are full-size. They show the muzzle-end and the mouthpiece in two positions, the mouthpiece having been chipped in transit. I had it photographed to show the binding before it was mended.[3]

This particular blowpipe is made of some very hard wood, probably of "pĕnāgă" (*Calophyllum*). The cylinder is carefully split down the middle and the two halves grooved on the inner side throughout their entire length, so that when fitted together again they form a perfect tube. This tube, which forms

[1] Skeat in *Man*, No. 108 of 1902. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Ib.*

the blowpipe, is bound round from end to end with a long thin strip of some kind of cane (*Calamus*), over which is deposited a thick incrustation of a gutta-like substance, the object of which is evidently to protect the bands and prevent them from being loosened, as well as to hermetically close any cracks that might otherwise permit the passage of air. The thickness of this deposit is increased to about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (1.2 cm.) at the mouthpiece.[1]

In Vaughan-Stevens (ed. Grünwedel)[2] a very similar blowpipe (collected among the "Benua" or Jakun of East Johor) is described. It is not absolutely identical with Mr. Douglas's specimen, since it is longer (by about nine inches), and its two half-cylinders of "pĕnāgă" wood are protected by a bamboo casing. Mr. Douglas's specimen, on the other hand, corresponds with remarkable fidelity to a Peruvian blowpipe, described in the second volume of Reiss und Stuebel's *Kultur und Industrie südamerikanischer Völker*. This Peruvian specimen came from the Huallaya river, and was described as consisting of "the two halves of a palm-stem carefully grooved and fitted together and bound round with çipo, which was covered besides with a layer of black wax. It was fitted with a short bone mouthpiece."[3]

The quiver belonging to the blowpipe (also presented by Mr. Douglas to the museum) similarly presented some new and interesting features:—[4]

The body of the quiver is made from a bamboo internode measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. (29 cm.) in length, and of great diameter (4 in. = 10 cm.). It is covered with a

[1] Skeat, *loc. cit.*

[2] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 102. Mr. G. Pfenningwerth of Kuantan writes me that the "bored" blowpipe, resembling that of the Dayaks, is certainly used in Kuantan, but he cannot say for certain whether it is indigenous, or introduced by Dayaks.

[3] Skeat, *loc. cit.* Cp. Otis T. Mason, *Origin of Invention*, p. 208.

[4] *Ib.*

flattish four-peaked cap made of woven pandanus-leaf, which is made fast to a double ring of plaited rattan or *Calamus* (which encircles the body of the quiver) by means of a short cord of plaited tree-bark (*Artocarpus?* or *Eugeissona tristis?*). The usual waist-cord of twisted tree-bark is attached to the same rattan-rings. The exterior of the quiver is decorated throughout by the usual incised patterns (which are, however, unusually rough and irregularly executed), and there are traces of resin at the bottom of the quiver.[1]

The interior is fitted with the usual rolled-up reed-bundle, the number of reeds being sixty-five. Of these, however, only five contain darts, and there is one loose dart of which the butt-end has been lost, making six darts in all. All of these darts have broken or (as I think more probable) blunt points, and have very probably been used for knocking over small birds. Only one (the loose one) has traces of a coating of poison upon it, and even of this one the extreme tip of the point is blunt like the rest.[2]

Of the darts the longer ones measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. (19 cm.) in length, and the shorter about $7\frac{1}{8}$ in. (18 cm.), and their butt-ends are made of some very light pith-like wood and are of irregular length, two being about 1 in. (2.5 cm.) long, and the other three being only half that length. But they are all very incompletely rounded, are all cut off square at the lower end, and are all pretty much of the same diameter throughout, instead of tapering towards the shaft, as is the case with the better-made darts used by the Sakai, Besisi, etc. Another distinction is that in two of them the upper end of the dart-shaft is driven right through the butt-end, emerging at its extremity beyond the upper end

[1] Skeat, *loc. cit.* [2] *Ibid.*

of the butt, a peculiarity which may be seen in the blowpipe-darts of Borneo.[1]

The only other contents of the quiver were two rolled-up pieces of old chintz cloth, and a spear-shaped wooden spatula, still coated with poison.[2]

In view of all the evidence, and in spite of slight differences, I think there need be no hesitation whatever in identifying both the blowpipe and quiver as a variety of the "Benua-Jakun" blowpipe and quiver which Vaughan-Stevens obtained in the eastern part of Johor, in spite of the fact that this specimen was obtained in Kuantan, north of the Pahang, a fact which disagrees with Vaughan-Stevens' own statement to the effect that this type of blowpipe is not found (in the Malay Peninsula) north of the river in question. This particular specimen, at all events, has the additional interest of more nearly approaching the blowpipe of Peru than any other specimen yet recorded from this part of the world—a fact which should be of special interest to the students of the problems of distribution.[3]

The Blowpipe.

Benua-Jakun.—One of the Kuantan types of blowpipe is found also among the Benua-Jakun. These tribes use a peculiar form of blowpipe, the internal tube of which is made in a very primitive fashion, of *wood*, though its outer casing is as usual of bamboo. Its length and calibre vary with the individual maker.[4]

It is exceedingly rare and hard to obtain, especially as it takes sixteen days to make. It is made from the wood of the "pĕnāgă" tree ("pĕnaghur," *sic*), a sapling of which is felled and split throughout its entire length. The two halves are then

[1] Skeat, *loc. cit.* [2] *Ib.* [3] *Ib.* [4] Cp. Favre in *Ann. P. F.* xxii. 304.

roughly carved into shape, the flat parts planed and fitted together with a chopping-knife, bound round with rattan "ties" at intervals, and carefully rounded. The "ties" themselves are moved occasionally, according to necessity, to enable the work to be completed. The two halves are "trued" by wetting one half and then pressing the two together.[1]

Next a broad black line is drawn with charcoal down the centre, and the groove cut out with the chopper, a quarter of the circumference at a time only, to prevent warping. The cutting-out process is continued until the cleaning-rod ("bingrot") can just pass along within the double groove, when the two lengths are again bound together, at short intervals, and made fast at one end within a movable clamp or vice ("kahon"), the object of which is to hold the two divided halves of the tube firmly together and at the same time to keep the blow-pipe in position till the binding process is completed.[2]

As soon as this process, which is effected with a strip of cane ("rotan tunggal") is over, the mouthpiece is made. It is said that this was formerly made of a soft wood called "kělěbok" ("libut"), but it is now made of harder wood. The orifice was first bored out with a "bone awl" and then gradually enlarged, after which the end of the tube was warmed and rubbed with resin and the mouthpiece fitted on to it and shaped with the chopper. The outer case was made of bamboo, the nodes being pushed out (as usual) with a long stick. The bamboo was then heated over a slow fire and bent downwards with a constant pressure, which was applied by means of a pair of wooden pincers. This process was repeated about

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 102 *seqq.* [2] *Ib.*

a dozen times, the object being to make the bamboo case soft and yielding. The broken edges of the nodes, which still remained inside the bamboo, were removed in the ordinary way. The bottom node, however, was left until the completion of the following process.[1]

The end of the blowpipe being pushed into the bamboo case as far as it will go without forcing, the remainder is then driven home by bringing down the extremities smartly upon a block of wood. This process is assisted by the warming, and the bottom node already mentioned is then cut away. Use is made of the long cleaning-rod ("bingrot") to give a further polish to the interior of the tube, the thin end being first inserted, and then the thicker end, with a piece of skate-skin attached. The final polish is effected by substituting the leaves of the "mamp'las" for the skate-skin, this part of the process alone taking two or three days to complete. The mouthpiece is then made out of soft wood smoothened and coated over with a layer of gutta-percha to give it more durability. A small hole is made in the centre of the node (at the lower end) to let the air in, and the shaft is softened by steaming and straightened by eye. When the node is finally excised, a rod with twisted bamboo shavings attached to it is pushed down inside the tube, and worked to and fro to clear away the remains of the node.[2]

The Darts and the Quiver.

The darts, which measure from "breast to breast" (of the maker), are described as being manufactured from the hard outer cuticle of a palm called "krědok" (*Cyrtostachis læca*).[3] Each of the spaces between

[1] V.-St. ii. 103 *seqq.*
[2] *Ib.*
[3] The wood of tapioca (*Manihot dulcis*) is also said to be used by the Benua.—Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 106.

the knots furnished on an average forty arrows, a single day's work for their maker. These arrows are dried for a long time and kept in reserve, as they are seldom used twice.[1] When bent or warped, the dart-shaft was straightened by hand over a fire.[2] They are often used unpoisoned, without nicks.[3]

The quiver of these Benua tribes is made from part of an internode of the large bamboo, which is cut when green, filled with wet clay, and exposed to gentle heat. As the clay dries, the bamboo is gradually moved further from the fire, the process often taking several weeks to complete, though when once completed it effectually prevents the bamboo from warping. After the first heating it is wrapped in bark to protect it from the smoke of the hearth-fire, and thus gradually obtains its golden-yellow colour. The cap, which is made by the women, is of woven "nipah" or pandanus-leaves. The quiver itself is fitted with reeds as usual, and the waist-cord is of "t'rap" bark, with buckle of wood, bone, tortoise-shell, or even cash. It is quite plain and undecorated.[4]

An elaborate system of marking the darts, in order to distinguish the several strengths of the poison, was employed by these tribes, as follows :—[5]

Marks.	Nature of Quarry.	Strength of Poison.
.	Large birds	Ipoh (*Antiaris*) only.
. .	Squirrels (*i.e.* small mammals)	Ipoh + fish-"stings."
. . .	Civet-cats (medium-sized mammals)	Ipoh + fish-"stings" + centipedes.
. .	Apes (large mammals)	Ipoh + fish-"stings" + centipedes + snake-poison (*i.e.* "full strength" of poison).
. .		

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 106.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 123. Cp. Favre, *Ann. P. F.* xxii. 304.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 107.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 104, 105.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 107.

Unpoisoned arrows (for small birds) were not furnished with any distinguishing mark.[1]

The amount of poison[2] made at a time is sufficient for a quiver containing ("nominally") 100 arrows; this, however, no doubt merely means that the poison-makers of these tribes make rather more poison at a time than they require to use, since no quiver holds anything near the number mentioned.[3]

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 107.

[2] *Ib.* There is nothing special to note as regards this poison, for which see App.

[3] The following account of the preparation of the poison of the Benua is from Newbold:—"The Benua employ three preparations of the Ipoh or Upas poison to tip their arrows with, these three kinds being distinguished by the names 'Ipoh krohi,' 'Ipoh tennik' or 'kennik,' and 'Ipoh mallaye.'

"The 'krohi' is extracted from the root and bark of the Ipoh tree, the roots of the 'tuba' and 'kopah,' red arsenic, and the juice of limes. The 'tennik' is made in the same manner as the 'krohi,' leaving out the 'kopah' root. The 'mallaye' poison, which is accounted the most potent of the three, is prepared from the roots of the 'tuba,' the 'perachi,' the 'kopah,' and the 'chey'; and from that of the shrub 'mallaye'; hence its name.

"The process of concocting these preparations is as follows:—The roots are carefully selected and cut at a particular age of the moon; probably about the full. The woody fibre is thrown away, and nothing but the succulent bark used. This is put into a 'kuali' (a sort of earthen pipkin), with as much soft water as will cover the mass, and kneaded well together. This done, more water is added, and the whole is submitted to a slow heat over a charcoal fire until half the water has evaporated. The decoction is next strained through a cotton cloth, and again submitted to slow ebullition until it attains the consistency of syrup. Red arsenic ('warangan'), which is rubbed down in the juice of the sour lime, the 'limau asam' of the Malays, is then added, and the mixture poured into small bamboos, which are carefully closed up ready for use. Some of the tribes add a little opium, spices, and saffron; some, the juice of the lancha, and the bones of the sunggat-fish burnt to ashes.

"A number of juggling incantations are performed, and spells gibbered over the seething caldron by the Poyangs, by whom the fancied moment of the projection of the poisonous principle is as anxiously watched for as that of the philosopher's stone or the elixir vitae by the alchemists and philosophers of more enlightened races. When recently prepared the Ipoh poisons are all of a dark liver-brown colour, of the consistency of syrup, and emit a strongly narcotic odour. The deleterious principle appears to be volatile, as the efficacy of the poison is diminished by keeping" (Newbold, ii. pp. 400, 401).

Newbold further mentions—as the only antidote of which the Benuas could tell him—the fresh sap of a shrub called "lĕmak kĕpiting" ("Lemmah kopiting"; lit. = "crab's-fat"), rubbed round and into the wound, and afterwards over the limb in which the puncture has been made. —Newbold, ii. 402.

[For identifications, *v.* pp. 318, 319, *ante*, and App. "Krohi" stands for "kroi" in the Besisi dialect, "tennik" for "tenet," "mallaye" for "mallai" (= "Blay" of Vaughan-Stevens, ?), "Perachi" for "pĕrachek" (or "Perachet"), and "chey" for Bes.

The Blowpipe.

Jakun of Berembun. — All the Berembun tribes (visited by Logan) used the blowpipe and poisoned darts. The former was a light and neat instrument, and differed from the "bored" wooden blowpipe of the Dayaks. That of the Berembun tribes consisted of two bamboos about 7 ft. (2.13 m.) in length, the one enclosed within the other, the external one being about three-fourths of an inch (19 mm.) in diameter, and neatly decorated for about 1 ft. (91 cm.) in the centre and at each extremity. To prevent it from splitting, the fibrous bark of the Artocarpus was bound around 6 in. (45 cm.) of the extremity and coated with resin ("dammar"). The internal tube was of the same length as the case, but its "bore" measured only three-fifths of an inch (15 mm.). It was composed of two pieces of bamboo, united by a splicing-piece 8 in. (20 cm.) long, which embraced both ends tightly at the point of junction. The bamboo used in the manufacture of this blowpipe ("buluh tĕmiang") was very light and finely grained.[1]

The darts ("damak") were made from the stem of the bĕrtam-palm leaf. They measured 10 in. (25 cm.) in length, and $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (1.5 mm.) in diameter at

"chēs" or "chēh" (Mal. "ipoh"). "Kopah" = ? *Carapa malaccensis*, but "limou asam" = the lime (Mal. "Limau asam"). Newbold (*l.c.*) distinguishes three kinds of poison in the Malay Peninsula: (1) "Ipoh kroi" ("krohi"), (2) "Ipoh tenet" ("tenni"), and (3) "Ipoh malai" ("mallaye"), of which the first two are founded upon the root and bark of the Ipoh tree. Newbold seems, however, to have confused "Ipoh akar" (*Strychnos*) with "Ipoh batang" (*Antiaris*), for it is the milky sap drawn from the stem of *Antiaris* that is generally employed. Of the thin poison mentioned by Newbold, "Ipoh malai" (or "mallaye"), which is the root of a West Indian plant (*Thevetia neriifolia*, Juss., *Apocynaceæ*), is said to be the foundation. — See Geiger, p, 20.]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 272. From the foregoing account it is probable that the Berembun blowpipe belonged to the Sakai type.

the base, from which they gradually tapered to a very fine and sharp point. The base was inserted into a conical butt-end of "kayu tutu"[1] (which is very porous and light), the dart there measuring about 1 in. (25 mm.) in length and one-third of an inch (8 mm.) in diameter. The points of the dart had been dipped for about five-sixths (21 mm.) of an inch in Ipoh poison. This latter is made by taking the sap of the Upas creeper, the Upas tree (or "kyas"),[2] "tuba," and limes, which are then bruised, boiled, and strained. Arsenic is added, and other substances, such as "pachet,"[3] "jimardes,"[4] "malai," and "gadong," are also sometimes added as well. The liquid, which is called "ipoh," having been thus prepared, has the colour and consistency of prepared opium ("chandu"). An incision is made round the point of the dart just above the poison to ensure its breaking off and remaining in the wound.[5]

Each dart is kept (ready for immediate service) in a reed or case of bamboo, the diameter of which is about one-fourth of an inch (6 mm.). Fifty of these reeds are laid side by side and united by strings. They are then rolled up and inserted into a large quiver, which is also made of bamboo, and which has a neat lid made from the wood of the "jělotong." This quiver contains, in addition, a quantity of the wadding ("barok"), which is of a very light, spongy character, and is also used as tinder, which these tribes extract from a tree called "runut."[6] When the dart has been inserted into the blowpipe a little "barok" is introduced behind it. When the operator blows into the blowpipe, this substance is pressed against the butt-end of the dart,

[1] *Sic*, ? "tutok" = *Hibiscus macrophyllus*.
[2] "Kyas" = "kayas" ("ipoh kayu").
[3] *Sic*, ? "pĕrachet," *q.v.*
[4] *Sic* ? Unidentified.
[5] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 272 *seqq.*
[6] *Sic*, ? "rĕngut."

and effectually prevents windage. In shooting, the blowpipe is firmly held by both hands, which are lightly clasped over the near extremity of the tube, which in turn is firmly inserted into the mouthpiece, which thus serves as a species of handle.[1]

Weapons.

Udai.—The Udai use sharpened palm-wood ("nibong") stakes, hardened with fire at the end, as spears, as well as the blowpipe with poisoned darts.[2]

Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.

Weapons and Implements.

O. Laut, Sletar.—The Sletar tribe of the Orang Laut are described as possessing no weapons, whether for offence or defence.

In the same passage, however, we are told that they do employ a form of fish-spear called "sĕrkap," as well as the Malay "parang" or chopper (which, of course, may on occasion be used either as a defensive or offensive weapon).[3]

O. Laut, Sabimba.—The Sabimba use a Dayak blowpipe, which is also armed with a spear-head, bayonet fashion. It is curious, says Logan, that this weapon has been imported for the Sabimba from time immemorial, and that they have not acquired the art of manufacturing their blowpipes from bamboo like the Berembuns. The Bornean sumpitan, adds Logan (evidently by way of distinction), is artificially bored.[4]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 272, 273. The blowpipe is not used by the Jakun of Ulu Endau, Ulu Sĕmbrong, and Kahang, though it is by their neighbours of the Kĕratong and Jĕkati.—*J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 25, p. 3; No. 26, p. 14.

[2] Newbold, ii. 381, 382.

[3] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 342*. [4] *Ib.* 297.

It is most unfortunate that this account is so meagre, but a contemporary account by Mr. Thompson adds a few more scattered facts. He describes the Sabimba as hunting the wild hog by the aid of their dogs, and as feeding on monkeys, snakes, apes, etc. "Their blowpipe is the same as that used by the Dayaks of Sambas in Borneo, from whence it is imported to Singapore, and from thence finds its way to the Tembrau, the river on which they are now located. The dart of this blowpipe is delicately fashioned, but the Sabimba make a ruder description themselves. The darts are poisoned with the juice of the Upas tree, which is called 'ipoh.'" The admission that the Sabimba make a ruder sort of dart themselves, tallies entirely with what we find to be the case among many of those tribes who are in the habit of employing not only their own weapons, but those of their neighbours in the chase, no doubt in hopes that the latter would bring them better luck. It would be interesting to know what proof there was that the blowpipes resembling those of the Dayaks at Sambas were borrowed.[1]

O. Laut, Muka Kuning.—With the help of dogs, the blowpipe, a kind of palm-wood spear (the "sĕligi" or "spear of nibong"), the axe, the hatchet, and the knife, the O. Muka Kuning procure their ordinary food in the forest, together with rattans, resin or "dammar," and eagle-wood, which they barter for rice, cloth, implements, tobacco, and salt.[2]

The Bow.

O. Laut, Temiang.—The following reference to a form of arrow-release attributed to a less-known sea-

[1] To me the statement is most unlikely. *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 347*, 348*.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 337*.

tribe is, so far as I have been able to discover, unique: the bow (of the Temiang) was held in a horizontal position (a hole being made in the centre of the bow, through which the arrow passed), the three fingers bent over the string, and the arrow held between the first and second fingers, the thumb straightened, and the little finger partially straightened.[1]

[1] *Essex Inst. Bull.* vol. xvii. Oct.-Dec. p. 21 of short copy. See, however, remarks on p. 253, *ante*. The entire passage wants corroboration.

CHAPTER VII.

Cultivation.

The most primitive form of horticulture (if so it can be called) employed by these tribes arises from the throwing away of the seeds of fruit that they have eaten in the jungle. A Malay chief of Selangor informed me that the Besisi were originally in the habit of eating the fruits of the jungle in a small shelter built upon the spot where they had been gathered, but on its being pointed out that this practice resulted in a superfluous number of fruit-trees all growing in the same spot, the whole tribe took to carrying their fruit to a little distance before eating it, and afterwards removed during the fruit season to a fresh spot every year, in order to spread the seeds over a wider region of the country.

On the other hand, fruit-seeds or seedlings were certainly planted by the aborigines from time to time among the catch-crops in their clearings, and the ground round the trees that were in bearing was regularly cleared (about once a year) of undergrowth. This, however, was probably intended rather to facilitate the collection of the fruit than with any idea of improving the fruit-bearing capacity of the tree.

For the latter purpose magic was more frequently

McGregor.

JAKUN WALKING UP A TREE, ULU BATU, SELANGOR

Cerruti.

SAKAI TREE-FELLING: ONE MAN (ON STAGING) STARTING WORK, THE OTHER (ON THE LEFT) CLIMBING UP TO ASSIST HIM.

Vol. I. p. 339.

employed, though it is true that various ingenious devices were adopted for the purpose of scaring away wild animals (such as monkeys, squirrels, bear-cats, and civet-cats) which were certain to assemble to feast upon the fruit.

Amongst the animals that were fond of the durian, bears and tigers were always especially mentioned, it being asserted that these animals were in the habit of tearing open the huge, green, spiky fallen fruit by inserting their sharp claws into the divisions of its thick rind, and feasting upon the creamy pulp that envelops the seeds within. Whether this be so or not, it is certain that both bears and tigers are frequently met with in the neighbourhood of these durian groves, and that not a few of the aborigines have lost their lives through being attacked either in or near the tiny huts or shelters that are built under the durian trees, during the fruit season, for the watchers. I may add that the number and variety of wild fruits eaten by the aborigines were far in advance of those eaten by the Malays.

All the aborigines are adepts at tree-felling, at which even the Malays cannot beat them. Standing on a lofty platform made of a few crossed sticks, they cut the stem through at the point where the buttresses spring from the trunk. They never seem to miss their stroke even by a hair's-breadth, the cutting being so cleanly done that the top of the stump often looks as smooth as a billiard-table, a great contrast to the roughly cut stumps left by some Malays and most Chinese. In the southern districts of Selangor the Jakun, who did a good deal of felling for the Protectorate Government, proved cheap and excellent workers, though they required management,

as they would never work unless they were in a humour to do so. Their favourite method of felling, when a large area had to be cleared, was to select a tree of the largest size, and then to fell it in a particular direction so as to bring down with it a number of smaller trees in its fall.

In the earliest stages of cultivation, the first kind of grain to be planted by the aborigines is a kind of Chinese millet, which is grown together with a few light catch-crops, more especially by tribes living among the hills of the Peninsula at a considerable altitude. The last mode of cultivation introduced is usually rice, and even when this latter is cultivated, it is generally on so small a scale and with such hopelessly inadequate implements, that it could hardly be expected (when the various "enemies" of the rice had taken their toll) that there would be any substantial harvest left to gather.

Magic rites play a large part in the rice-planting customs of the Sakai and the Jakun, but less so, I believe, in those of the Semang, who seem to be less superstitious than their neighbours.

Mr. Blagden has shown that there are several non-Malay aboriginal names for rice in the Peninsula, and this fact, coupled with the existence of varieties of the grain special to the aborigines, and with the generally aboriginal character of the harvest-rites, argues against such words being borrowed by the civilised (Mohammedan) Malays. The line between pagan and Mohammedan Malay is drawn at irrigation.

The fact that there have been cases in which the Jakun have taken even to the cultivation of coffee shows, however, that they are by no means incapable of improvement.

I.—Semang.

Agriculture.

Kedah Semang and Pangan.—The wildest Semang tribes do not eat rice, except when they may have succeeded in obtaining a scanty supply through the medium of other Semang more conversant with Malays.

They live, in fact, for the most part upon roots, eked out by the trophies of their skill in hunting and fishing, together with the wild fruits of the jungle as they come in season.

The Semang, who have reached the first and most rudimentary stage of agriculture, plant by way of a substitute for rice a species of Chinese millet ("sĕkoi") which is called in Malay "cat's-tail" ("ekor kuching"), and which is perhaps selected from its flourishing better than rice on the higher ranges.

The fact of these tribes being millet-eaters, of which I was first informed by the Semang of Kedah, I subsequently found had been already recorded by De Morgan and several other writers. It is, of course, conceivable that the fact of their being eaters of millet may have given the nickname of "Orang Sĕkoi," or "Millet-men," to the tribes who bear it. But on the other hand the name might quite as easily have been derived from some small stream or river (Sungei Sekoi), since on the whole this is the more usual method by which these tribes get their names.

In the next stage of development (in which the Negritos are still semi-nomadic, and migrate from one district to another as soon as their scanty crop is harvested) they actually begin to grow rice in a primitive fashion, as well as a few catch-crops, such as bananas, sugar-cane, tapioca, maize, and sweet potatoes,

all, however, with a minimum expenditure of time and trouble. The rice that they grow, at this stage, is always "hill-rice" (Mal. "huma"), a fresh plot of forest-ground (usually the sloping side of a hill) being selected and cleared annually. The branches are then lopped off from the fallen trees, the *débris* is burnt, and the rice sown in the interstices between the remaining tree-stumps, this latter process always necessarily taking place during the more rainy season.

A good instance of this culture of "hill-rice" was to be seen at Siong (in Kedah), where the Semang had cleared a great part of the slope of Bukit Těměsu, and planted it with rice and the light catch-crops mentioned in the foregoing list, with the exception, however, of tapioca, which, for some reason unknown to me, they did not plant.

At the time of my arrival their scanty stock of rice, which was of very poor quality, had all been harvested, and they had stored it in a tiny hut or barn, built upon very high posts and no bigger than a box (4 feet by 4 feet), in order to remove its precious contents beyond the reach of small mammals.

Perak Semang.—These remarks apply equally to the Semang of Perak.

II.—Sakai.

Fruit-gathering.

Perak Sakai. — The Sakai method of gathering wild tree-fruit is to climb the trees in which ripe fruit has been seen, and then to lop off the fruit-laden boughs, so that the fruit itself may be picked off the boughs (as they lie on the ground) and eaten at leisure.[1]

[1] De Morgan, viii. 284. This method is also practised by the Malays.

Agriculture.

The Hill Sakai (Sakai Bukit) are said to practise no form of agriculture; but those who have reached the earliest stage of it are described as cultivating the species of Chinese millet called "sĕkoi" (or "ekor kuching") already mentioned.[1] Mr. L. Wray saw a field of this millet grown at an altitude of 2400 ft. (730 m.) in Perak, and remarks that this form of grain is grown largely by the Sakai, both in the hills of N. Perak and of the Plus district, but that no rice was grown there, and that their staple food appeared to be tapioca.[2]

Mr. Wray adds that they also grew sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, pumpkins, and tobacco, but no fruit, except in the settlements near Malay villages.[3]

Elsewhere the Perak Sakai are described as planting not only the crops already named, but maize and yams, etc., etc.[4]

According to Col. Low and De Morgan, the Sakai make no sort of use of ploughing or harrowing implements, but content themselves with making holes in the ground with a pointed stick, in the open spaces between the roots and tree-stumps,[5] to contain the rice-seed which is dropped into them.

De la Croix, in describing the Sakai village of Kampong Chabang, on the upper waters of S. Kerbu (a tributary of the Plus river in Upper Perak), gives a graphic description of one of these aboriginal clearings, stating that the jungle had been cleared for an area of about five acres (*deux hectares*), and

[1] De la Croix, p. 340. *Sed v.* p. 340, *ante.*

[2] Wray in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 21, p. 163. For illustrations of clearings, cp. *L'Homme*, ii. 642, 643.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *J. I. A.* vol. iv. p. 429; and cp. Hale, p. 294.

[5] Low, *J. I. A.* vol. iv. pp. 429, 430; cp. De Morgan, vii. 423; *L'H.* ii. 611.

great trees lay on all sides, the open spaces between them being planted with rice. Here and there were upright posts from which were suspended pieces of bamboo which sounded as the wind shook them. These were scarecrows designed for driving away the crowds of birds which came to rob the rice-fields. When the wind was not strong enough to move these scarecrows, the aborigines did so themselves by means of an arrangement of cords or creepers, all of which converged towards a small shelter in the centre, wherein a watchman was always posted. It looked not unlike a network of telegraph lines. The same apparatus was used for scaring away wild elephants, which were a veritable scourge to plantations in the jungle.[1]

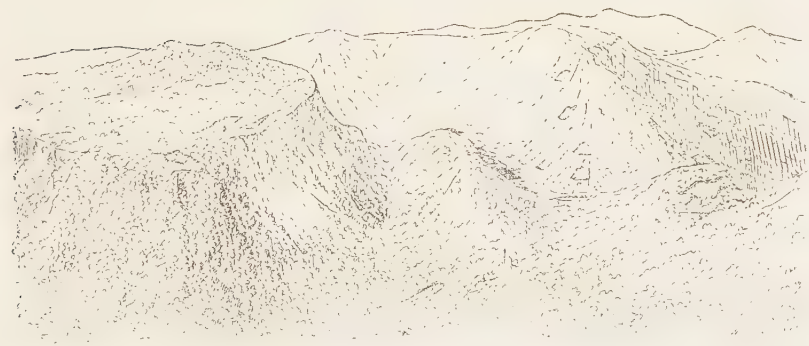
Vaughan-Stevens, in giving a very long and full account of rice-planting as practised by the Sakai,[2] made out five main divisions of their agricultural work—felling, burning, sowing, reaping, and the offering of first-fruits. To commence, he stated that as a rule only one harvest was obtained, unless the soil was exceptionally rich, when two harvests might possibly be obtained. Hence it was the most usual thing for the clearing to be deserted as soon as the harvest had been reaped. The patch of forest which happened to be selected was cleared during the prevalence of the drier season, by means of the hatchet and the chopper.[3] A favourite method of felling was to cut a number of small trees half-way through, and then to fell a

[1] De la Croix, p. 323 (1882). This method is common among the Malays, but as Mr. Blagden shows, the aborigines themselves may have grown rude crops. Wray (*Per. Mus. N.* iii. pp. 29-30) gives two kinds of rice, "Padi Sakai" and "Padi Si Antah," both described as varieties grown only by the Sakai.

[2] Called by Vaughan-Stevens Blandas, though, as has already been explained, Vaughan-Stevens almost invariably employed this term for what are throughout this book called Sakai. Mr. Blagden, however, from internal linguistic evidence, attributes this particular account to the Mantra of Malacca.

[3] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 146.

A Sakai Plantation at Changkat Bertam on the River Raya (Perak).



De Morgan.

Sakai Plantations near the Head-waters of the River Kampar (Perak), seen from the Summit of Mt. Chabang.

McGregor.

ABORIGINAL HILL CLEARING, WITH HUTS, ULU BATU, SELANGOR.

McGregor.

ABORIGINAL HILL CLEARING, WITH MIXED CULTIVATION (TAPIOCA AND BANANAS), ULU BATU, SELANGOR.

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bigger one in such a way that it brought them all down in its fall.

The felled timber, after being left to dry for a few weeks, was then set on fire, and with the exception of some of the thicker stumps soon burnt to ashes. In the spaces between these stumps the padi was planted, just before the commencement of the wet season. Before felling, however, all tools, whether choppers or hatchets, had to be charmed to avoid accidents which might be brought about by evil spirits. Women and children, on such occasions, were not allowed to be present on account of the dangers that they might incur. In every village there was generally at least one man—perhaps several—who knew these charms. At the present day the Penglima or village chief was as a rule the only one who knew them, for since the wizards had died out, any one who knew the charm could work it.

The actual process was as follows :—

Two forked uprights (of no stipulated size or material) were planted vertically in the ground (a few feet apart) and supported a horizontal pole running east and west. The handle or helve of a hatchet was then suspended from the pole, and just underneath it were planted a branch (of some kind of forest tree) and a young shoot of "bunglei." To these were added a half coconut-shell filled with earth, which served as a censer ("sangkun"), a chopper, to be deposited on the ground beneath the pole, and the blade of the hatchet whose helve was suspended as described. The ceremony commenced at sunrise, when the saplings were cut and erected as related above.[1]

The magician then strewed incense (benzoin) over

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 146.

the embers, and facing the rising sun, knocked the blade out of the hatchet-helve, and suspended the latter as described. Next he deposited the chopper and hatchet-blade, and picking them up again and crossing his hands in the smoke, described seven successive circles in the smoke, calling aloud seven times in succession as he did so.

He then repeated the following charm :—

"O Spirits of every Hill-locked Basin, return ye and seek the Spectral Huntsman. It is my desire to open up this clearing. O ye Four (great) Magicians, unto all Four of you I prefer my request. It is my desire to open up this clearing. Grant me coolness of body, and do me no harm nor scaith, but grant me coolness and coldness within this body of mine."

The harm and scaith referred to included the risk of being crushed by falling trees, of falls, and of accidental wounds inflicted by the implements used by the operator; as well as the attacks of wild beasts, and fever.

When the charm was completed the hatchet-head was re-inserted in its helve and (along with the chopper) returned to its owner. A first clearing was then made, in the usual way, round the middle point of a circle which was about twelve yards in diameter. The chopper and hatchet were then turned seven times round in the smoke in strict silence, after which every one returned home. The owner of the tools commenced his work on the following day. To the foregoing should be added that the charm had to be said for each of the tools separately.[1]

The burning ceremony took place as soon as the felled timber was dry enough. Men, women, and

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 147, 148.

children gathered together at mid-day in an open space on the sheltered side of the clearing. Here the censer was set up, and its smoke used to fumigate a half coconut-shell filled with coconut-oil. Before the latter was poured into the shell two or three polishing leaves (of the "akar simplas") were put into it. The oil was called "minyak b'rangsang."[1]

The magician next turned his face towards the east, lifted the shell full of oil to his lips and repeated this charm:—

"O Lightning, in Heaven and on Earth, I desire to give scope to the rage of Fire. I desire to burn off this clearing. I desire to summon the Four (great) Magicians. I desire to summon the winds from their seven coigns, the seven winds of equal rank, and to summon the whirlwind."[2]

After this charm was spoken each took up his tree-bark torch from the heap in which they had been deposited and dipped the end of it into the oil in the shell (which the magician had replaced on the ground). The women and children did likewise. Each individual then handed his torch to the magician, who alone might kindle it (by means of the embers in the censer). The company then hastened off in various directions, and each of them kindled the fallen timber in as many places as possible. This charm was concluded at noon, as that was the hour by which the leaves and twigs would all be well dried by the hot sun.[3]

After this "burning" ceremony came that for planting the rice. When the ground had been cleared by the burning of all but the larger trunks it was ready, after the first showers of the wet season,

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 148. [2] *Ib.* pp. 148, 149. [3] *Ib.*

to receive the seed. The men then prepared pointed sticks (or dibbles) made from the saplings of a special kind of hard-wood tree called "tamun,"[1] the bark of which was peeled off, and a hollow made at the thicker end to receive the seed, which was stored in the huts in sacks.

The magician set out at sunrise for the fields, accompanied by all the men, women, and children who were going to take part in the sowing. On arriving at the first available open space near the middle of the field the magician drew a circle round himself with a specially made staff, which like the other dibbles was made out of "tamun" wood, and all the planting-sticks were heaped up inside the circle. The whole of the company sat outside the circle in a wide irregular ring, forming what is called the Rice-bin ("kĕpuk").[2] In the centre the "bunglei" plant already mentioned was planted in the ground, and near it a branch of the "tamun" tree from which the planting-sticks had been made.[3]

The "tamun" wood was chosen because the "tamun" tree bears its fruits in a ring round the base of the trunk at a height of only about 2 dcm. from the ground, the object of the planters being that the rice should by sympathy flower near the ground, as the "tamun" tree fruits, instead of growing long and rank and weedy. So, too, the "bunglei" plant was chosen because no animals ate it, the hope being that the rice might be similarly spared. The censer having been placed near this plant and incense burned on it, seven small holes, each about an inch deep, were made in the centre of the circle.

[1] Mal. "Satambun." [2] Mal. "kĕpok," a very large circular "rice-bin."
[3] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 149.

Each individual then brought his planting-stick and drove it firmly into the earth, inside the ring ("kĕpuk"). One of the women's seed-pouches was then deposited within the ring and a quantity of rice-grains (saved from the first seven ears cut at the last year's harvest)[1] were mixed with the seed contained in the pouch. A charm was then repeated as follows:—

"O Dong, Black Princess, who dwellest as a recluse (*lit.* fastest) in the sea for six months (in the year), I summon thee to assist me in planting rice, so that from a fist-full, from a mere pinch (of seed) may grow a hundred-fold, a thousand-fold, a koyan or two."[2]

Turning his face to the east, the magician then took up the pouch and waved it in a circle seven times through the smoke which was still rising from the censer, counting aloud as he did so, "One, two, three, four, five, six, seven."

When the charm had been said, a little rice-seed

[1] This is the Rice-soul (or rather its embodiment), called in Malay "anak padi" or the "Rice-baby." See *Malay Magic*, p. 235 *seqq.*

[2] Vaughan-Stevens explains that this little Black sea-Princess (who descends with the wet monsoon) had the reputation of being able to protect the rice-fields if she wished, against all other evil spirits except the "Squinting Demon," who was usually more or less harmful. All evil spirits but the latter feared this Princess, who was wont to taunt them with the misdeeds they had committed during their lifetime, and on account of which they had been condemned by "Granny Long-breasts" ("Gendui Lanyut") to dwell in the sea and pass their time in squirting water up at the clouds. [The full name of this Princess is Pŭtri Sadong. She is frequently referred to in the traditions of the Malays, who describe her as the Princess of the Limestone Caves, and as ruling over the wild mountain goats ("kambing gurun"). At the same time she is usually connected with the cultivation of rice. See Skeat's *Fables and Folktales from an Eastern Forest*, note to p. 49.]

On the subject of the Rice-soul, Vaughan-Stevens further remarks that the rice had a soul which was condemned to wander for three days. During these three days and nights the body of the rice was exposed, in a way Vaughan-Stevens could not make quite sure of, to the attacks of evil demons which, under cover of darkness, approached it in the form of mice. But the demons could not break through the enchanted ring of planting-sticks, nor could they penetrate to the inner circle of seven holes in which the body of the rice was buried.

After the third night the "semangat" or soul of the rice returned to its body, after which it could take care of itself, so that the protection of the planting-sticks was no longer needed (Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 151, 152).

out of the pouch was dropped into each of the seven holes and covered up with earth by the magician, who made use of his stick for the purpose. The planting-sticks of the company were then waved round seven times through the smoke in a circle, the number of the completed circles being each time counted aloud by the magician. As soon as the planting-sticks had all been fumigated, each person took up his own pair, one in each hand, and went off with them to the field. The women followed, and the pouch was taken as well. The whole company now proceeded to plant the seed, working in a long line or file, casting the seed with one hand and pricking holes with the other. The women then divided the rice-seed between them, starting with that in the pouch, which must be planted first in any case. They next resorted to the main stock of seed, all of which they planted, dropping a few grains into each hole, and covering them up with hand or foot. When the day's work was ended the planting-sticks had to be brought back to the place where the ceremony was performed and restored to their original position. This ceremony had to be repeated for three consecutive days, but after that they might be deposited anywhere.[1]

To the foregoing I should add that if the planting-sticks in the course of the work got clogged together with wet earth this might on no account be removed by rubbing the stick against a tree, but had to be wiped away with the front of the foot. If the stick was accidentally knocked against a tree, the mouse-demons would hear it, and, joyfully exclaiming, "Rice-planting, rice-planting," set to work to dig up the seed.[2]

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 150, 151. [2] *Ibid.*

As soon as the rice began to ripen, all the men, women, and children set to work to drive off the birds, apes, elephants, squirrels, and other enemies of the rice. A small hut or shelter was built in the field; and part or the whole of each family went to live there while the rice was ripening. The reaping was done with the same implements as are used by the Malays. None of the aborigines could remember any other kind being used. In default of the Malay reaping-knife ("tuai"), the reaper would pinch off each head of rice between finger and thumb. From five to twenty ears, on the other hand, according to the skill of the reaper, were seized between the finger and the thumb and cut off close to the ear when the reaping-knife was used, the stalks being left on the spot, either to be burnt or to wither. The rice-heads were then collected together, and thrown upon a threshing-floor to be separated from the husks. Here they were trodden to and fro under foot, and the stalk-ends sifted out. The rice required for immediate use was then thrown into a massive wooden mortar, where it was pounded with a heavy pestle, which split the husks, and the husked rice, as soon as the husks had been separated from it, was then ready for cooking.[1]

Before the commencement of the harvest, however, a magic ceremony had to be performed, which took place at sunrise. All who were interested in the harvest assembled at one of the watchers' huts in the rice-fields, and seated themselves in a ring round its walls. In the middle of the hut stood a sack filled with rice to the brim—an obvious piece of symbolism. One of the reaping-knives was then inserted, with the

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 151, 152.

pointed end downwards, in the centre of the open mouth of the sack of rice, and to the butt-end of its (projecting) bamboo handle; above the iron blade a small knob or clot of beeswax[1] was affixed.

With his face turned to the rising sun, the magician now crouched down in front of the sack, and, placing his lips close to the knob of beeswax, repeated aloud the following charm:—[2]

"O thou that squintest, turn thy back to me; thou that art blind, confront me. Lo, I reap the seven heads of rice, yea, and take the soul of the rice, and bear it back with me to the house."

The magician then withdrew the reaping-knife from the sack's mouth, and proceeding to the circle of the seven holes and fastening seven rice-plants (one taken from each of the holes) to the upper part of the handle of the reaping-knife, turned his face towards the rising sun, and (retaining meanwhile the reaping-knife with the rice-plants attached) repeated the rest of the charm, which consisted merely of the words: "I will drive thee out, O Demon, from before me." At this he applied the edge of the reaping-knife to the rice-stalks and cut them through.[3]

The rice-heads being still fastened to the reaping-knife, the magician took them back with him to the

[1] Vaughan-Stevens explains that wax was used in order to symbolise the wax-like nature of fresh rice when boiled.

[2] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 152.

The squinting demon is represented as squinting because the Sakai believe that a man who squints can see further round him than another whose eyes are naturally formed. A large rice-field demands ceaseless watchfulness, and the eyes of the owner cannot look round far enough to take note of all the depredations committed by birds, squirrels, etc. The demons soon notice all the unwatched places, whenever the attention happens to flag, and hence great care is taken of the grains which contain the soul of the rice, and the spirit is so blinded by magic that they can be collected together in safety. The squinting spirit is always spying round the house, and looking out for a chance of playing off his tricks; he incites the fowls and dogs to steal food out of the huts when the master is absent.

[3] Vaughan-Stevens, *ibid.*

Vol. I. p. 352. ABORIGINAL WOMEN HUSKING PADI WITH PESTLE IN LARGE WOODEN MORTAR, ULU KLAU, PAHANG. *McGregor.*

Aboriginal Women husking Padi (showing End-View of Mortar), Ulu Klau, Pahang.

hut, and there untying them, wrapped them up in a cloth or mat, and deposited them on the top of the rice in the second sack. There they had to stay for three days, during which time the women alone were allowed to cut the rice in the field, after which a pause followed until the end of the rice-feast. The rice-heads thus collected were husked, but the stalks and husks might not be thrown away before the feast was over, and were preserved in a basket or sack, which was kept in the hut. The rice thus obtained formed the portion used for the rice-feast, it being the rule that whatever remained over must be divided among the guests before they returned home after the banquet.[1]

The following up of these three days' reaping by the offering to the guests is considered as an act of hospitality on the part of the chief, any omission of it being considered "mean." The reasons given to Vaughan-Stevens for not throwing away the remains of the feast were (1) that the guests might see how much had been obtained from the harvest, and assure themselves that the host had not kept back any of the husked rice; further, it was asserted that the Rice-soul, when it returns from its three days' wanderings, is made welcome by means of the feast, and also, moreover, fortified by the charms against the trouble that might be caused by the demons later on. It was asserted, too, that it would be an insult to the Rice-soul if its husk were immediately thrown away as worthless; and hence the husks were preserved in order that the Rice-soul might see them upon its return. As soon as it returned, the grain of the seven rice-heads was collected together in a cloth or sack and hung up in an out-of-the-way place, until it

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 152.

was time for it to be mixed with the main stock of seed. Till then it took up its abode in these seven ears. To this it was added, that fresh rice when boiled possessed a peculiarly pleasant aroma, which was not to be obtained from old rice. Hence when the guests arrived they would raise the husks to their noses and inhale their aroma, as a means of ascertaining the quality of the harvest; for, although the rice-grains had the same aroma as the husks, it would not be seemly to test the grains themselves in this way.[1]

Whilst the women were engaged in reaping the rice during the first three days, the men were employed in procuring from the forests and streams the meat and fish required for the feast. Afterwards, however, both sexes took a share in the reaping, since the grains fall very easily and quickly out of the ears as soon as they are once fully ripe.[2]

After the rice which had been collected during the first three days had been husked and prepared, a sufficient quantity was cooked for the entertainment of the expected guests, the cooking taking place on the morning of the fourth day, by which time the supplementary dishes that had been procured by the men were available.[3]

The men now put on their best clothes, and the bachelors of the tribe, putting flowers in their head-bands, took their blowpipes with them, and prepared to lead their guests to the feast-house.[4] The most distinguished guest, *i.e.* the Batin or one of the subordinate chieftains or the magician, was fetched last, all the people accompanying him, and the unmarried men acting as a kind of bodyguard.[5]

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 153, 154. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *I.e.* the "Balai." [5] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 153, 154.

As soon as the last guest had arrived, which was usually about mid-day, the dishes were placed upon the mats. Nowadays the host provides the rice and the betel-leaf, and every one who receives the invitation gives about ten cents towards the purchase of luxuries. Formerly, however, those ten cents were paid in kind, and consisted of various supplementary dishes, such as fish, game, and vegetables. Waiting on the guests, on the other hand, was the duty of the householder and his wife and his grown-up daughters.[1]

Before the meal commenced, as soon as the guests had chosen their places (the women and children sitting together in one place and the men in another), the magician took the censer and dispatched it seven times round the circle of guests, who continued to pass it round from hand to hand until it returned again to the magician, the latter calling out "one, two, three, four," and so forth each time that he received it, until the seven circuits were completed. These were, however, the only words uttered by the magician during the ceremony, and he did not turn in any special direction.[2]

When this proceeding was over, the magician waved the censer seven times round the reaping-knives and the cloth in which the seven rice-heads were wrapped, and both of the latter being suspended from one of the central pillars of the house, the censer was simply passed around that pillar. Next, the censer was carried round all the rice-sacks (which were intended to receive the harvested rice), and, lastly, seven times round the cooking-pots, which stood apart by themselves. It was then deposited at the foot of the pillar at the top of which

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 154. [2] *Ibid.*

were suspended the Rice-soul and the reaping-knives. The magician next took a few boiled rice-grains and laid some of them on the heads of each of the children present, in order that they might always remember when they were older how to prepare rice for their children. This completed the ceremony, and the actual feast then began.[1]

After the meal the guests washed their hands in the water which had been placed in coconut-shells for every one to quench his thirst. And when they had all washed, each person present greeted the others of his (or her) sex in turn, stretching out the hand without rising. Betel-leaf was then brought forward and handed round, the host and his wife meanwhile taking their own share of the repast in a corner of the hut. When they had finished their meal, they too greeted each of the guests in the same way, and each guest, after responding, had to come forward again and return the greeting of the host. Meanwhile the wife of the host, on her own account, exchanged greetings with the other women. The incense was now removed from the censer and the smoking shell offered by the magician once to every adult. When he had received it back, he passed it once more seven times round the pillar on which the Rice-soul was hung, and then deposited it on the ground at the foot of the pillar. The unboiled rice which remained over from the three days' harvest was equally divided among all the guests; but the boiled rice which had not been eaten at the feast was the magician's own perquisite.[2]

The guests who lived at a distance now took their leave, and as before were accompanied on their way

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 154, 155. [2] *Ibid.*

by the owners of the rice-field. Before they departed the women alone greeted the host seven times. The host, however, was not permitted to accompany any of them to their homes until his most distinguished guest had departed.[1]

The wife of the host, although she sat near him, received no greeting, except a quite informal one from some of her special friends. All the guests left the house in time to reach their dwellings before nightfall.[2]

Horticulture.

Selangor Sakai.—Of the devices employed by the Sakai of Selangor for scaring the monkeys away from their fruit-trees, an official in Selangor, some years back, observed one day as he was walking along the central range a noise that resembled the stroke of an axe on a hollow tree. Next day the same noise continued, and he therefore started off to investigate; and in a small creek or water-gully came upon an ingenious contrivance put up by the Sakai to frighten monkeys away from some durian-trees, of which there were a number in full bearing in the neighbourhood. The contrivance was made out of an internode of bamboo, some five feet long, and had a fairly big stone lashed to the bottom end; rather less than half-way up a hole had been bored and a long thin stick passed through it, the ends of which were made fast to a couple of trees on either side. The bamboo was fixed at about half a right angle, and a second bamboo led a stream of water into it; as soon as the first bamboo became full, its top-heaviness caused it to tilt up, when the weighted end fell with

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 155. [2] *Ibid.*

a thud upon a third piece of bamboo which was fixed ready to receive it. The same writer added that the Sakai employed the "whistling" (or "Æolian") bamboo a good deal for the same purpose, but said that this "fog-bell" of theirs was better.[1]

III.—Jakun.

Blandas.—No record has hitherto been obtained of the actual rice-planting ceremonies practised by the Blandas in K. Langat. But the agricultural rites of all these tribes, as might be expected, are borrowed almost in their entirety from their Malay neighbours, and hence there is reason to believe that they cannot differ greatly from the ceremonies just described. That this is the case is borne out to some extent by the text of two padi-planting charms, which were given me by the Blandas in this same district. The first, which corresponds to the Malay tree-felling invocations, may be rendered as follows:—

Charm to expel Earth-demons on opening up[2] a Clearing.

Leaves of "krĕduk" and "sĕlimbar,"[3]
Tree-shoots that entwine and dangle,
Dangle till they reach down earthwards,
Therewith chase I you, Earth-demons;
Fly to leftward, fly to rightward,
I have chos'n this spot as lodging
For Bananas, Yams, and Rice-plants.
Lords of hill, and hill-locked basin,
Drive we back these foul Earth-demons!

The second of these charms is to be used for calling the Rice-soul home at harvest-time ("panggil sĕmangat padi").[4] It runs as follows:—

[1] "Queensland" in *Sel. J.* vol. i. No. 15, p. 230.

[2] "Mĕnĕtau"; so-called in Malay also.

[3] A big climbing parasite (Klinkert).

[4] Cp. *Malay Magic*, p. 235 *seqq.*

McGregor.

TAPIOCA PLANTATION, WITH GROUP OF ABORIGINES, ULU BATU, SELANGOR.

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McGregor.

Cultivation of the Tapioca-Plant (on Left) and Sugar-Cane (in Centre)—
Aboriginal Woman in Foreground, Ulu Kali, Selangor.

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CHARM FOR INVOKING THE RICE-SOUL.

Rice-boat[1] male and Rice-boat female !
Cluck, cluck cluck ! your souls I summon,
Both the girl-child and the boy-child
Come, we yearn to bear you homewards,
Souls of Rice-plants,[2] S'lotan, Borak,
Jambi, Pulut,[3] Maize, Bananas.
Thus into the house we bear you,
In the soil no longer slumber,
Slumber now within the curtains.[4]

The directions given me in connection with this charm were that the magician, on reaching the house (when returning from the rice-field), should say "Coming" (Mal. "datang"). As soon as the people in the house, who ought to be on the look-out, hear this announcement, they should bid the Rice-child welcome with "Come hither, then!"

One of the most interesting facts to be deduced from the above charm (which was given me by an old Blandas chief) is the fact that by these aborigines a soul is attributed to maize and banana trees, as well as to the various kinds of rice.

Horticulture.

Besisi.—The Besisi have little that can be termed horticulture, though by dispersing either in their own plantations, or in the jungle, the seeds and stones of the fruit which they eat, and sometimes clearing the undergrowth around them afterwards, they naturally come to look to some extent upon the trees that spring from these seeds as the property of their tribe.

[1] The rice-boat or "puan," as it is called in Malay, is a boat-shaped wooden box (with built-out part behind), in which rice is deposited by Malays when used ceremonially on great occasions, or in processions, such as that of a wedding, etc.

[2] "Sĕlotan" or "S'lotan," as well as "Borak" and "Jambi," are the names of the best kinds of rice ("padi") grown in the district.

[3] "Pulut" is *Oryza glutinosa*, or glutinous rice, used chiefly with turmeric on ceremonial occasions.

[4] *Lit.* "mosquito-curtains" — a wonderfully graphic and human touch !

At the same time, it should be observed that their claim when made, as so often happens, by way of protest against some usurping Malay, is not to the ownership of the tree or trees, but merely to a reasonable share of their fruit. The Malay is frequently left in possession by the simple jungle-folk with this express proviso, but as frequently breaks his contract, and this question of the ownership of such trees has repeatedly received the attention of the Government, the disappointment of the aborigines having repeatedly led to great wrangling between them and the Malays, whilst the latter never hesitate to use their power as the stronger race for the purpose of seizing the trees entirely whenever they find an opportunity of doing so unchecked. The trees thus planted are the durian, the mangostin, rambutan, rambai, lansat, tampoi, and others, the value of even a small orchard of this kind to a Malay being very considerable. The late Sultan Abdul Samad of Selangor, whose mother was said to have been of aboriginal extraction, had several such orchards in his possession, and most of the influential Malay chiefs who surrounded him were the owners of similar property.

The collecting of the fruit is done for the most part by women. A special fruit-gathering implement (which may, however, be copied from one employed by the Malays) has been described by Mr. Bellamy, who saw it in use among the Besisi, as I have myself done. It was used mostly for fruits about the size of an apple, especially the mangostin, and its main object was apparently to do away with the necessity of climbing the trees. To make it, the Besisi would procure a long thin bamboo, and splitting it lengthwise (at one extremity) between two joints or nodes, press

the split end forcibly down until the section opened out and took shape not unlike that of a small round cage. This cage-like formation was then bound round with rattan to preserve its shape, and a portion of two or three of the bars of the cage excised, sufficient length being, however, left in the bars of the upper section to form a sort of claws. The fruit-gatherer, after strapping a basket on to her back, then set to work, and passing the claws round the stalk of the first mangostin, gave a slight pull so as to detach the fruit, which, instead of falling to the ground and becoming bruised, simply dropped into the cage below the claws.

I may add that the Besisi also occasionally, like the Malays, make use of magic to cause their fruit-trees to bear better.

Agriculture.

The Besisi cultivated the usual catch-crops (maize, tapioca, yams, and sweet potatoes, etc.) as well as rice, though the harvests that they obtained were seldom very much to boast of. Their settlement at Ayer Itam stood in very low-lying ground which remained more or less swampy throughout the year, so that there was no trouble about water-courses and embankments, a fact which they evidently appreciated, this being the great stumbling-block in the way of regular rice-cultivation, even among the local Malays. The following lines of a song sung at a Besisi rice-feast describe the various processes of rice-culture as practised by their tribe :—

SONG OF THE RICE-PLANTERS.

Go ye out to fell your clearings,
Burn ye then your sun-dried timber,

Early plant, to make rice fruitful,[1]
Plant ye rice, yams, cane, bananas.
Build a hut to shade the planters.
When your crop's ripe, reap it quickly,
Or you'll want, your rice grown rotten.
Leave it not then, reap it thoroughly.

The operations of sowing and reaping were always accompanied by the reciting of charms, which appear at first sight to be borrowed, almost bodily, from the rice-customs of the local Malays, though it is more probable that a large portion of them were of independent Jakun (*i.e.* aboriginal Malayan) origin. Periodical feasts were also held in the house of the tribal chief or Batin, both when the rice first began to bloom, and also at the beginning, middle, and end of the harvest.

The Besisi have a ceremony (resembling that of the Malays) for bringing the Rice-soul back to the house. But on arrival at the house the Rice-soul is suspended from the ridge-pole of the roof ("tulang bumbongan") instead of being deposited (as by the local Malays) in the rice-bin ("kĕpok padi.")[2] As soon as the Rice-soul has been brought home the Besisi hold one of their great feasts or orgies ("main jo'oh"), at one of which I was fortunate enough to be present, and of which I accordingly took careful notes at the time.

This festival that I attended took place at the Besisi settlement at Ayer Itam in the Kuala Langat district of Selangor. On reaching the Batin's house —which was the largest house in the village, and had a specially built "balei" attached to it, which could have probably held at one time a hundred people—we found it decorated in expectation of our arrival, which took place at about half-past one. By half-past two

[1] Lines two and three are transposed in the original, no doubt by accident.

[2] One of the points that suggest for this rite an origin independent of the civilised Malay customs.

the cooking of the rice by the women of the village was completed, and there being about sixty persons present, the men sat down. Before the feasting commenced, however, a charm was recited by one of the minor chiefs. Seating himself at the head of two long rows of banana-leaf "dishes" (all of which were well heaped with rice as they lay on the floor), he addressed a friendly invitation to those beasts of the jungle and noxious insects which at all other times are considered the deadliest foes of rice-planters, but which (on this occasion only) were invited to glut themselves, and so join in the general banquet. This charm, which I afterwards took down from the chief who recited it, was mostly in Malay, and ran as follows:—

INVOCATION OF THE ENEMIES OF THE RICE-CROP.

Partake, O Round-foot.
Partake, O Rats.
Partake, O Blight.
Partake, O Finches,
Partake, O Stink-bugs.
Partake, O Caterpillars.
Partake, O Green-fly.
Partake, O Deer.
Partake, O Pig.
Partake all of you of the year's Eldest-born.
We have not eaten yet.
But are just about to do so.

"Round-foot" is euphemistic for the elephant, which, together with the wild pig, deer, and rats, used to work terrible havoc in the Besisi rice-fields at times. At the close of the invocation a small portion of rice was carried out of the house by one of the company and deposited on the top of an old tree-stump not far from the house—in proof of *bona fides*.

The remaining banana-leaves were now unfolded and the feasting began, and lasted a considerable time, the Batin or chief of the tribe feeding last. When it was

over we sat in groups and conversed till nightfall, when our unsophisticated orchestra struck up its liveliest air, and the business of the evening (dancing and singing) commenced in real earnest. The performance was strictly choral (in the old Greek sense of the word), and the names of the airs (and their accompanying dances) which were performed were as follows :—(1) "Radin," or "The Prince"; (2) "Gubang Laut," or "The Pirateer"; (3) "Pukol Baling"; (4) "Ingkau Badan," the two last being tunes of the Bajau or Malayan pirates, with whom the Besisi claim kinship. A little later, after an interval for song-dances of the mimetic type (viz. the "Siamang," "Bangkong," and "Gagau"), the women, after considerable pressing, were induced to join the entertainment and perform certain dances called (1) the "P'rang," or the war-dance; (2) the "Běngkalis";[1] and (3) the "Kopak" (the latter of which was said to be a purely Jakun air), the men doing the actual dancing. Generally speaking, the motions of the dancers were much freer than is the case with the Malays; indeed, some of the dances, such as the "Pirateer" (or "Gubang"), grew almost furious, and roused great enthusiasm on the part of the audience. The "Siamang" and its companion pieces, on the other hand, were really *acted* in character by men of the tribe, the actor repeating the words of the poem after the Batin or tribal chief, and suiting his gestures to the words as he did so. Some of this acting was particularly clever.

I may add that the full dancing dress of the Jakun on these occasions consisted of woven strips of "sĕr-dang" (palm) leaves, which were made up into (1) a

[1] The name of an island off the opposite coast of Sumatra, and also, I believe, of a fish after which the island was named.

head-band with a long fringe, which went completely round the head and partially hid the face; (2) two tassels similarly constructed, which were attached to the head-band; (3) a sort of bandolier made of the same leaves; and (4) a "sĕrdang"-leaf belt. The full dress was not ready on our arrival, but it was worn the next morning at an additional impromptu performance which was got up for our benefit before we left on our journey home.

Agriculture.

Mantra.—The Mantra were not so advanced in cultivation as the Karens of the Tenasserim coast. These last cultivated cotton and made their own cloth, which was not the case with the Mantra. The Karens also had vegetables, which were unknown to the Mantra. The latter contented themselves with clearing a small piece of ground in March, and in July set fire to the (felled) trees, which by that time were sufficiently dry, and at the beginning of September planted their padi and yams ("k'ladi"), etc. But these clearings were usually so small that their harvest of rice was only enough to last them for a couple of months, the yam being then their only food for the remainder of the year.[1]

Logan relates that just as the Benua-Jakun on commencing a new clearing made offerings to the earth-genie ("Jin Bumi"), so too the Mantra, when he had resolved to abandon his old plantation, began first of all by searching for a good locality. When he had found one, it remained for him to discover whether the supernatural powers were favourable to his occupation of it. This he did by attending to his first dream after making the selection. Should he dream of being

[1] Barbe in *J. I. A.* vol. v. pp. 487, 488.

chased by a dog, or by an enemy, or of entering water, or of water flooding the locality, or of any other such incident which was considered a bad omen, he proceeded to seek for another spot. Favourable omens were to dream of felling or of climbing trees, of ascending a hill, or of growing plants, and so forth. When by means of his dreams he felt assured that he had selected a fortunate place, he repaired to the spot, took a little betel-leaf, repeated a charm over it, chewed it, and then spat or rather blew it out of his mouth ("sĕmbor") in the direction of the four cardinal points. The charm used was the following:—"Huma,[1] Opener of the mouth, Opener of me, open, and let youth at the river-mouth be fostered by youth. I cast down devils, let them fall headlong even before I have charmed them. I have driven away the venom of devils. I ask you to expel and drive away devils of every description."[2]

The ceremony ended, he proceeded to fell a space "big enough to cook in" ("tĕbas api dapor"), and retired. Three days later he returned to the spot, and began his labour in earnest. Having cleared a sufficient space, he waited until the trees he had felled were sufficiently dry, and then, on some clear windy day, set fire to them. When the ground was ready to receive his plants, he prepared some rice-flour mixed with water (Malay, "tĕpong tawar"), in which he dipped a brush made up of leaves of the "satawar," "gandarusa," "ati-ati," and "ribu-ribu," and sprinkled the liquid at intervals about his clearing.[3] He then buried in the ground some talisman that had the property of driving away the evil influence or bad demon that lurked in the ground ("buang badi tanah"). The

[1] A clearing for dry hill-padi. [2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 320, 321*.
[3] Cp. *Malay Magic*, pp. 230-233.

clearing being now completely protected, he proceeded with confidence to plant his potatoes and yams.[1]

Rice, however, required a special charm of its own, and when it was sown, about two "chupak" measures of padi were taken and mixed with the rice-flour water ("tĕpong tawar") and lime-juice. This liquor was carried to the place where the rice was to be sown, together with a Malay peeling-knife ("pisau raut"), a "sarong," a censer ("pĕrasapan"), and leaves of the "ribu-ribu," "sădingin," and "pandan." The padi was then fumigated in the smoke of gum benjamin or eagle-wood ("lignum aloes"), and the leaves placed over it, the "sarong" being stretched between two erect poles, and the knife deposited on the ground. The following charm or invocation was then repeated: —"In the name of Allah. For good-luck's sake give cold, give coolness. Lo, I deposit here this infant (*i.e.* the padi-seed)." The leaves were now planted in the ground, and the padi was sown. Three days afterwards the sowing of the entire field was completed, the holes for the seed having been prepared beforehand. In planting "wet" or "swamp" rice ("padi sawah") similar ceremonies were used.[2]

When the grain was ripe, and a day had been fixed for the commencement of the harvest, a large quantity of food was collected, and guests invited to attend the feast of the New Year's Day of the Rice ("makan sulong tahun"). In the morning the head of the family, having carefully wrapped his clothes round him so as to conceal his entire person ("bĕrsĕlubong"), proceeded to the padi-field with a Malay reaping-knife ("tue"), and repeated this invocation:—"In the name of Allah. I take up the soul of the Rice. Let it not

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 321*. [2] *Ibid.*

suffer from coolness nor from cold. I take up these infants (the Rice-souls) and bear them homewards." The operator next cut (the first) seven ears, and carried them away to his house. He next ordered some of his household to go to a different part of his field, and cut a considerable quantity of padi, the grain of which, when brought in, was trodden and rubbed out of the straw by foot,[1] after which it was husked and cooked along with the food that had been collected on the preceding day. When the guests had feasted and were about to depart, each of them received a little of the new rice and food uncooked as a kind of blessing or largess ("bĕrkat").[2]

The names given by the Mantra to the different varieties of padi cultivated by them were the following :—

Kledang (a wild fruit).	Mret (elephant).	Ribu.	Hati kĕrbau (buffalo's heart).
Tampoi (a wild fruit).	Machin.	Atap (palm-thatch).	Sri gunong (luck of the mountains).
Saring.	Undan (pelican).	Tingol.	Pulut itam (black glutinous rice).
Koai.	Lampei.	Burak.	Pulut putih (white glutinous rice).

The dry-rice cultivation is by far the most prevalent, but the wet cultivation is also resorted to at Labu, Malim, Serdang, Payong, Pasang, Jugra, Rawang Kechil, Rawang Besar, Kidang, and Sepang Kechil.[3]

Of other forms of cultivation the only one which I have found ascribed to the Mantra is gambier-planting

[1] Cp. *Malay Magic*, p. 245.
[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 322*.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 331*.
It should be explained that the cultivation of wet rice grown within low embankments is not practised, so far as I know, by any of these Jakun tribes. There are in fact three methods of rice-planting practised in the country—(1) the dry hill-rice; (2) swamp-grown rice (without embankments or water-course); (3) wet rice (with both these latter). Most of the places mentioned are in the Kuala Langat district of Selangor.

(which is mentioned by Logan), though I have little doubt that many other light crops, such as tobacco, are also grown by them when occasion happens to serve.[1]

Horticulture.

Benua-Jakun of Johor.—Although their clearings did not yield fruit, the Benua often planted young durian trees and "chĕmpĕdak" trees among their potatoes and bananas. In after years they would revisit the place, and if the trees had grown up and bore fruit they would cut down the young jungle ("b'lukar") growing up around them, and thus reclaim their orchard.[2] In the forest Logan passed many of these orchards, some of which contained durian trees of great size and beauty. The durian groves were frequently at a distance of one or two days' walk (or even more) from the clearing, and families found it in such cases more convenient and agreeable to resort to the groves themselves than to have the fruit brought to them. Slight temporary huts were therefore constructed beside the fruit-trees, and here they passed the fruit season, which lasted from one to two months, and only returned home when the last durian had been gathered. In one of these groves, that of Danlek, where Logan took advantage of the hut to rest and pass the night, there were some smaller huts on the ground, which appeared to have been specially devoted to durian-eating, for while bushels of seeds and husks were heaped around them, very few were

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 254, 255.

[2] These orchards generally contained from ten to twelve large durian trees, and great care and trouble was spent upon clearing the trees around them. See account of Jakun orchards in *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 261.

to be seen below the raised hut. The durian feast was the most joyous season of the year, and if the wilder habits of their forefathers still had a poetical charm for the Benua, as appeared to be the case, it would not be easy to picture them in a happier mood than when secluded in such a spot as Danlek, freed for the while from the intrusions and exactions of the Malays, and drawing from the pure waters of the Kahang river, which ran past the grove, and from the surrounding forest, the cheer which recalled the banquets of the olden time when a traditionary prince of their race ruled the land. A full-grown durian orchard was the only kind of property in any form of cultivation which was of permanent value to them, for whilst neither houses, nor gardens, nor rice-fields, nor in fact any land whatever, had sufficient value to command a price, durian trees were not unfrequently sold. One dollar was the standard price paid for each of the buttress-like projections or "struts" ("banir") which the trunk of the durian, like that of several other Malayan trees, throws out at the base of the stem. Those with plain stems and no buttresses were valued at two dollars. Durian groves were sometimes rented for a piece of cloth or similar object of the value of a few dollars, and by their custom ("hadat") the renter was invariably entitled to the produce for two successive seasons. This was probably founded in reason, for durians generally have alternate light and heavy crops.[1]

Agriculture.

Their method of rice-planting was to clear fresh patches of jungle annually, and to build their huts in

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 259, 260.

the clearings so made, the principal hut being built in the piece of ground that had last been cleared. This was usually at some distance from the bank of a river, in order to avoid the inundations which occur after heavy rains. Offerings were made, as by the Malays, to the Earth genie ("Jin Bumi") on commencing to fell the forest. As soon as a sufficient space had been opened, the trees were left for some months to dry. They were then burnt, and holes made with a stick in the ground (which was enriched by the wood-ash produced by the burning) for the reception of plants and seeds brought from their last clearing. The cultivated plants found in almost every Jakun clearing were the sweet potato ("k'ledek"), the potato ("ubi bĕnggala"), the tapioca ("ubi kayu"), the water-melon, and the sugar-cane. Bananas occurred frequently, but not abundantly. Maize was not so common as with the Berembun tribes. The wild leaves and shoots used as vegetables by these tribes[1] did not appear to be resorted to in Johor. In many clearings tobacco was cultivated, and in a few some kinds of bean ("kachang bunga'," etc.). In a considerable number of the clearings a portion was set apart for the growth of rice. The dry or wet forms of cultivation were resorted to according to the nature of the locality, but the former was most general. Flowers were neglected. Only a single instance of their cultivation was noticed, and they were never worn in the hair. It must be remembered,

[1] Such as the "lipu," "alung," "chinarong," "bayan," and "maman"; the "cabbage" of the palms called "nibong," "langkap," "ĕnau," "runut," "chacheng," "dĕmpong," "noin," "k'lasak," "limpet," "cheche," "sĕmambu," and "serdang"; and the leaves of ferns ("paku"), "jĕlatang," "tuba," "kapaya," "kaûm," "samoma," "papijih"; and the roots of the "gadong," "gupul," "bajon," "k'luna," "lintag," "tragel," "dagun," "tukil," "kung," "wuan," "woel," "punu," "kapayang," etc.

however, that the dwellings of these people were environed by one vast botanical garden, and that the river-banks were hung and the forest paths strewed with a great variety of beautiful flowers. All the remarks in this section, with the slight exceptions mentioned, apply also to the Berembun tribes. The clearing having once been formed, received no culture, and was left entirely to the control of the women.[1]

The only kinds of cultivation in which the Benua-Jakun engaged have now been noticed. They had no agricultural implements. A stick sharpened at one end served as a dibble, and the chopper ("parang") was used for digging up roots, cutting sugar-cane, etc. Rice (or padi) was reaped by hand, and canoes were employed for transporting any considerable quantity of it. A canoe from 12 to 15 feet in length was able to carry from 400 to 500 gallons ("gantangs") of rice, besides the two men whose task it was to manage it.[2]

Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.

Orang Laut, Sletar.—The Orang Sletar neither dug nor planted, but lived nearly independent of their fellow-men, for to them the staple of life in the East, rice, was a luxury. Of esculent roots they had the "p'rioh" (? "pĕria") and "k'lana,"[3] both bulbous, and not unlike coarse yams; of fruit they ate the "tampui," "k'ledang," and "buroh," whenever they came in season.[4]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 255, 256; cp. a similar method of rice-planting ascribed to the Jakun, *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 258, where we are told that after the harvest the place is abandoned and another selected for the next year.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 271, 272.

[3] *Sic.* ? "k'luna," as in note, p. 371.

[4] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 343*.

Orang Laut, Sabimba.—The Sabimba also abstained from planting, and consequently their vegetables consisted of the wild fruits of the jungle.[1]

Orang Laut, Muka Kuning.—The Orang Muka Kuning did not cultivate any plants, or breed any animals save dogs.[2]

Orang Laut, Beduanda Kallang.—The Beduanda Kallang not only did not cultivate any plants, but asserted that their ancestors had made a vow on the part of their tribe never to make clearings for the purpose of cultivation, and stated that they believed that if any of them were to break it death would be the consequence.[3]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 347*. [2] *Ibid.* p. 337*. [3] *Ibid.* p. 300.

CHAPTER VIII.

Arts and Crafts.

Division of Labour.

As a rule it may be said among all the tribes that the men perform the essential minimum of such work as requires brute force, and the women do the rest. Among the wildest Semang tribes, the men do the hunting, and the women the shelter-building and the cooking, and so, too, among tribes which have reached the agricultural stage[1] the men do the felling and heavy clearing, whilst the women do the lighter clearing and lopping of branches, as well as the sowing and reaping, and not unfrequently the tilling of the soil, if the scratching of its surface with a pointed stick can be so called. Similarly, when a regular house or hut has to be built, the men only

[1] The following description, by Logan, of the work of the Benua-Jakun women applies, generally speaking, to all tribes that have reached this stage :—

"The plantation, having once been formed, receives no culture, and is left entirely to the control of the women, who are never for a moment idle. In the morning, having first refilled their melon-skins (or gourds) with water, they fasten a deep basket on to their backs by means of straps passing over the shoulders and head, and proceed to collect sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, and so forth, for the morning repast. Breakfast once cooked and despatched, they employ themselves in nursing their children and weaving mats and bags until it is time to go out and fill their baskets again for the evening meal. If the men are at home, a slight meal is also prepared in the middle of the day. The only employment at a distance from the plantation which they share with the men, and sometimes pursue by themselves, is angling" (*J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 256.)

perform such work as actually requires their strength (*e.g.* the felling, transporting, and erection of the heavier timbers), and the women complete it. On the other hand, the men are very generally, I believe, if not invariably, both the makers and decorators of their own weapons (*e.g.* the blowpipe and the bow, quivers and arrows) as well as their own implements (*e.g.* axe-handles, knife-handles, and spear-shafts), whilst the work of making bags and baskets, mats, wallets, and pouches, and in fact all kinds of mat and bark-cloth making, and basket-work, commonly fall to the lot of the women.

The men, again, do most of the hunting and trapping, but the women take a large share in the fishing, and in the collecting of roots and fruits. All the cooking, on the other hand, is performed by the women and girls of the tribe, as is also, naturally enough, the nursing and care of the children.

The catechism addressed to the bridegroom at a Besisi wedding contains a fairly exhaustive category of the duties of the would-be husband, and does not, to my mind, bear out the general assumption that the women are burdened with an unfair share of the work. On the contrary, it appears to me that the division of labour among these children of nature is very fairly equitable, and that the man cannot reasonably be expected to do more. Can it be that it is in a more advanced stage of civilisation that the real oppression of the woman begins?

Manufacture of Bark-cloth.

The bark-cloth which forms the ordinary workaday wear of all the wilder branches of these tribes is

usually made from the same material as the "tapa" cloth of Polynesia, though it is rarely, if ever, quite so finely worked up, and is generally, in fact, somewhat roughly made. When stripped from the tree it is beaten out by means of a wooden mallet, either round or toothed.

A specimen of the latter, which was collected by the writer among the Blandas of Selangor, is now in the Cambridge Museum; this specimen is grooved or toothed transversely, as in Sakai specimens from Batang Padang (Perak), whereas in other districts, more under Semang influence, the flat under-surface of the mallet is subdivided into a large number of small squares. The direction of the grooves or teeth must of course depend upon the position in which the operator sits or stands with respect to his work.[1]

The cloth when made is often decorated with designs, which again bear a curious family resemblance to the main designs sometimes seen on "tapa" cloth.

The tree from which the bark is generally taken is a kind of wild bread-fruit tree (*Artocarpus*),[2] which is called by the Malays "tĕrap" or "t'rap." But the bark of other trees (even that of the Upas tree,[3] which furnishes the deadly dart-poison of these tribes) is also very generally used, the poisonous sap being merely well washed out of it with water. This particular kind of cloth seems generally to be recorded from districts under some degree of Semang (Negrito) influence.

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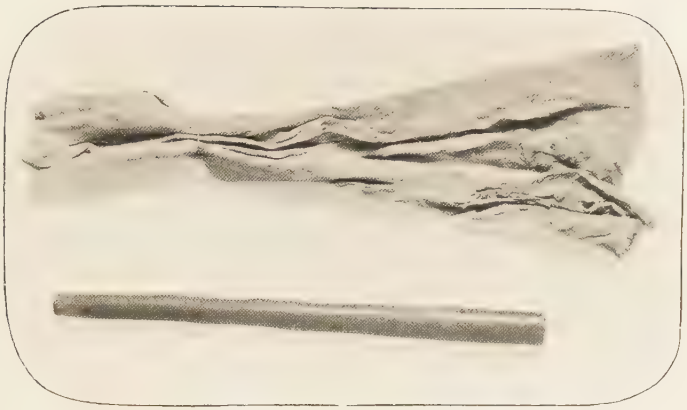
[1] See p. 140, *ante*.

[2] *I.e. Artocarpus Kunstleri*, Hook. fil. (*Urticaceæ*). It is interesting to note that both this bread-fruit tree and the Upas belong to the same botanical order.

[3] *Antiaris toxicaria*, Bl. (*Urticaceæ*). The bark of a kind of ficus (called "ara") was also said to be used for cloth by the Negritos of Belimbing (in Ulu Kelantan).



Skeat Collection.

WHITE CLOTH OF UPAS BARK.

Made from the upas-tree (*Antiaris toxicaria*) by the Semang of Kedah. Below the cloth is the wooden cudgel with which it was made in my presence.

Skeat Collection.

SEMANG BASKETS.

1. One small back-basket found in Pangan hut (Kuala Sam, Kelantan). 2. One matwork bag made by Semang woman (Siong, Kedah). 3. One large pouch made by Semang woman (Siong, Kedah). 4, 5. Two back-baskets or wallets obtained from Besisi.

Cerruti.

SAKAI MEN WITH BACK-BASKET AND BLOWPIPES, ULU SLIM, S. PERAK.

Basket-work.

The following remarks about basket-work fairly apply to all three races :—Basket-work is perhaps one of the most important industries of the aboriginal women. It is frequently employed not only for the manufacture of the all-important dossier or back-basket in which the varied products of the jungle are carried homewards, but also for many of the traps in which birds, fishes, and some of the smaller mammalia are captured. The work is as a rule beautifully executed, and in plaiting the aboriginal women can rival the Malays. Split rattan and split bamboo are perhaps the most usual materials employed for these purposes, as they are not only strong but pliant and durable. But like all jungle folk, these races naturally adapt themselves to the necessities of their surroundings, and of course use whatever plant grows most handily for their purpose. Thus not unfrequently the stem of the "bĕmban" is selected, even though it lacks the durability of the other materials referred to. And the fibrous inner cuticle of several kinds of trees (such as *Artocarpus*, which furnishes the bark cloth) is yet another source of supply.[1]

Network and Weaving.

Network, on the other hand, seems to be but scantily practised by any of these tribes, except, perhaps, where Malay influence is appreciable, and of the actual weaving of any, even the roughest kind, of cloth, there is no record whatever.

[1] See p. 376, *opp.*

Absence of Pottery.

There is also as yet no clear record of any form of pottery having ever been manufactured by any of the aborigines, and indeed, so far as is known, no pottery of any sort is at present made by them. At the same time, we have the generally reliable authority of Newbold for the statement that a vessel of clay, called "tammumong," was applied (by the Jakun or Benua) to the purposes of cooking, and that it *differed in shape from that used by the Malays.*[1]

Traditions of Written Characters.

In spite of their being one and all universally and absolutely illiterate, there are nevertheless among all these Peninsular tribes traditions of various kinds relating to a lost book or books that are believed to have once contained their sacred writings, and are alleged to have been destroyed by some fatality. This belief is common in Indo-China, and we are informed, for instance, that if the Tavoy Karen traditions are to be credited, the ancestors of their principal tribe once possessed a written book or books, which were given them by one Kachaklong, a very sacred personage, and which *were written on cowskin parchment.*[2]

[1] Newbold, ii. 405-407. If there is any reading of this riddle to be achieved, it may perhaps be that the Jakun or "savage Malayans" alone of all these tribes once possessed, before the influx of the more civilised Malays from Sumatra, the art of pottery, hence the pots made by them naturally took a shape of their own.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. iv. p. 417. The writer remarks that "this assumed use of parchment made from cow and buffalo skin militates against the idea of a Hindu or even of a Buddhist origin being assigned to it." On this point, however, Dr. Stein, in his "Preliminary Report on Archæolog. Explor. in Chinese Turkestan" (London, 1901), p. 47, notes with surprise that the rubbish heap near the Nuja River

Other Arts and Crafts.

Other kinds of arts and crafts practised by these tribes will be found in other parts of this book, *e.g.* the building of houses and leaf-shelters in the chapter on Habitations, the making of blowpipes and bows in the chapter on Weapons and Implements, the art of cooking as known to the Semang in the chapter on Food, personal ornaments under Dress, the construction of traps and implements required for the chase or for fishing in the chapter on Hunting, Fishing, and Trapping, the art of agriculture in the chapter on Cultivation, and Decorative Art under the chapter so named.

I.—Semang.

General Industry.

Kedah Semang.—The Negritos that I visited at Siong in Kedah were very lazy workers, but as it was harvest-time (the one season of the year when they are most free from the pressure of want), they were having just then an easy time of it. None the less they are certainly the best and most skilful hunters in the Peninsula, and, as a rule, made traps and weapons, collected the poison from the Upas tree and applied it to their darts, and when game failed, went out after

"yielded another writing material, little suspected among a Buddhist population with an Indian civilisation. About two dozen Kharosthī documents on leather, mostly dated and apparently of official nature, prove that the Buddhists of this region had as little objection to the use of leather for writing purposes as the pious Brahmans of old Kashmir had to the leather bindings of their Sanskrit codices." Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in reporting the above in *J. R. A. S.*, Jan. 1902, p. 232, remarks that these leather documents will probably prove to date from the second century A.D., and quotes a notice of an Indian official letter on parchment sent to Augustus in Strabo, xv. 72, 73, given by M'Crindle, in *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* (1901), p. 77.

For similar traditions (to that in the text) *v.* p. 347 of vol. ii.

fish and turtles, or assisted the women in their search for roots.

Manufacture of Bark-cloth.

Kedah Semang.—I have seen the Semang of Kedah make cloth of Upas-bark by cutting down young saplings of the Upas tree (whose diameter was perhaps no more than 3 or 4 inches). These they "ring-barked" a few feet from the root-end, and then loosened the bark *in situ* by hammering it with a mere rounded (hardwood) cudgel, and then turning it back by hand in the way that a sleeve is rolled back, or a stocking taken off, the process being continued until all the bark on each sapling has been similarly treated. As soon as the last of the bark has been thus stripped off it is thoroughly washed to remove the poisonous sap contained in it, dried for a short while in the sun, and is then ready for use without any further preparation.

But by far the most interesting of all the Semang articles of attire is the black girdle woven from "urat batu" (or "rock-veins"). This girdle, which is called "tĕntom" in the Kedah dialect of Semang, is not manufactured, as usually stated, from a kind of creeper,[1] but from the vegetative parts or rhizomorphs of a fungus which resemble long, slender, black, leathery-looking shiny strings, rather thinner than ordinary leather boot-laces. A number of these strings are woven together into a single plait, which measures several yards in length, the loose end, 4 or 5 inches of each string, being allowed to hang down (when

[1] See p. 138, *note* 1.

the rest has been worked in) instead of being fastened, so that when the girdle is coiled round the waist a continuous and thick bushy fringe is the result.

Perak Semang.—The loin-cloth of the Negritos, which constitutes their sole garment, is made (according to De Morgan) from the bark of a tree (*Artocarpus*). The material is thick, but supple and soft to the feel, and is occasionally painted yellow with the sap of a plant, the patterns consisting simply of broken lines (*de lignes brisées*).[1]

Of the method of manufacture we are elsewhere told that the bark (of the *Artocarpus*) is either rendered supple by being pounded between two stones, or by being beaten upon a tree-trunk with a strong wooden mallet or cudgel. The strip of bark cut off from the tree measures from 3-4 metres in length, and from 50-60 centimetres in breadth.[2]

In confirmation of the account given above of the Kedah Semang, I hear from Mr. Wray that the bark of the *Antiaris* was used by both the Semang of Perak and the Sakai as bark-cloth. It was prepared as follows :— A young tree was felled and cut into pieces of suitable length. The outer portion of the bark was then shaved off with a knife and the inner bark was beaten with bat-shaped pieces of wood until it would slip off from the stem. The bark was then put into running water, in which it was allowed to remain for the space of one month to free it of the poison ; then it was beaten with wooden bats, on one face of which furrows had been cut at right angles to each other, to produce a grain on the finished cloth.[3]

In a recent communication Mr. Wray writes me

[1] De Morgan, vii. 412.
[2] *Ibid.* ii. 5.
[3] L. Wray in *J. A. I.* vol. xxi. (1892), pp. 477, 478.

that these mallets employed by the Semang of Perak to beat out the bark and give it the grain (which it retains even after considerable wear) are made of hard palm-wood. They are bat-shaped, with cylindrical handles, and have one surface of the blade of the bat scored with lines at right angles to each other, which leave projecting squares about a quarter of an inch across, divided by V-shaped grooves of the same width. There are several of these mallets from Upper Perak and Selama in the Perak Museum.

The fungus fringe is sometimes supplemented by a fringe made from small strips of *Artocarpus* bark. In a specimen from Selama the garment is made up as a sort of belt, and ties behind, the fringe being much fuller and deeper in front. Other specimens from Upper Perak are made of long plaited cords many yards in length, and are wound round the loins. This woman's garment Mr. Wray considers to be characteristic of the Semang.

Mat-making.

Kedah Semang.—The art of mat-making appears to be natural to the Semang, although they make but limited use of it. It is one of the industries which are assigned to the women, the chief articles thus made being the mat-work bags or sacks and the wallets which are used by the Semang for holding their husked rice, roots, and fruits, and similar articles. It is quite possible that some kind of small sleeping-mat may also be sometimes manufactured by the Semang, though I have never seen it or met with any record of its use among the pure Negritos.

Substitutes for Pottery.

Perak Semang.—Of the art of pottery, according to De Morgan,[1] the Semang are absolutely ignorant, the only vessels they use being manufactured from big stems of bamboo, which they employ for cooking purposes when green, and use as water-vessels when the sap has dried out of them.[2] De Morgan adds that he only once (at S. Kerbu) saw a wooden bowl used, this being one which had been carved out of the root of a tree with a knife.[3]

Raft-making.

Perak Semang.—None of the Semang make boats, but the Semang (of Perak) make rafts by lashing together twenty or thirty bamboos of big diameter, and on these they float down the Perak River nearly as far as Kuala Kangsar, "though even they walk back again."[4]

Ironwork.

Perak Semang.—One of the most primitive methods of forging iron known is recorded of the Perak Semang by De Morgan.[5] It consists simply in heating the iron till it gets red hot, and then battering it into the required shape between two stones. This, according to De Morgan, is the method by which they manufacture the iron heads of the arrows that are used with their bow.

It is interesting to read that the Negritos of the Andaman Islands employed a yet simpler method, as

[1] De Morgan, vii. 414.

[2] Cp. Swett. p. 228: "Of pottery they [the Negritos] have no knowledge."

[3] De Morgan, vii. 414 [*i.e.* among Sakai-Sĕmang?]

[4] Hale, p. 286.

[5] De Morgan, vii. 415.

although they similarly shaped the iron by battering it between stones, they did not even previously heat it.[1]

De Morgan adds[2] that the material used by the Semang for this rude form of metal-work consists of old tool-iron, which they obtain from the Malays, and that they have no idea of extracting the iron from the ore, although the oxide of iron is fairly plentiful in their part of the country.

Mr. L. Wray writes me that he once saw some Semang forging iron in Upper Perak. They employed the "double-piston bamboo bellows" to blow up their charcoal fire, and used a piece of iron fastened to a block of wood as an anvil and an iron hammer. The knives, spear-heads, etc., made by them were all of the shapes employed by the Malays of the same district.

II.—Sakai.

General Industry.

Perak Sakai. — The Sakai rise early, strap on their wallets after breakfast, take their jungle-knives or blowpipes, and set off into the jungle in search of food and firewood, or tree-resin ("dammar") for torches, etc. Others stay at home, and work in and about the house, making blowpipe-darts, ornamenting their bamboo quivers and other receptacles, and so on.[3]

Manufacture of Bark-cloth.

Perak Sakai. — According to De Morgan, the Perak Sakai, when they wished to manufacture bark-cloth, commenced by making incisions in the bark

[1] Man's *Andamanese*, p. 159. [2] De Morgan, vii. 415; viii. 296.
[3] Hale, p. 295.

Skeat.

NEGRITO INDUSTRIES.

Semang men at Siong, Kedah, making blowpipe dart (on left), rat-trap, and flute respectively. Man on right holding yams in cleft stick ready for cooking.

GROUP AT SUNGEI LEDONG, ULU KLANG. THESE SAKAI ARE LAMPAN (STREAM-TIN) WORKERS. *McGregor.*

Vol. I. p. 385.

of a full-grown *Artocarpus*, so as to mark out a broad band or strip of bark, the size of which varied according to the object for which it was required, an average size being from three to four metres by from sixty to eighty centimetres.[1]

When the required strip had been thus marked out, the bark itself was hammered *in situ* until it was loosened and detached from the trunk. This strip was then taken and laid upon a tree-stump or anything else that might serve, and was then pounded with a wooden mallet, and (occasionally) decorated with designs in yellow paint (as among the Semang).

The Sakai of Batang Padang (Mr. L. Wray informs me) employ mallets made of a piece of hard heavy wood about 13 in. (33 cm.) long, by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (37 mm.) in diameter. The side of the mallet with which the bark is beaten is grooved transversely, the grooves extending about half-way round the stick.

Mr. Wray writes me that the Sakai women also wear belts composed of a coil of twine made from the black fibre of the sugar palm ("gomuto'"). These belts are about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (31.5 mm.) thick, and of such a diameter that they can just be passed round the hips of the wearer. They are often decorated with flowers and sweet-smelling leaves, and with them are often worn two bunches either of bark-fibre or of finely-cut "pandanus"-leaves. These bunches, which are about 6 in. (15 cm.) long, are placed one on either hip, the upper (tied) end of each being inserted into (and between) the strands of the belt. Both these belts and hip-bunches are quite characteristic of the Sakai.

[1] De Morgan, vii. 413, of the Sakai of Changkat Chabang in Perak.

Basket-work.

Perak Sakai.—Baskets were made by the Sakai women, of which De Morgan relates that they were "beautifully executed," and that their plait-work was "fairly close."[1] They are usually made of split rattan.

According to De la Croix, the wallet, or rather back-basket, in which the Perak Sakai, during their journeys through the forest, carried their provisions, trophies of the chase, etc., was made of "artistically woven rattan," and fixed upon their backs by straps of tree-bark which were passed round their shoulders.[2]

Network.

Perak Sakai.—The wilder Sakai employed natural fibres obtained from the "t'rap" tree (*Artocarpus*) for the making of their casting-nets, which were weighted with stones.[3]

The nets used by the more civilised Sakai do not, however, materially differ from those used by the Malays.

Mat-work.

Perak Sakai.—Mat-work was one of the Sakai industries enumerated by De Morgan, who says that it was mainly used in the production of small sleeping- or sitting-mats (*petits tapis*) and rice-bags or sacks.[4]

Substitutes for Pottery.

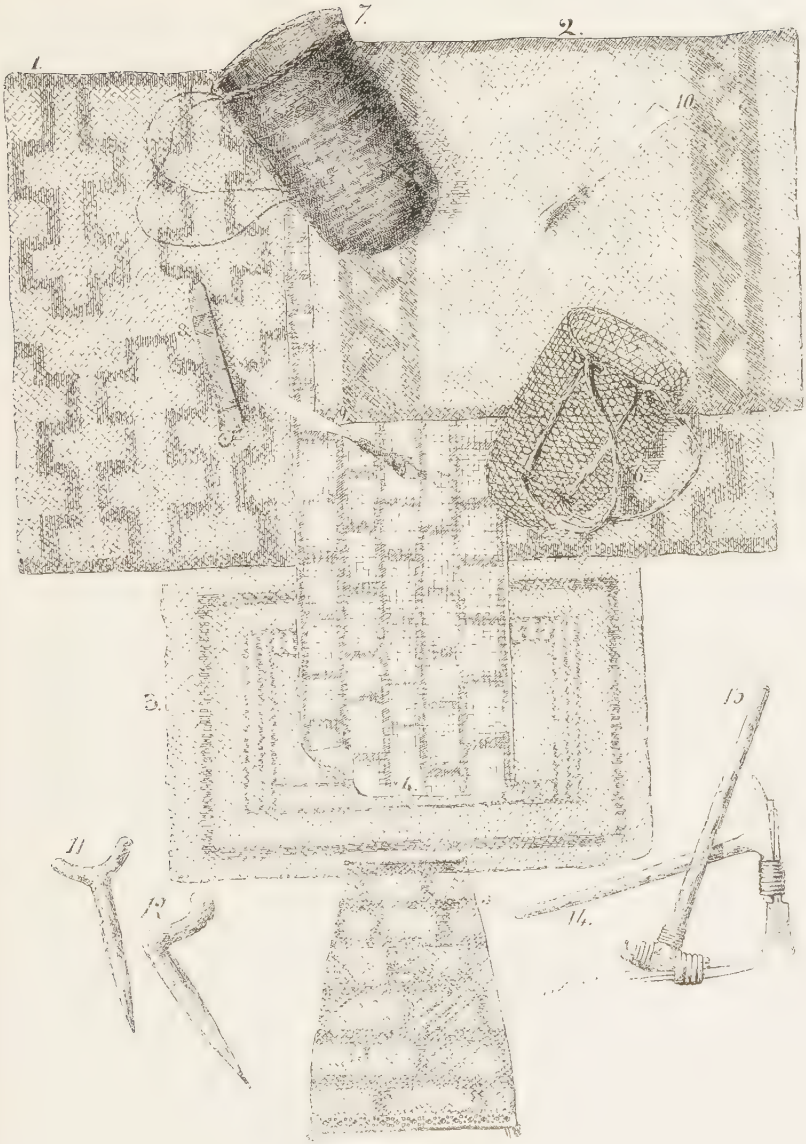
Perak Sakai.—The same ignorance of the art of pottery that exists among the Semang is also found

[1] De Morgan, vii. 415; cp. *L'H.* ii. 611, where he gives specimens of both close and open work.

[2] De la Croix, p. 335.

[3] De Morgan, vii. 418.

[4] *Ibid.* vii. 415. For patterns, cp. *L'H.* ii. 611.



De Morgan.

SEMANG MATS AND BASKETS.

1-4. Mats. 5. Bag made of matting. 6. Back-basket of open rattan-work. 7. Back-basket of close rattan-work. 8, 9. Malay jungle-knife and sheath. 10. Jungle-knife of a different pattern. 11, 12. Digging sticks. 13-14. Hatchets. –De Morgan in *L'H.* 25th October 1885, p. 611.

JAKUN BETEL-WALLETS. *Skeat Collection.*

One betel-wallet (Besisi) with small pouches (for holding betel-leaves, areca-nut, and lime) carried inside it. Three other wallets (Besisi and Blandas) showing various patterns. (See p. 390.)

among the Sakai.[1] For carrying water the Sakai employ, says De Morgan,[2] the largest bamboo stems they can find, the smaller ones, when green, being reserved for cooking purposes. The water-vessels of the Sakai were frequently well decorated, and sometimes provided with a loop for ease in carrying them over the shoulder.[3] Glutinous substances, such as grease, wax, the viscid sap of certain trees (used as bird-lime), and even poison, they kept in the shells and husks of big nuts or fruits. For poison, however, they generally employed a small bamboo internode, which they corked with a small section of the leaf-stalk of the "bĕrtam" (*Eugeissona tristis*), which is very abundant in these forests.

Boat- and Raft-building.

Perak Sakai.—The inland Sakai of Perak, according to Mr. Hale, were essentially landsmen, and living as they did near the upper reaches of rivers, where it was quite impossible to navigate them, they knew nothing of boat-building, not even to the extent of making a bamboo raft.[4]

This statement, however, does not necessarily apply to all the Sakai of Perak (probably not to those living some way down-stream), for we are told by De la Croix that when they were driven to travel by water, they would make a rough kind of raft constructed of bamboos, which were lashed together with rattans or creepers. M. De la Croix continues that as they were naturally idle, they would not expose them-

[1] De Morgan, *L'H.* ii. 612.

[2] De Morgan, vii. 414.

[3] For an instance of the application of the big internodes of the bamboo called "buluh bĕtong," see Wray in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 21, p. 154: "Many of our Sakai made boxes of these bamboos ('buluh bĕtong') and crammed into them all their clothes, and henceforth appeared clad only in a two-inch wide strip of bark-cloth." See also p. 121, *n.* 5, *ante*.

[4] Hale, p. 286.

selves to the hard labour of re-ascending the rapids; and that, hence, when they reached their destination they preferred to return on foot through the forest.[1] M. De la Croix adds that he himself had often met with these deserted rafts drifting with the stream.[2]

Mining.

Perak Sakai. — It should be added that a few individuals of the more civilised Sakai tribes (*e.g.* in Ulu Kinta)[3] used to do a little mining for tin in a primitive way, the process employed being usually that of washing out the stream tin (known as "lampan" in Malay). The Sakai were also regarded both by Malays and Chinese as the best prospectors, and often received liberal payment for any work they could be induced to perform in that capacity.

Selangor Sakai. — The habits of the Ulu Langat Sakai are simple; they live nearly the same life all the year round. Up at 5 A.M., and out in the jungle after eating some cold rice or plantains, hunting or searching for jungle produce until about 11 A.M., and then returning home for a meal. A couple of hours later they go out again to inspect their jungle-traps and fishing-stakes, and to collect the birds or beasts they had shot with their blowpipes in the morning. They seldom use their blowpipes in the afternoon.

[1] This remark as to their idleness is, however, unjust to the Sakai, and is obviously based on a misconception. It is not through mere idleness that the Sakai omitted to work their rafts up-stream again. Not merely the labour but the time spent in such a proceeding would make any such attempt little short of absurd. It is hard enough work, as the writer knows from experience, to get a raft down-stream when there are many rapids in the river; to get it up-stream would, in the upper reaches of many rivers in the Peninsula, be a sheer impossibility, to say nothing of the needless loss of time and trouble involved. Moreover, I am informed by Machado that the Sakai of Ulu Jelei in Pahang *can* pole a raft up-stream as fast as Malays can pole a boat.

[2] De la Croix, p. 335.

[3] See Hale, p. 285.

McGregor.

ABORIGINAL WOMEN WASHING FOR STREAM TIN WITH WOODEN PAN, KUALA SELEH, ULU KLANG, SELANGOR.

Vol. I. p. 518.

Vol. I. p. 384. ENCAMPMENT OF ABORIGINAL STREAM TIN WORKERS, ULU KLANG, SELANGOR. *McGregor.*

They are most energetic, and never sleep in the middle of the day; they go to bed early, and rise early.[1]

III.—Jakun.

Blandas.—The methods used by the Blandas of Kuala Langat for manufacturing their bark-cloth are similar to those of the Sakai, the bark of the *Artocarpus* being detached and pounded in the same way. An interesting development of the wooden mallet used for pounding the cloth is, however, to be found among the Blandas, this mallet being furnished with transverse ridges or teeth cut into its under surface. These teeth facilitate the process of separating the fibres, and render the material softer and more flexible.[2] As a rule the bark-cloth of the Blandas is quite undecorated, though when made from the bark of the *Artocarpus* it is stained by the sap of the tree to a sort of deep reddish tinge. Their baskets are the "sentong" or back-basket and the "kampah"; their wallet patterns are copied by the Malays.

Besisi.—Among the chief articles of mat-work made by the Besisi women of Kuala Langat are sleeping-mats (made of undyed material, but otherwise not unlike the ordinary Malay type), small square mats for sitting on,[3] mat-work bags for holding rice and other objects, and the small delicately woven pouches of pandanus (or rush-work) which they continually carry at their waists to hold their tobacco, their flint and steel, their apparatus for chewing the betel-leaf,

[1] J. A. G. Campbell, p. 243.

[2] This specimen is in the Museum at Cambridge; *v. ante*, p. 140.

[3] These small square mats correspond to the sitting-mats worn by the Dayaks and other non-Mohammedan tribes of the Malay Archipelago. Among the Peninsular tribes, however, they are never *worn*, but rolled up for carrying whenever necessary.

and similar articles. The material of which their mats are made consists mainly of pandanus or screw-pine leaves, which they tear into longitudinal strips, Malay fashion, by means of a short wooden holder in which iron teeth are set.

The pouches are often decorated either by means of raised[1] or coloured rush-work, or by means of coloured threads, which latter are stitched on to the pouch, following the lines of the pattern required.

The Besisi, not only in Kuala Langat but throughout the region inhabited by them, are very expert at the building of small dug-out canoes (*i.e.* "chĕmplong"), some of which cannot be surpassed.[2]

Their paddle-blades are as a rule much longer and narrower than those of the Malays, and are consequently less trouble to make.

I cannot say that I remember ever seeing a Jakun *sail* his boat, and am inclined to believe that on the Selangor coast, at all events, they never reached this point.

Iron-work.

Besisi.—The Besisi of Kuala Langat have, moreover, made some advance in metal-work, of which they have picked up some idea from the Malays. Thus in writing of the fish-spears used by this tribe, Mr. Bellamy remarks that they make them by their own unaided ingenuity, and that in the jungle near Sungei Ampang he once saw a small native forge, to which was attached a rough species of bellows made of two upright bamboos, each of which measured about three inches in diameter, and that into each of these bam-

[1] Like the well-known and beautifully made "Malacca baskets" which are occasionally seen in this country.

[2] Cp. G. C. Bellamy, p. 230.

boos was fitted a sort of piston-rod, which was bound round with cloth. These rods were held one in each hand, and when moved up and down alternately produced a continuous current of air.[1]

Mantra. — Of the industries of the Mantra, with regard to the subjects treated of in this chapter, nothing special has been recorded, though we learn from Logan's Journal that their girls were taught to make bags and mats.[2]

Writing is unknown; they reckon dates by tying knots in a string.[3]

Jakun of Johor.—Like all Indian nations, the Jakun have a propensity to idleness; but to be exact in this account, and just towards them, I must say that they are not so lazy as either the Malays or Hindus. Their first and principal occupation is the chase; they have a great predilection for this exercise, it being the first means by which they feed themselves and their families; and from having been brought up in that habit, in which the greater part of their life is spent, they should be skilful hunters, which in fact they are, both in their way and in the manner of using their weapons, as will be seen elsewhere. In the daytime they remain at home, where they prepare their arrows and other weapons, the substances with which they poison their arrows, and cook and eat the animals caught the day before, or build or repair their houses, etc.[4] The Jakun who have no taste for cultivating rice, or who are not acquainted with the manner of doing so, are generally very miserable; they are then obliged to look to the Malays to provide for their

[1] G. C. Bellamy, p. 229.
[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 330.
[3] *Ibid.* For the Besisi and Mantra tradition of a lost book, see p. 536, *infra*, and ii. 346, 347.
[4] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 258.

livelihood; they traverse the jungle all the day seeking after rattan, dammar, eagle-wood, and several other articles of commerce; the next morning they go to some Malay house, where they dispose of the produce of their search, receiving in return a small quantity of rice, sometimes scarcely sufficient to support their family for that very day; after that they return to the same thing for the purpose of in like manner procuring food for the next day, and so on.[1]

Baskets.

Jakun of Johor.—Among the Jakun the panniers or back-baskets (so generally worn by all the aboriginal tribes) are usually made either of basket-work or of tree-bark.

D. F. A. Hervey, in writing of the Johor Jakun, describes a pannier of the second kind mentioned as being manufactured from the bark of the "měranti."[2]

Mining.

Where the Chinese work tin-mines, they sometimes employ the Jakun as workmen. It is, however, also alleged that there is a place in Jelebu where the Jakun work the mines by themselves, and bring the tin to Pahang, where they sell it.[3]

Boat-building.

Benua-Jakun.—Of Jakun boats we learn (also from Logan) that their canoes were used for transporting produce and for fishing, as well as for visiting every part of the network of rivers on which they lived. These canoes varied in length from 8 to

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 260.
[2] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 8, p. 97. A fine hardwood kind of jungle tree, generally a Shorea (*Dipterocarpeæ*).
[3] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 260.

15 feet, and were always hollowed out of one piece of wood. The most durable timber was selected, the "kayu pĕnak" being preferred as being capable of lasting for upwards of twenty years. A canoe measuring from 12 to 15 feet in length, which would carry from 400 to 500 gallons ("gantang") of padi, together with the two men who would be required to manage it, was valued at from 10 to 12 dollars. A canoe of rather smaller size (8 or 9 feet in length) was valued at 7 or 8 dollars.[1]

Divisions of Time.

Benua-Jakun. — The Benua have no divisions of time save the natural one of the north and south monsoons, each of which they call a "wind year" ("satahun angin"). They mark time (as the Mantra also do) by the seasons when their rice-crops are harvested ("musim padi"), or when fruits ripen ("musim buah"). They indicate the progress of the day by the inclination of a stick. Early morning is represented by pointing a stick to the eastern horizon.[2] Placed erect it indicates noon, inclined at an angle of about 45 degrees to the west it corresponds nearly with 3 o'clock, and so on.[3] In this way a guide familiar with the path can intimate within an hour the time at which a particular place will be reached, and describe with considerable accuracy the distance of one place along the route from another. Distances exceeding a fraction of a day are reckoned by nights, as in some of the Polynesian islands.[4]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 271, 272.

[2] The Malays use the word "poko'" to indicate directions on the horizon.

[3] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 283.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 388; cp. Newbold in vol. ii. pp. 417-421: "The Benua have no written language nor symbols for articulate sounds, as far as my

Orang Laut, Akik.—Of the Orang Laut or "Akik" Newbold remarks that they were remarkably ingenious in handicrafts, particularly in that of boat-building, and that they frequently made long voyages in their fragile vessels. The same writer informs us that they made use of mat- (or leaf-) work sails and awnings, and of cordage, all of which were of their own manufacture. And he also tells us that they built temporary sheds ("bagan's") along the coast, whenever they had occasion to go ashore for boat-building, but that otherwise they resided, for months together, in their boats alone.[1]

Net-making.

The same writer records the fact that the O. Akik made use of nets which they similarly manufactured themselves, for purposes of fishing.[2]

personal knowledge extends; though, as previously mentioned, I am assured by natives that some of the tribes in Perak write on the leaves of the Stebbal. The Benua are ignorant of the simplest rules of arithmetic. In counting, the natural plan of indigitation is adopted, throwing the articles counted into heaps of fives and tens."

[1] Newbold, ii. 413, 414.

[2] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IX.

Decorative Art.

We now come to what is by far the most difficult of all the many difficult subjects that have had to be faced in compiling the description of these tribes—the much-vexed question of the interpretation of their art. The subject in itself offers a most fruitful field of inquiry, such as might take years of the most patient and conscientious investigation to complete. The writer feels it here necessary to remind his readers that he does not pretend to offer solutions of the many important questions involved. The building of theories has been kept outside the scope of this work, the object of which is to describe customs as they are, and to lay a foundation upon which in years to come a really reliable and lasting edifice may be constructed. For we have to face the fact that with reference to part of this subject an edifice has already been reared upon a foundation of sand, and that though the bricks of which it was composed may to some extent be useful in laying the foundation of the new building, the original edifice is none the less inevitably doomed to irremediable destruction.

The Flower-theory of Vaughan-Stevens.

The sandy foundation to which I refer, and on which so airy a superstructure has been built, is Vaughan-Stevens' so-called "flower-theory," which has been regarded by many as a species of master-key for unlocking the innermost secret recesses of Negrito art in the Peninsula. This astounding theory, or tissue of begged questions, for it is nothing less, sets out by ascribing to one of the most backward and undeveloped races of mankind—a race of lifelong nomads, who go almost stark naked and live upon the victims of their bow and spear—a system of decorative art based upon scientific principles which would not discredit a text-book of botany.

Certainly it was not without reason that one of Vaughan-Stevens' own editors speaks of the "extraordinary intellectual force of the primitive human race" which alone could have evolved the "firmly welded flower-system" ("discovered" by Vaughan-Stevens himself in the Semang comb patterns), as meriting that a monument should be erected to it by way of recognition!

In order to explain what we are asked to believe in the case of this flower-theory of Vaughan-Stevens, one of the bamboo back-combs which the Semang women wear in their hair must be taken, and the entire pattern with which the solid part of the comb is decorated carefully copied on to paper. The solid part, as will then be seen, is divided by means of straight lines running horizontally into a number of separate panels. The number of these panels differs as between comb and comb, but we may take the one chosen by Vaughan-Stevens, which has eight panels

in all—there being four narrow panels at the top of the solid part, and three more narrow panels just above the teeth, with a central panel of great breadth between them. By the side of this panel-scheme a flower should be drawn (preferably an Ixora, that being the flower selected by Vaughan-Stevens), showing pistil, stamens, petals, and sepals—the smell of the flower need not be drawn, but may be understood! Now we are asked to believe that the first panel (counting from the top of the comb) represents the *smell*[1] of the flower in question; the upper edge[2] of this first panel the *pistil* and *stamens*; the second panel the "lengthened (or projecting) *spike above the green sepals*";[3] and the lowest horizontal line, bounding the eighth or lowest panel, the *sepals* themselves.[4]

The *petals* ("tapak"), which one would think would be one of the most obvious parts of a flower in the eyes of a savage, have no panel assigned to them, and what other parts of the flower are represented by the unassigned panels we are not informed, but we have a shrewd suspicion that the botany text-book had been unfortunately mislaid before this part of the investigation was completed. Otherwise we might have been treated to further ethnological (and perhaps even to botanical) discoveries!

To be just to Vaughan-Stevens, however, the obvious fact is that as he conducted his investigations in Malay, he must have been early brought face to face with the Malay word "bunga," a flower (= "bakau" in Semang), and as he evidently did not

[1] The Semang "wās" is said to = "smell," but perhaps really means the solid part of the comb (*v.* p. 426, *infra*).

[2] Sem. "tĕpi."

[3] Sem. "pāwēr." It is by no means clear what this means; it would seem that the pistil is what is really intended, but this has been mentioned already under another name.

[4] Sem. "mos." For the whole passage, see pp. 426, 427, *infra*, especially 427, *n.* 1.

know that a common secondary meaning of "bunga" was a *pattern*, he was, most unfortunately, started upon the wrong tack from the very outset. The fact of the word "bunga," which he thought meant "flower," being applied to the whole pattern, naturally suggested to him the idea that the series of horizontal lines might perhaps be intended to divide the various panels which (he expected) would represent the various parts of the flower in question. He asked his questions, we feel sure, in perfect *bona fides*, but nevertheless he must have had some such idea as this in his mind, and his accommodating informants naturally supplied him with the very information that he thought he wanted. Thus Vaughan-Stevens, in falling into the trap, has furnished us with yet one more of those awful object-lessons which are provided from time to time by ethnologists who rely too much upon the answers given by "question-worried savages." As he is not the first, so he will not be the last, and there are perhaps none of us who can tread this thorny path so securely as never to come into danger of a fall.

Up to this point we know, I think, quite enough to be able to state definitely what the "mos" and the "pāwēr" are not; but our duty does not stop here, and a little further consideration of Vaughan-Stevens' material will show us, I am inclined to think, what Vaughan-Stevens himself must have narrowly missed discovering, viz. that the "mos" and "pāwēr" were probably the names of two flowers—as indeed, with that courageous inconsistency which in such a case may be regarded as a proof of honesty, he himself has informed us in the very same passage in which he states his general flower-theory of the combs. The "mos" is, if as I hope we may trust Vaughan-

Stevens for the fact, a strong-scented kind of Ixora, and the "pāwēr" a similar flower with a somewhat weaker scent.[1] It is therefore quite conceivable that the two upper panels of the pattern of the particular comb that he took for his type, or even of a set of such combs, may represent, or at least in some way possess an association with, two kinds of Ixora. That this solution is more than merely possible is shown by the names of the third and fourth panels, whose names, as given by Vaughan-Stevens, are partly Semang and partly Malay, and mean "rice-fruit" (*i.e.* rice-grains) and "salak"-fruit[2] respectively. This practice, in fact, of giving names to patterns or parts of patterns, either from something that they actually represent, or from something they are supposed to resemble (or are associated with in use), is a very usual and general practice in the Malay Peninsula, and is so obvious a method of describing a pattern that we must confess we see nothing very striking or original in the idea. For an exact parallel, see the "cucumber-seed" pattern described below. Hence the parts of the pattern would represent different flowers or fruit;—a very different thing from the elaborate theory stated above, which is *based upon a botanical analysis of the component parts of a single flower*—this latter being a

[1] The chief kinds of Ixora found indigenous to the Peninsula, according to Ridley's *Plant-List*, are *Ixora fulgens*, Roxb., and other species (*Rubiaceæ*), a large orange Ixora common in the jungle; *Ixora opaca*, Br.; *Ixora grandiflora*, Zoll.; *Ixora parviflora*, Wall.; *Ixora pendula*, Jack; and *Ixora amœna*, Wall. (an orange-red Ixora). No such name as "Tĕtawar bindang" is recorded for any of these, but as *Ixora pendula* is sometimes called "Baratong padi," there can be little doubt that this or a closely allied species is the Ixora referred to as "Tĕtawar bindang," for the Malay word "padi" means simply rice, or rice-plant, and "bendang" (*not* "bintang" = "star") means "rice-swamp" too. Elsewhere we are told by Vaughan-Stevens that it is the blossoms of certain parasitic plants that are especially efficacious against diseases; and hence they are used in the charms (see Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 135).

[2] "Salak" is a kind of palm (*Zalacca*).

development which is entirely foreign to the cast of mind even of the Malays, who are a race some centuries ahead of the Semang in general intelligence.[1]

Vaughan-Stevens, however, not content with applying this theory to the combs, attempted to carry it even further and extend it to all other patterns executed by the Semang, such as the patterns on their blowpipes, their quivers, and their magic tubes. This extension, however, is regarded, even by Vaughan-Stevens' own editors, as utterly untenable, so that we need not trouble to waste any more time in following him further away from the track.

It is, unfortunately, necessary to speak thus plainly, in order to prevent the published work of Vaughan-Stevens from entrapping scholars who use it, and who may not have had the right kind of field experience to enable them to use it critically. But it is a far more congenial and grateful task for the writer—knowing, as he does, the all but insuperable difficulties of the subject—to record the fact that, setting apart all question of this absurd pseudo-botanical theory, that indefatigable pioneer (Vaughan-Stevens) has left behind him, not only a fine collection of specimens of Negrito art (now in the Museum of Ethnology at Berlin), but also a vast mass of most valuable observations which only require critical revision and recension to render them a veritable storehouse of fresh and remarkable information for the ethnologist. From this point of view, the

[1] For other scarcely less grotesque and far-fetched ideas of Vaughan-Stevens, see Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 136, and similar references, where we are told that the hollow of a bamboo internode (used as a quiver) represents *a mountain with caves in the interior*, and that the three concentric ring-lines which separate the panels in a pattern represent *three kinds of lightning employed by Kari—the straight flash, the forked flash, and the "heavy blue tropic lightning flash,"* only the middle one of which is supposed to be effective!

work that has been hitherto accomplished, not only by Vaughan-Stevens himself in the collecting of specimens and information, but also by his German editors under the most difficult circumstances imaginable, is worthy of nothing but the highest and most generous praise. In the light of the fuller knowledge that we now possess, I find nothing—even where I am obliged to differ or to correct—but what proves that their work has been done in the best scientific spirit—in other words, with a single regard to truth.

Hence the plan of the present chapter has been formulated with the object of giving in as complete a form as possible the result of the inquiries of Vaughan-Stevens, rescued as far as possible from his faulty classification and his blunders, and also from the vitiating influence of his "flower-theory." Any readers who wish to see more of this theory for themselves can do so by consulting the original articles in the German journals from which the extracts in this chapter are taken. The remainder of this chapter will include—(1) the detailed explanations of a few typical Semang patterns which the writer himself has personally investigated, and (2) the substance of the German articles based upon Vaughan-Stevens' material, from which, as I have said, the fallacious "flower-theory," together with other obvious mistakes due to *bona-fide* ignorance, have been as far as possible eliminated.

Symbolism.

One of the most important features of the art-work of these tribes consists in their practice of representing an object by means either of one of its chief parts or of some closely associated idea. A

bat, for instance, is represented by a wavy pattern, indicating its wings; a stag by a small triangle, representing his pointed slot. These facts were pointed out to me both among the Blandas and Besisi of Selangor, before I ever read a line of Vaughan-Stevens, and subsequently by the Semang of Kedah. The principle has also been noticed by other observers (apart from Vaughan-Stevens),[1] and may be accepted as definitely established. It is, I think, not unconnected in origin with the general ideas underlying the practice of sympathetic magic or "make-believe," and there is therefore no reason why it should not be employed by the members of a race who, to a not inconsiderable extent, employ what may be called "sympathetic methods" in their "medicinal" ceremonies.

Representation of Entire Objects.

At the same time it must be insisted upon that the powers of draughtsmanship of the aborigines do not by any means stop at this point. I have myself seen perfectly intelligible drawings representing complete objects, both animals and plants, upon the shafts of blowpipes and similar objects,[2] and in this respect the fine collection got together by Vaughan-Stevens is obviously rich. One of the best of these latter is perhaps, as Vaughan-Stevens himself points out, the drawing of a spider by a Sakai upon a bamboo "stamper" or "tuang-tuang."[3]

Geometrical Patterns.

But in spite of their possessing the power both to conceive and to represent a complete artistic

[1] *Z.f. E.* xxvi. 142.

[2] This was among the Blandas and Besisi, and as such zoomorphs are forbidden to the Mohammedan Malays, they are probably of "savage Malayan" origin.

[3] *Z.f. E.* xxvi. 143.

conception, these tribes employ, in the vast majority of cases, patterns which are purely geometrical, and it is in respect of these that the explanations collected by Vaughan-Stevens should be subjected, whenever it may be possible, to the closest scrutiny. My own experience has been, with regard to these geometrical designs, that, as a rule, every other native has a different explanation to offer about them, and that, on the other hand, the same interpretation will nevertheless be frequently given with reference to two, or even perhaps to three or four designs which are obviously different. In both of these ways Vaughan-Stevens no doubt suffered considerably, as will, I think, be clear to anyone who has the opportunity of checking his work. Especial care should therefore be exercised in dealing with this particular class of patterns, and every possible means of checking the explanations given of them by natives should be adopted.

Dividing Lines or Borders.

A great deal of emphasis was laid by the informants of Vaughan-Stevens upon the ring-lines ("keng-oin" or "kĕning-uin") which separate the various patterns. Exactly similar ring-lines (or "party"-lines) are, however, employed by the Malays (as by many other races) for separating their patterns, and there can, I think, be no manner of doubt that the sole original function of these lines was *to divide the patterns and to keep the various rows of figures in their proper place.* It is, of course, conceivable that later on (as Vaughan-Stevens in many passages is made to say) some superstition may have arisen which postulated a particular number or arrangement of these lines as a charm against light-

ning, but I cannot personally believe this, and in any case it will be evident to anybody who examines this point that these lines do, as a matter of fact, divide and regulate the patterns, and this is what, I claim, must (beyond doubt) have been their original function.

Essential Irregularity of the Patterns.

A yet further point in which, I regret to say, I must differ entirely from Vaughan-Stevens is his continual insistence upon the completeness and regularity of each (geometrical) figure and row of figures. He has gone so far in this respect as to correct (not always accurately) his originals, a work of entire gratuitousness, to make the best of it. It cannot, I think, be too strongly emphasised that we want to collect and to interpret the patterns *as they are*, and not as they might or perhaps even ought to be. This does not, of course, preclude the pointing out of substantial irregularities whenever they are of any interest and importance, but it cannot, I think, be too widely recognised that the designs of these tribes, like those of the Malays and of most other tribes on a similar or even on a higher plane of culture, are radically and *essentially irregular*, and that any excessive regularity in a pattern might be ground for distrusting the authenticity of the specimen in which it occurred.

Terminology.

Before going further, a clear understanding must be arrived at about the names used in this section. In spite of the distinction drawn by Vaughan-Stevens between quivers and charm-receptacles, I confess that

I have not succeeded in discovering the smallest difference between them from the decorative point of view.

Vaughan-Stevens himself, in spite of his long article upon this subject, headed "goh" and "gah,"[1] is continually confusing them, and as his own editor points out, his remark that "others (*sc.* designs) could not be reduced (to a size that would suit the blowpipe), and hence were retained as 'goh' or 'gah,'" shows that in his mind there was no essential difference between them. Elsewhere, after comparing the blowpipe and "goh" patterns, he derives the blowpipe patterns from a "goh," whereas, according to his own general theory, it was from a "gah" that these patterns were evolved. Elsewhere, again, he refers to both "goh" and "gah" together as dart-quivers. The only conclusion that can be drawn, as his own editor quite rightly points out, is that Vaughan-Stevens really found no specific difference between his "goh" and "gah" patterns, and that his theory of the evolution of the blowpipe patterns from a "gah" rests upon some misapprehension of his own.

The fact of the matter is (in my own mind at least I am sure), that both these forms of the widespread bamboo receptacle should be included in one class merely as *receptacles*, without any reference to what their contents might be. In fact the word "gō'" in Semang (= "gōb" in Andamanese)[2] is the exact equivalent of the Malay "tabong," and merely signifies a vessel or holder formed from a single internode of a large kind of bamboo, which had, as a rule, certain specific

[1] In orig. "gor" and "gar" (*sic*). These names of Vaughan-Stevens are both cockney spellings, there being no "r" whatever at the end of either of these words. The correct forms would probably be "gâ'" and "gā'." The form "gu'" ("guh") is probably identical. Cp. p. 448, *infra*.

[2] Man's *Andamanese*, p. 8.

uses, but might as easily be put to half a hundred others. Hence the Semang "gō'" at times served as a quiver, at other times served to carry magic herbs and roots, and the general paraphernalia of the Negrito sorcerer. If the fact is once recognised that, from a decorative point of view, there is absolutely no difference between the quiver ("goh") and the charm-tube ("gah"), and that both alike are really "gō'" (the form "gāh" or "gā'" being probably, if it has any authority at all, a mere dialectal variant of "gō'"), the source of endless confusion will be avoided.

Similarly, the word "gu'" also appears to be applied indifferently both to bamboo quivers and burial bamboos, etc. It probably signifies, like "goh," a bamboo tube or receptacle. There does not to me appear sufficient evidence of the existence of what Vaughan-Stevens calls "gi" to include it in this list. Vaughan-Stevens himself *could obtain no specimen of it*, and himself says that they had been completely forgotten and disused. What they purported to be was a species of charm-tube carried by the women, "on which all the seventy Disease-patterns were cut." As, however, there are (not seventy but) a hundred and forty of these patterns, and as it would be a physical impossibility to crowd even the central panel of seventy of these patterns upon the surface of a bamboo that was meant to be portable, there can be little doubt that this was one of the many cases in which Vaughan-Stevens was led altogether astray.

Classification of the Patterns.

The charm-patterns employed by the wild tribes of the Peninsula may be roughly classified according to the objects that they are employed to adorn.

Description of Object.	Use.
(1) Bamboo combs.*	(1) Used chiefly by Semang (V.-St. *loc. cit.*); chiefly by Sakai (Martin, 703). Not used by Jakun.
(2) Large bamboo tubes, cut from a single internode, and including—	(2)
(*a*) Bamboo quivers* (for arrows or darts).	(*a*) Arrow-quivers used by Semang only; dart-quivers by all three races.
(*b*) Charm bamboos.*	(*b*) Used by Semang only.
(*c*) Myth bamboos.*	(*c*) Do. do.
(*d*) Burial bamboos.*	(*d*) Do. do.
(*e*) Birth bamboos.*	(*e*) Do. do.
(*f*) Bamboo "stampers."*	(*f*) Used by Sakai only (?).
(*g*) Seed bamboos (used for dibbling rice).	(*g*) Collected among Semang.
(3) Small bamboo tubes, including—	(3)
(*a*) Poison-receptacles.	(*a*) Commonly undecorated when used by Semang, but decorated by Sakai and to some extent by Jakun.
(*b*) Tobacco-receptacles.	(*b*) Used especially by Semang.
(4) Blowpipes.*	(4) Borrowed in the case of the Semang, but decorated by all three races.
(5) Miscellaneous objects, *e.g.* arrows, nose-sticks, fish-hooks, and various implements (ring-lines only).	(5) Some of these (*e.g.* arrows) are used by Semang only, but they cannot all be specified.
(6) Mats and wallets (mat-work and embroidery).	(6) Not used by Semang except when borrowed, but found among Sakai, and still more among Jakun.
(7) Bark-cloth (painting only).	(7) Decorated by Sakai especially, rarely by Semang and Jakun.
(8) The human body (painting and tattooing and scarification of the person)—*v.* vol. ii. ch. ii.	(8) Scarification and tattooing (according to Mr. L. Wray) appear to be practised by the Sakai of Perak; body-painting by all three races, but especially by the Sakai.

The asterisked objects are the only ones whose patterns have been seriously studied, and that in most cases for the Semang only.

Of these divisions the first (that containing the Semang combs) includes prophylactic patterns intended to protect the wearer against various accidents and diseases, and must await a fuller discussion below.

The Semang patterns of the second class were supposed by Vaughan-Stevens to have been originally

copied from patterns on certain bamboo tubes, which were merely used as charms (and not as quivers and blowpipe-tubes). Vaughan-Stevens asserts that the former, when first used as quivers, remained of the same size as the tubes from which their patterns were copied, but that in the latter case the patterns on being transferred to the blowpipe-tubes were reduced in size. What the truth may be is hard to say. No foundation for this statement of Vaughan-Stevens appears, and the writer does not himself regard it as credible.

There are said to be in all seventy-three specimens of these patterns (for quivers and charm-tubes) collected by Vaughan-Stevens, who has attempted to explain them by means of the "flower-theory" he had employed in explaining the combs, but this extension, as has already been pointed out, is quite untenable (even supposing his "flower-theory" were admitted for the combs).

The main objections alleged are as follows:—

1. There are some quivers which have no patterns at all but only a few ring-lines (ex. Fig. 8).

2. Some quivers have the same pattern in all their panels (ex. Fig. 9).

3. In many quivers the central panel is left vacant, and hence the "Disease-pattern" must necessarily be looked for in some one of the other panels (ex. Fig. 10).

4. Again, in some cases, in which all the panels are occupied, the central panel is in no way more prominent than the rest, so that its special importance, and in fact its very place in the scheme, still remains to be proved.

5. The patterns of the two upper panels (which according to the theory should correspond to the

"wās" and "pāwēr" of the combs) are not in all cases divisible as they would be on the combs.[1]

The chief difference, however, appears to be that in the case of the combs the main Disease-pattern is always to be found in the centre, whereas both in the blowpipe patterns and in those of the quivers and charm-tubes the central panel is often a blank one. The fact alleged by Vaughan-Stevens, that in blowpipe patterns of the kind the upper pattern serves to protect the men from epidemics, and the lower the women (*sic*), suggests to his editor the possible application of some such explanation to the upper and lower patterns of the quivers and charm-tubes. On the other hand, the central patterns that some of these very quivers and charm-tubes possess are explained by the same authority as charms directed against the Diseases that attack the men only. Finally, even the division of the ring-lines into groups can be of no very special significance, as they are sometimes distributed at equal distances over the whole bamboo.[2]

Burial Bamboos.

The Semang "gu'" and burial bamboos are of no account as charms.[3] On the former the mythological designs and emblems connected with the Putto (of whom only the tradition remains that they were once an order of greater chiefs and servants of the god Plē) were incised, and the latter have now passed to the Sna-hut. Four myth bamboos were obtained from the Sna-hut by Vaughan-Stevens, together with the interpretation of their patterns.

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 71-100.
[2] *Ib.*
[3] See, however, Gu' IV., which is described as being available as a charm against water-snakes.

There, for instance, is represented the thunder-god Kari, and the symbols of his power, together with the god Plē and his daughter Simei. In addition to these there are certain fabulous animals, described as the guardians of Paradise, and a great variety of flowers and fruits. A Putto is shown lying with his head upon a magic stone-cushion, and receiving from Plē in a dream instructions as to the manufacture of mats and other objects. But most unfortunately there is no coherence, and the exact connotation even of the word "gu" itself is wanting. The designs themselves are so vague, that one can scarcely distinguish human beings from animals, and the same design, or part of a design, often signifies many entirely different objects.[1]

The burial patterns or "pĕnitåh"[2] of the dead are said to be cut by the Sna-hut upon a bamboo tube which is deposited in the grave (inserted in the deceased's girdle). By these patterns the life-story of the person or persons concerned is depicted, so that on their appearing before the judgment throne of Kari the bamboo serves as a kind of credentials. The patterns inscribed on these bamboos vary according to the age and sex of the deceased. Their import has up to the present received no manner of explanation.[3]

Birth Bamboos.

The Semang "tahong" is a "birth bamboo" carried by the woman, which nobody but her husband may see, but which she must never go without. It contains, we are told, "no flower-patterns."[4]

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[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 124.

[2] The form given by Vaughan-Stevens is "pĕnitor" ("peneetor"). The suggested derivation from "titah," the royal word meaning to "command," is of course a possible one, though I do not feel quite sure of it.

[3] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 119, 120.

[4] *V. B. G. A.* xxiv. 466, 467; cp. Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 115.

Bamboo Stampers.

We now come to the Sakai "tuntong" (more correctly "tuang-tuang") or "kowet-niss," to which recourse was had in every emergency of life. These bamboos always consisted of a pair of tubes, one of which was somewhat smaller than the other, so that quite different tones were produced by them when struck. These tubes were closed at the lower end by the natural node; but they were left open at the top, so that the closed end, when struck upon the ground, emitted a distinct musical note.[1]

The illustrations will be treated in fuller detail below. The first is 48 cm. high, the second 56 cm. high.[2]

There are also "tuang-tuangs" in secular use. These, however, are neither provided with incised patterns nor painted, but serve merely to give a signal for calling home the inhabitants of a house or village, since they can be heard at a great distance through the jungle. These undecorated tubes are common among tribes who live in the neighbourhood of the Malays. They serve in this case, however, only as instruments of music.[3]

The patterns of the other objects classified call for no special remark, being mostly confined to ring-lines and plain geometrical patterns, with the exception of those employed for decorating the person, which will be fully treated in another chapter.

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 140. Vaughan-Stevens remarks that these "tuntongs" (as he calls them) are never struck upon wood. This refers, perhaps, to the Sakai customs, as I myself have more than once seen and heard them struck upon the wooden floor-timbers of Jakun huts.

[2] [3] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 148. V.-Stevens has here evidently confused the "tuang-tuang" of these patterns, which is a mere "stamper," producing a note when struck against the ground, with an instrument bearing the same name which has a mouth-hole at one side, and is really used as a species of "conch."

Blowpipe Patterns.

According to Preuss, the (129) specimens of Semang blowpipe patterns, their dart-quivers ("gō'"), and charm-tubes ("gā'") are intended to serve as charms against the various diseases and accidents which are likely to attack or affect the men.[1]

The tradition of the Semang about the origin of their blowpipe patterns ascribes them to the invention of their god Plē, who with the aid of his daughter Simei planted the flowers of their chief god Kari or "Thunder" near a mountain peak (Jelmol), and evolved from them the patterns which would avail against Diseases. The Putto[2] incised these correct patterns, exactly as Plē had invented them, on bamboos which were deposited in a large cave, where they were changed into stone[3] by the god, in order that they might always be ready to serve as patterns. A set of these patterns was prepared for each of the Sna-hut; whose task it was to see that the correct drawings were used by the people. The Putto alone, however, knew where the caves were. The parts of the flowers represented on the combs in accordance with these traditions, viz. "tĕpi," "wās," "pāwēr," and "mos," are dealt with according to their existing arrangement on the blowpipes, without, however, any further working out of the details, *e.g.* the identification of the remaining parts of the corresponding patterns which are incised on the combs.[4]

In the publications of the Berlin Ethnographical Museum,[5] mention is made of the Semang explanation

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxxi. 159. See also *Z. f. E.* xxv. 73*f.* There seem to be, however, more important uses.

[2] Spelt by V.-St. "Puttow," which may = "Pattau," though Grünwedel suggests a connexion with "Buddha," which is, at the best, a doubtful guess.

[3] This is doubtless due to some legend connected with one of the limestone caves, so common in the north portion of the Peninsula.

[4] V.-St. iii. 110. [5] *Ib.* p. 130.

of the patterns as derived exclusively from one of their fundamental patterns (1 *a*), which latter has a close resemblance to a typical "motive" employed by the Sakai. The Semang are even asserted to know the exact order in which the simpler figures were successively developed! The first eighteen stages of this development were described by Vaughan-Stevens, but in this respect Nos. 1-4 (inclusive) and No. 13 are all that need be indicated. The fact that the Semang are not acquainted with the development of the complicated figures of which they make use, Vaughan-Stevens seeks to explain — I confess unconvincingly—by the fact that these latter patterns were formerly incised by the Sna-hut, or even by the Putto.[1]

The E. Semang (Pangan) have only one "pichod" pattern, which they are said by Vaughan-Stevens to have learnt from the Sakai (?), but this pattern and its variants are alleged to be used by the Semang as the groundwork of all their patterns.[2]

Among the Semang the pyramidal figure is said to be taken as the basis of all their decorative art. It is an obvious and simple figure (possibly connected with the zigzag) which is commonly found in the art of almost all other savage peoples, and there is no necessity whatever for supposing that it can only have been borrowed from a foreign source.[3]

Turning to mixed Semang-Sakai tribes, the Tembeh of the east coast states used no decoration for their blowpipe or quiver; later they

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxxi. 160.

[2] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 129 *n.* Vaughan-Stevens' comment is that this figure must either obviously have been borrowed from the Sakai or that both were indebted for this form of ornament to an older stage ("stadium") of the common race, from which they were both evolved (*sic!*).

[3] *Ibid.* p. 130.

copied the patterns of the E. Semang or Pangan, but very sparingly.[1] Vaughan-Stevens describes in connexion with this tribe a strange "code" or set of signs which he calls the "Tembeh message-characters," and he adds that these message-characters are known not only to a section of the Tembeh, but throughout the whole of the Malay Peninsula![2] The signs were notched on a section of bamboo or drawn upon it in charcoal. At the top stood the sign which represented the name of the sender (which all parties concerned would be likely to know), and underneath stood that of the recipient. The characters employed represented such ideas as "go," "return," "wait," "escape," "wood-felling," "man," "woman," "family," "danger," "salt," "tobacco," "day," "night," etc., and so on down to the representation of the numbers 1 to 10.[3] A special sign, for instance, stands for "night" or "darkness," and another special sign for "day" or "daylight."[4]

We next come to the magical designs of the Sakai, who since they believed (unlike the Semang) in demons, naturally used these designs in a way that the Semang never did. Vaughan-Stevens here tells us that each tribe of the Sakai has a design which does for all the members of the tribe.

Vaughan-Stevens adds that the designs were used merely as charms against certain evil spirits, and hence were less numerous than the magical designs of the Semang which were intended for use against all the (personified) Diseases that they knew of or could imagine.[5]

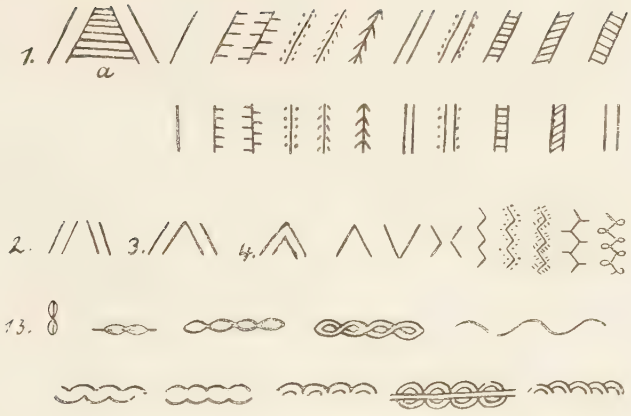
[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 98.

[2] This, however, is certainly a stretch of the imagination.

[3] No Semang or Sakai tribe has numerals of its own beyond three or four.

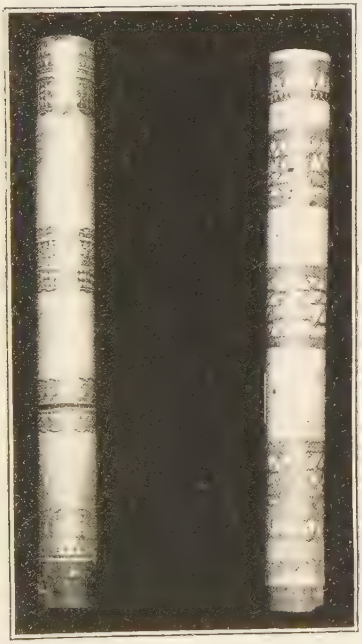
[4] *Globus*, lxix. 117, 1896.

[5] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 130.



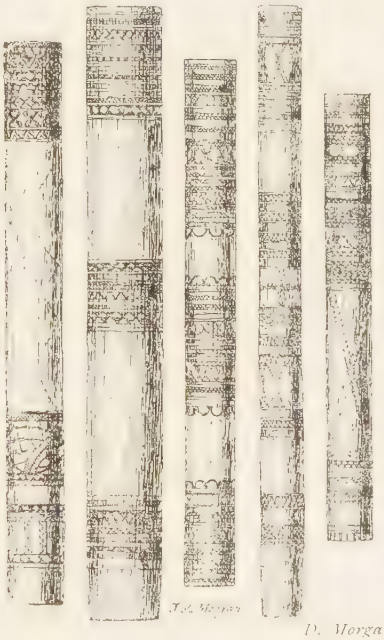
Vaughan-Stevens.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PATTERNS FROM THE CHEVRON (*Z. f. E.* xxxi. 160).



Skeat Collection.

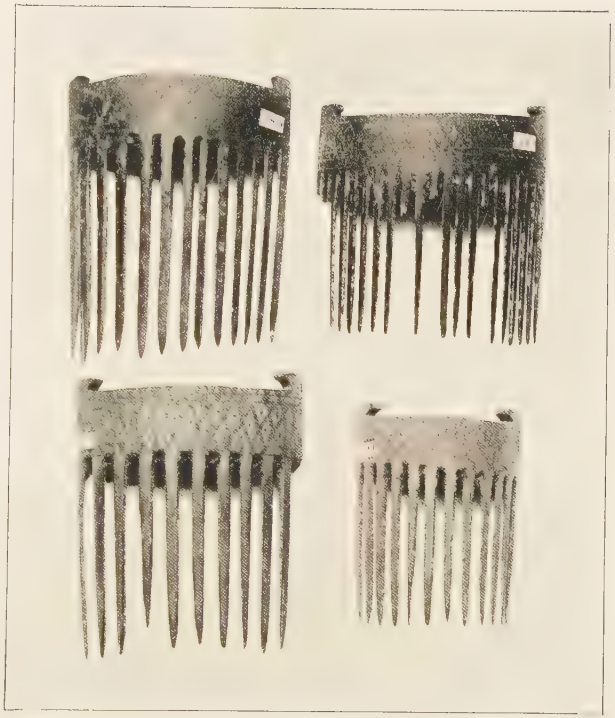
QUIVERS FOR BLOWPIPE DARTS EMPLOYED BY THE SEMANG OF KEDAH.



D. Morgan

SEMANG QUIVERS.

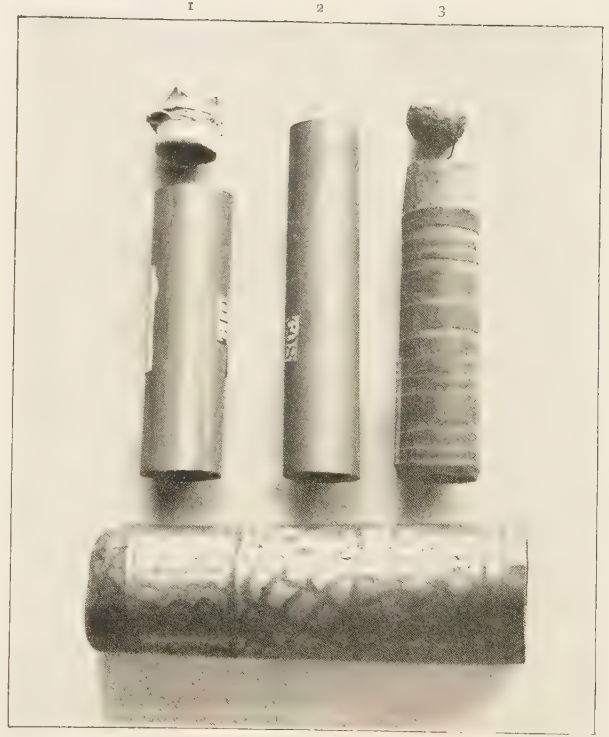
De Morgan in *L'H.* 25th October 1885, p. 617.



Skeat Collection.

SEMANG COMBS, ULU SIONG, KEDAH.

(See p. 419.)



Skeat Collection.

SEMANG RECEPTACLES.

1. Bamboo tube used as powder-flask by Semang, Siong, Kedah. 2. Small bamboo flask used by Semang at Siong, Kedah. 3. Bamboo tube used for holding bullets made by Semang at Siong, one bullet remaining. 4. Semang tobacco flask.

The following is Vaughan-Stevens' statement as to the alleged origin of the Sakai charm-patterns :—

As he (Vaughan-Stevens) was anxious for further explanation (about the patterns) he took a bamboo ("tabong") belonging to one of the men, and asked to be shown which were Tuhan's finger-prints. Instead of replying, the man seized a piece of firewood, rubbed his finger on the charred end, and pressed his blackened finger-tip upon the bamboo, thus producing a triangular pattern.[1]

Further inquiry elicited the information that for the interior portion of this figure no fixed rule existed, and that (*e.g.*) dots might be introduced instead of lines. It was further asserted that the more complicated patterns were only so many varieties of the simple triangle or V-pattern, duplicated and arranged X-wise instead of side by side.[2]

Of pure Jakun (*i.e.* Malayan) designs very little seems yet to have been written, and specimen illustrations of Jakun patterns seem hardly less rare than descriptions thereof. The decorative art of the Besisi, so far as I have observed (like their language), so closely resembles that of the Sakai as to be almost indistinguishable. It is therefore among some of the Johor and Kuantan tribes (probably among those who still manufacture the wooden blowpipe) that we must look for purer specimens of "savage Malay" art-work. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that much decoration of Malayan origin that was probably indigenous in the first place among the Jakun or

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 130. This passage exhibits, unfortunately, the uncritical spirit (which in some respects was a merit !) in which Vaughan-Stevens collected his information. Can we say that the mark made by a blackened finger-tip suggests a triangle ?

[2] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 130.

heathen Malays, has undoubtedly been incorporated in the art-work of Semang and Sakai tribes. Unfortunately, as I have said, practically nothing has yet been done at this subject, and all that is possible in the present work is to indicate the nature of the inquiry which, it is most earnestly to be hoped, some future investigator may find the means to carry out.

I.—Semang.

Analysis of the Patterns of a Semang Quiver (*Siong*).

We now come to the interpretation of certain typical specimens of the Semang patterns, which were explained to me by the owners of the objects described as follows :—

(1) Second Panel (*a*)—

Blossom of the "p'rah tree, with its skin (or bark?)."

(2) Second Panel (*b*)—

Hill tortoise ("kura bukit").

The "baning" (a bigger variety).

The "kähh" (the biggest variety).

Ribbed breast of a tortoise, showing the bones.

It should be noted that in the case of the smallest variety there are six tortoise breasts in the field, whereas in that of the middle-sized kind there are four, and in that of the largest three only.

(3) Third Panel—

The fruit of the "kĕlubi."

(4) Fourth Panel—

Blossom of the "rotan sĕnik" (a kind of rattan).

Blossom of the "rotan tunggal" (another kind).

(5) Bottom panel of the quiver—

Deer-slots. These are distinguished from the rest of the designs by the scraping off of the outer cuticle of the bamboo over certain parts of the design that are darker than the rest. The parts thus scraped are polished with wax, which gives them a reddish tinge.

(6) Borders are added to all the panels—

Hawks' eyes ("mata lang").

Although I was able without much difficulty to get the explanation of the foregoing details, I had less success with the remaining portions of the patterns, though most likely the objects in the second panel (*a*) were meant to attract the various kinds of land-tortoise portrayed in the second panel (*b*). In the case of the fifth panel this intention is abundantly obvious, since it consists of deer-slots pointing towards the fruit of the "kělubi" as well as to that of the rattan or *Calamus*, the object of the design being, no doubt, to *attract the deer* by a suggestion of their favourite feeding-grounds, where they would, of course, be more easily slain or captured.

Analysis of the Patterns upon a Second Dart-quiver.

The Semang further informed me that the object of their entire set of quiver patterns was to bring down various species of monkeys and apes and other small mammals. This particular set of patterns was described as possessing much magical virtue ("kom jāsā'"), the phrase being still more clearly explained by the comment of my informants, that it would be a "slayer of many victims" ("banyak bunohnya").

Each panel of the pattern contained some special design which was believed to be of the highest efficacy in bringing down a particular species of animal. Thus the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth panels inclusive contained charms for bringing down various species of apes and monkeys, *e.g.*—

(1) The "kaldös" (Mal. "sinekah" or "Chikah"?).
(2) The "talug" (Mal. "lotong").
(3) The "kěboñ" (Mal. "mawah" or "wa-wa").
(4) The "bawad" (Mal. "b'ro'").
(5) The "bateyu" (Mal. "siamang").

The two bottom panels, on the other hand, were devoted to the bear-cat ("chepåg" or "chěpog" = Malay "binturong") and the civet-cat or "kenseng" (Malay "musang") respectively.[1]

Analysis of the Decorations on a Third Dart-quiver.

(1) First Panel—
Fish-scales.
Thorns of the rattan (leaf-whip and stem).
(2) Second Panel—
Python and pythons' bones ("ular sawa").
(3) Third Panel—
Do. do.
(4) Fourth Panel—
Do. do.
(5) Fifth Panel—
Hawks' eyes and scales.

This appears to be a food-charm like the last. In fact, I cannot help thinking it more than likely that the

[1] The "lotong" is a *Semnopithecus* (spectacled monkey); the "b'ro'," *Macacus nemestrinus* (coconut-monkey); the "siamang," *Hylobates lar* (gibbon); the "wa-wa," *Hylobates agilis*; the "binturong," *Arctictis binturong*.

proximity of the fish-scales and rattan thorns may be of special significance, since these prickly leaf-whips of the rattan are frequently used to make a funnel-shaped trap for fish, which immediately on entering the mouth of the trap are caught and held fast by their scales.

Analysis of the Decorative Symbols on a Comb.

(1) First Panel—
Rattan thorns ("duri rotan").

(2) Second (central) Panel—
Diamond-shaped diagram filled with little pitted marks called "cucumber seeds" ("bunga timun"). The cross-lines are called "ten-weg" (="tin-weg" of V.-St.).

The complete design is meant to serve as a charm to protect the woman against venomous reptiles and insects. The chief's wife informed me that a similar design, *for a similar reason*, was sometimes painted upon the breast of women belonging to the wild Semang-Sakai tribes in the northern part of the valley of the Plus.

The specimens above described were all collected by the writer in the same region, viz. among the Negritos of Siong, in the interior of Kedah.

The charm-patterns which have been studied by Vaughan-Stevens are, with one exception (that of the Sakai "tuang-tuang"), all Semang patterns, and relate to the following classes (as given above):—

Class (1). Bamboo combs.

Class (2). Large bamboo tubes, including (*a*) bamboo quivers, (*b*) medicine bamboos, (*c*) memorial bamboos, (*d*) burial bamboos, (*e*) birth bamboos.

Class (4). Bamboo blowpipes.

The Theories of Vaughan-Stevens.

COMB PATTERNS.

In the following pages the description of the patterns employed by the Semang, although given in the form of a summary of Vaughan-Stevens' own words as reported by his German editor,[1] has been revised, rearranged, and corrected where necessary.[2]

The magical bamboo back-combs of the Semang women are worn throughout the entire Semang region,[3] though on the western side of the main mountain range of the Peninsula, from Kedah to Perak, rather for ornamental than for any other reasons, the rules for composing the patterns being now forgotten there. The use of these combs (the name for which is "tin-leig" or "tělā'") is to serve as a means of protecting women against the diseases (*e.g.* fever, called "pong" in Semang) against which the flowers referred to are of service. For external injuries, such as those caused by a falling tree in the jungle, or by the bite of a centipede, other talismans are used, not combs. The Semang employ no comb for the purpose of dressing their stubborn, closely curled hair, yet the women often wear eight back combs at a time, and sometimes even as many as sixteen, which in this case form a double row, the one behind the other. When eight combs are worn, two are fixed side by side facing frontwards, two backwards, and two towards each side, the teeth being inserted right up to the solid part of the comb. The choice of a comb or set of combs depends in each

[1] *Z.f.E.* xxv. 71-100 (*ed.* Grünwedel). For list of comb patterns, *v.* App.

[2] For the convenience of future investigators passages that contain statements requiring corroboration are enclosed in square brackets.

[3] Hair-combs were also seen by Lapicque among the Semang of Ulu Selama. — *Tour du Monde*, N.S., i. (1895), 620.

case upon three considerations — (1) the Disease or Diseases prevalent anywhere in the neighbourhood at the time of choice; (2) those Diseases which are most dreaded at the time; and (3) the presence or otherwise of other women.

[To understand this last consideration it must be remembered that according to Semang ideas the winds bring Diseases with them as punishment for any sins that Kari, the thunder-god, desires to avenge by their means. The Wind-demon, who is sent from Kari with this message, passes over the head of the person and deposits the Disease upon his (or her) forehead, from whence it spreads over the rest of the body. But the god Plē ("Play") pacifies Kari and turns aside the punishments decreed by him, by giving the Semang a talisman that the winds dare not approach. If, therefore, a woman is protected by the correct form of magic comb, the Wind, on touching her head, encounters the scent of the "wās" (the first or uppermost panel of the comb), and thereupon falls to the ground until the wearer of the comb has passed. If several women, each wearing a particular set of combs, are sitting or walking together, and a Disease comes in the name of Kari to punish one of them who is not wearing the protective comb pattern, yet so long as there is another woman close by who is wearing it, the first panel pattern of the latter will protect the former woman. Hence when several women are walking together they wear different combs for their mutual protection from different Diseases.]

[The winds do not bring every kind or any special kind of Disease, though every Disease has a special wind as its messenger, and hence comes the necessity of varying first-panel ("wās") patterns. It is not as

a rule the case that a "wās" should especially avail against more than one particular kind of Disease, though many of these patterns to a lesser extent may avail against other Diseases as well. It does not therefore often happen (though it may sometimes do so) that a Semang cuts a first-panel pattern on a comb for any other than its specific purpose. It is said that the profusion of first-panel patterns which exists has arisen occasionally through their being changed by the magicians, who excused themselves on the above grounds whenever it happened.] On the whole, a Semang woman possesses as a rule from twenty to thirty magic combs, so that in an encampment in which there are several women a great number of patterns are present. The women lend each other their combs or omit to wear them as the case may be, especially when, *e.g.*, several of them are together, and one may be protected by the combs worn by the others. In the huts or shelters the combs are taken out of the hair and inserted between the slats of the roof.

At night the combs are not worn. When a woman is buried all her combs are buried with her, so that the Diseases which have been warded off from her body during her lifetime may not hurt her soul when dead. The idea appears to be that the soul of the deceased should have the same protection secured to it that the living has possessed.

In the ways above described, the encampment is sufficiently protected, as long as the Semang do not leave the place they are in.

[Concerning the origin of the custom, the invariable explanation of the Semang is that the patterns of the magic comb were the invention of their god Plē, and that the patterns employed were not borrowed

from any other people; and they add that in olden times the magic comb only possessed three teeth.[1]] The E. Semang or Pangan still make their combs with only four to five teeth to them, their sole instrument for carving the bamboo being a rough chopping-knife ("parang"), whereas the Semang of Perak (at Belum), who possess a better class of Malay knives, give their combs a dozen or even more than a dozen teeth.[2]

At the different places at which it was asked, the question, "What is the use of the teeth?" always received the same answer, viz. that the combs would soon fall out and be lost but for the long teeth, which were the only means of fastening them into the hair. The men, too, do not wear combs, because (as they allege) their hair is too short. Their talismans are, therefore, as stated above, incised on the quivers and charm-holders. [It was further alleged that in very ancient times the women also very often carried a special charm-tube, on which all the seventy Disease-charms were incised—in other words, a "gi" of a form resembling that of the modern dart-quiver.[3] This special charm-holder was inserted in the loin-cloth or girdle, in the same way as the quivers now carried by the men. The modern girdle of the Semang men is said to be based on this old custom, whereas] the Sakai fasten on their quivers with special straps. It is, moreover, still the custom for the Semang quivers to lack any lid or covering; for if a quiver ("gō'") or charm-tube ("gi") had a cover, the charms being covered would therefore be powerless. The

[1] The suggestion is here made that the multiplication of the number of teeth in these combs may have been due to Sakai influence. Among Perak Sakai who have Semang admixture, and among the central Sakai, these combs have far more than three or four teeth.

[2] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 75.

[3] See, however, p. 406, *ante*.

"tahong"[1] of the women is a modified survival of this custom. [The comparative completeness of the traditions of the Semang with regard to their patterns was ascribed to the fact of these charm-tubes having contained specimens of all their forms.[2]]

The Diseases against which the magic combs are of avail only attack women, and many of these are very largely the result of the imagination. [Diseases which attack both sexes are usually (since the women as a rule do not go far away from the men) arrested by the quiver and blowpipe patterns of the latter. On this account, the women do not as a rule use any quiver patterns, although they are not prohibited from doing so.[3]]

The combs, as a rule, do not last long. The teeth easily break off, and the combs themselves are more liable to be lost than the quivers and charm-holders of the men. As, moreover, they are buried with the women when they die, there is always something for the young people to do and to learn. When they know the patterns of the quivers and charm-tubes, they are allowed to cut these for the men. But the men also cut other patterns as well as those of the quivers and charm-holders; and the beautiful and accurately incised patterns of the combs are the work of men. The kind of bamboo most used for the manufacture of these combs is a very tall species which the Semang call "semeng." The useless upper portion is cut off, that required for use well dried, and the process of making the comb then proceeds as follows:—

A single internode is taken, and both knots (or "nodes") are excised, so carefully as not to crack the

[1] Cp. *V. B. G. A.* xxiv. 465 *seqq.* [2 3] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 75.

internode. The cut edge is then most carefully smoothed, and, precaution being taken to see that the entire portion is sufficient for "two comb-lengths," the three double ring-lines are first incised twice each upon both sides of the tube. These lines serve not only to divide up the pattern, but themselves possess a certain amount of charm-power. They are produced by laying the edge of the chopper across the bamboo at right angles and rolling the latter along with the left hand. Sometimes these lines, it is true, are first incised separately on the surface of the comb after the splitting of the internode, but this was rarely the case, because it was then more difficult to make them parallel. The internode is now split into two separate parts of equal size, which are then split again into as many pieces as the bamboo allows. Large bamboo shafts will produce four or even six laminæ, but smaller ones as a rule only yield three. The pattern is now incised with the point of the chopper and rubbed over with dry charcoal, a drop of water being added to rub it quite into the lines. The lamina is then heated over the fire and wax rubbed in with the help of bark-cloth or something of the kind, after which the lamina is wiped clean. The hot wax not only fills up the incisions of the pattern and fixes the powdered charcoal in them, but at the same time takes away all traces of the charcoal from the smooth, hard, unincised portions of the comb.

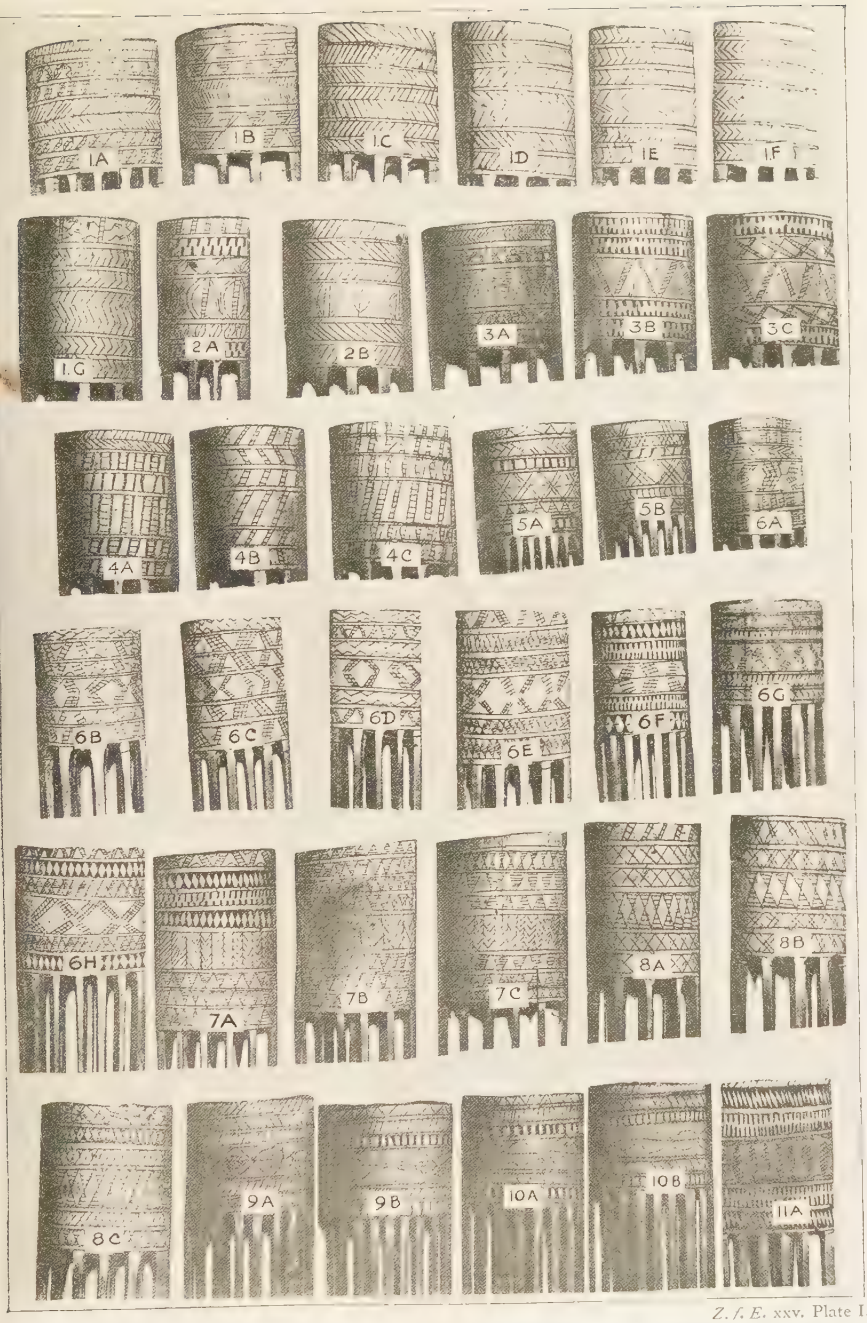
The comb is now turned round and a deep furrow is cut on the back corresponding exactly to the lowest line of the pattern on the front, half the thickness of the bamboo being cut through and the gap widened from below. The woody part of the interior is then stripped off as far as this cross-cut, until

the under part of the lamina is reduced by half throughout. Next, the comb is again turned round, and from the front, at the bottom end, thin strips of the outer cuticle are torn in order to mark the interstices between which the teeth are to come. At the bottom of the pattern an incision is made to prevent these strips from tearing away and so spoiling the pattern; these small incisions are then deepened, and the same process having been repeated at the back of the comb, the teeth are thus entirely released. It remains to polish the borders, to scrape away loose fibres, to point the teeth, and the comb is finished.[1]

The process of incision is called "makeii" ("makiee"), the comb "tin-leig," and the entire pattern "kenaij" ("kenije"), *i.e.* "drawing." The whole of the solid part of the comb is sometimes also called "wās."[2] The old standards of measurement for these combs, though they are certainly now very little regarded, were: (1) for the teeth, a palm's breadth ("tappar"); (2) for the length of the solid part, from the upper extremity to the teeth, the length of the forefinger ("jayi"); (3) for the width of this same part the breadth of four fingers pressed together at the tips ("en-chas"). The teeth of the comb are called "mad," which in Semang either means "eye" or "blade." [The eight parts of the pattern on the solid part are named:—(1) first panel = "wās"; (2) second panel = "pāwēr" ("pawaire"); (3) third panel = "kăbŏ' saleg" ("kabur salag"); (4) fourth panel = "kăbŏ' padi" ("kabur padi"); (5) fifth or central panel = "tin-weg" or "tin-wag"; (6) sixth panel = "ning"; (7) seventh panel = "biē" ("beay"); (8) eighth panel = "nos." The top border or edge of the

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 77-78.

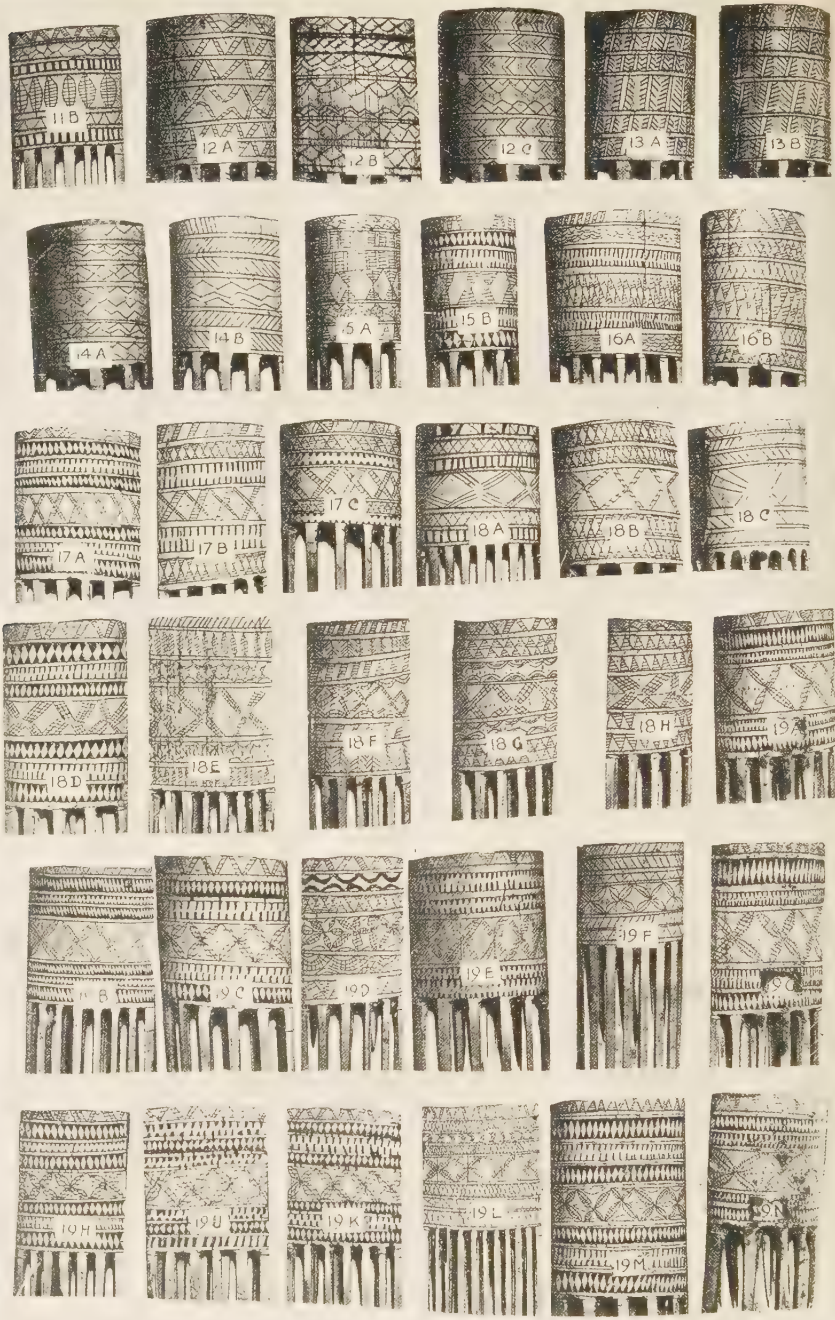
[2] See p. 397, *n.* 1, *ante.*



Z. f. E. xxv. Plate I.

CHARM-PATTERNS ON COMBS.

Vol. I. p. 426.



CHARM-PATTERNS ON COMBS.

Z. f. E. XXV. Plate II.

Loc. l. p. 457.

comb above the "wās" (1) is called "tĕpī," the bottom border below the eighth panel ("nos") is called "mos."[1]]

Looking at the prevalent patterns of the first and second panels, it is easy to see that many of them are identical with or form parts of the patterns which represent the Disease in the fifth panel. [The explanation given was that when the charm patterns were being made, Plē wished, whilst assigning a pattern to a particular Disease, to make known at the same time what flower was blooming most freely when the Disease prevailed, and hence gave both a similar form. But when both the first and second panel patterns

[1] These names are in part certainly of Malay origin, and not pure Semang, *e.g.* (1) = Mal. "tapak," a palm's-breadth; (2) = Mal. "jari," a finger; "mad" may be connected, through Indo-Chinese, with Malay "mata" = eye or blade of an instrument. So too "kăbŏ' saleg" (Mal. "salak") = fruit of the "salak"-palm; "kăbŏ' padi" (Mal. "padi") = rice-fruit; "tĕpi" = Mal. "tĕpī," edge. On the other hand, "ning," "biĕ," "nos" (?) = one, two, four (in Semang).

The passage (*Z.f.E.* xxv. 79) in which V.-St. defines his flower-theory (*v.* p. 397) runs as follows: — "'Wās' and 'pāwēr' are the protecting designs, the power of which keeps off the sickness. 'Pāwēr,' 'kos,' and 'tĕpi' are parts of a flower, of which 'wās' is the smell, and 'tĕpī' the pistil and stamens, hence a supplementary line above a 'wās' has the same name. The projecting spike above the green sepals is called 'pāwēr,' the sepals 'mos.' To give the rest of the names: the flower it self is called 'bakau,' the petals 'tapak'; of a flower that has a sweet smell, 'ber-pen-hat' (beer-pen-hat') is the word used by the Semang; if a disagreeable smell, 'hī-hīd' ('hee-heed') is the word. Two distinct jungle flowers are now considered as 'pāwēr' — 'Mos,' really a kind of Ixora, which corresponds to the 'pāwēr,' and a flower called by the Malays 'tetawar bintang,' or 'star tetawar,' whose botanical name is not yet known, but which resembles the 'mos.' All slight-scented flowers of the Ixora kind are called 'pāwēr,' with the addition of a specific second name."

On the foregoing tissue of errors I would remark that "tĕpī" is a pure Malay word (= edge or border), and does *not* mean pistil or stamens, for which there is no name in Semang, nor could be.

The "projecting spike" can only be the pistil, which Vaughan-Stevens has already told us is called (with the stamens) "tĕpī." "Pāwēr" and "mos," on the other hand, are probably the names of flowers, not parts of a flower, as explained below. "Bakau" = "flower" in Semang = Mal. "bunga," a "flower" *or* "*pattern*."

The drawing of the Ixora (given in Grünwedel's text) is, as he there states, a hypothetical one of the writer's, serving only to help to determine the technical expressions.

As regards the plant "tetawar bintang" (*sic*), which is certainly a blunder for "tĕtawar (or 'sĕtawar') bendang," see note to page 399, *ante*.

were to be given an identical form, and confusion was probable, he introduced certain special signs called "gĕhab" ("g'hab"), "kos," and "ob."[1]] No. 39, for example, shows in its central panel reversed duplicates of its first and second panel patterns, which in this case appear to be absolutely alike; with this, however, should be compared the corrected sketch of this comb pattern in Fig. 8. [This is due to the fact that the "wās" and "pāwēr" flowers bloom simultaneously, and the patterns for them are therefore almost identical.[2]]

One reason for the numerous variations in these comb patterns consists in the fact that the patterns of the combs are mostly cut by young people instead of by the men, as in the case of the more correctly cut quiver and blowpipe patterns. But an error in the pattern does not, as a Pangan man said, take away the power of the comb. "*It is like a break or a hole in a bird-trap: the bird may slip through, instead of falling into the trap, but it is always a question whether it will see the hole.*"[3]

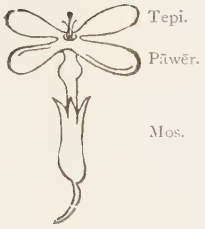
All the figures on the combs, with the exception of the first, second, and fifth panels, must in every case be of the simplest kind. They are derived as a rule from a first or second panel pattern, with the omission of the special marks. The young people who copy the combs often overlook this, and insert at the sides the first or second panel patterns in full. But the error is no worse than, *e.g.*, the writing of capital letters instead of small ones would be to a European.[4]

As concerns the composition of the patterns,

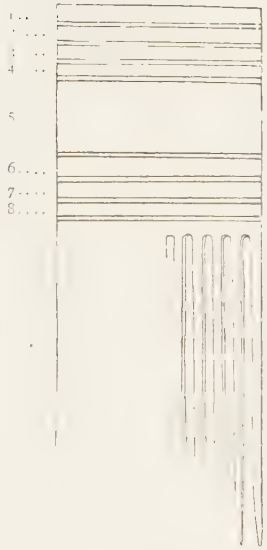
[1] These names want corroboration. See, for example, the combs numbered 29 (Pl. III.), 13B (Pl. II.), 4C (Pl. I.), 4B (Pl. I.), 18B (Pl. II.), 50 (Pl. IV.), 42 (Pl. IV.), 63 (Pl. IV.), 21B (Pl. III.), 14A (Pl. II.), 62 (Pl. II.), 60 (Pl. IV.), 21A (Pl. III.), 1F (Pl. III.), 1A (Pl. I.), 1E (Pl. I.), 13A (Pl. II.), 12B (Pl. II.), 39 (Pl. III.), 16B (Pl. II.).

[2] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 77-79.

[3] [4] *Ibid.*



[Fig. 3.]

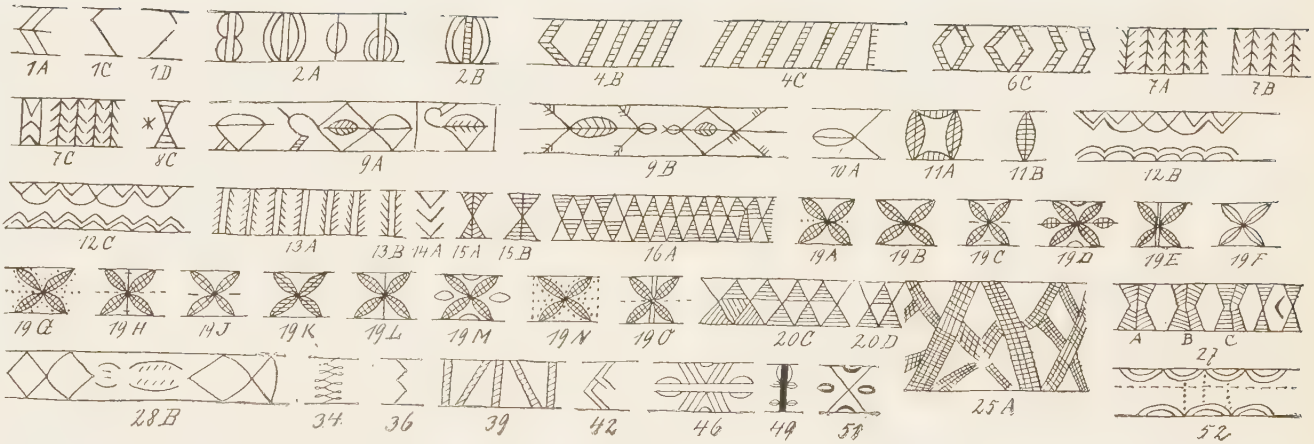


[Fig. 2.]

Vaughan-Stevens.

Hypothetical Ixora Blossom and Comb (Figs. 2 and 3, *Z. f. E.* xxv. 78) explaining the Flower-Theory of Vaughan-Stevens.

The serial numbers in Fig. 2 indicate the position of the various panels carrying patterns referred to in the text.



[Preuss in *Globus*, lxxv. 23, p. 365, Fig. 4.

SPECIMENS OF CORRECT "TIN-WEG" (*i.e.* "CENTRAL-PANEL") PATTERNS.

Note by Preuss.—An asterisk indicates that the number of the lines is definite. (See p. 433.)

there are strict rules for composing them all, whether combs, quivers, or charm-tubes; these rules, however, are not easy to set forth; in the first place, let us consider:—

1. In what cases is a panel left free?

2. In what cases may the designer insert what patterns he pleases?

In the quivers the blank portion (or panel) is always in the central part of the bamboo tube, but in the case of the combs it must never come in the centre, where the most important part of the design is to go, but must be confined to the smaller panels. In many combs it is the first panel pattern that is omitted, in others it is any of the other panels (with the exception of the second). The full description of the combs (below) will not only show this, but will at the same time show where partial or entire quiver patterns may be inserted. In this latter respect it is left to the designer to decide what pattern he will use, and from whence he will take the design. He may take either entire or modified quiver or blowpipe designs, or even invent new ones, so long as he does not choose first or second panel patterns.

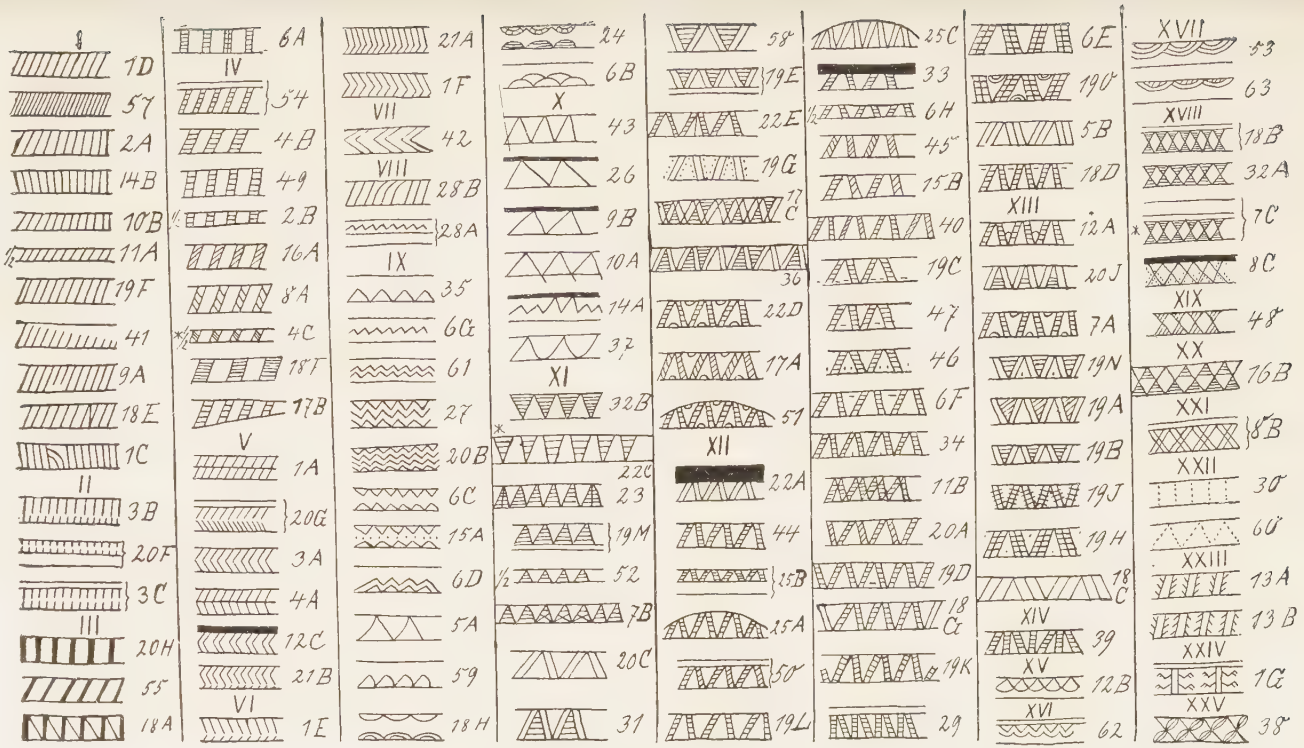
The drawings and combs collected by Vaughan-Stevens are nearly all from the E. Semang or Pangan, and are all very typical specimens of the work of the east coast Negritos, though they are not all made by the men; a single specimen was obtained from the Semang of Perak (Pl. IV.), and two others were also collected on the west side of the Peninsula (see the last three combs on Pl. IV.).

[The reason why the patterns of the first, second, and central panels alone are specifically laid down, and not those of the remaining panels, lies in the

fact (say the Pangan) that the women are not able to go far enough alone into the jungle, to seek any particular flower, when the Disease finds them without the appropriate comb. In such cases the woman looks for "wās" or "pāwēr" flowers like those depicted on the comb, and takes the nearest match she can get. These, however, must not be the same as those for the quiver and charm-tube patterns, but may correspond to the third, fourth, and fifth panel of the comb. These plants, which are akin to those of the precise species desired, the woman deposits in a bamboo tube filled with water, and stirs them round to some extent in the water, and if she can likewise obtain the special "wās" and "pāwēr" flowers, she adds these also and drinks the infusion. She then rubs the wet flowers on the affected part of her body before throwing them away.]

In course of time certain flowers came to be looked on as having more healing power than others, and in consequence the patterns derived from them were preferred for wearing on the combs. This, however, is a matter of individual taste.

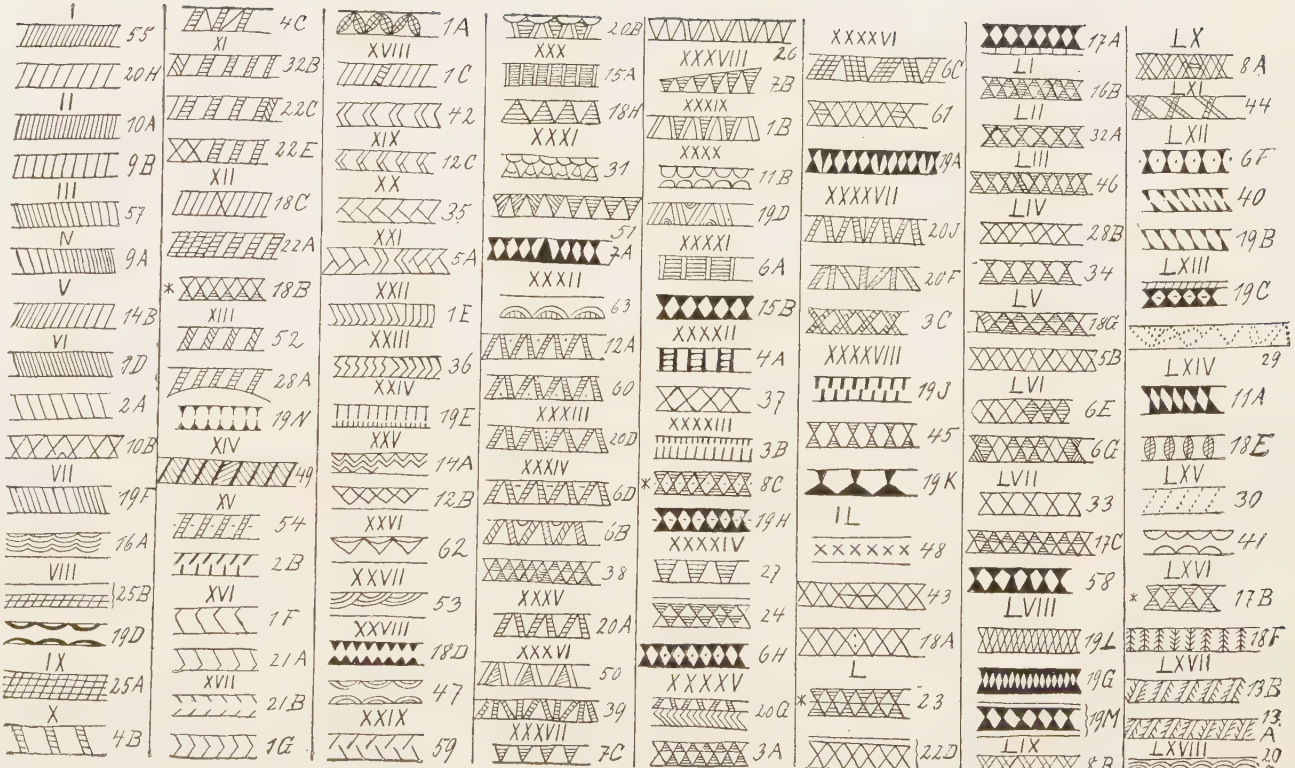
[The fact is, that although the actually specified flowers would (it is believed) have effected an immediate cure, yet even the flowers most nearly related to them will eventually, though much more slowly, produce the desired result. If then, in panels 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, for which no strict rules exist, a special sign is found, it is taken to indicate that the Sna-hut should be summoned in case the Disease should get too strong a footing. In former times, according to tradition, it was the special duty of the Sna-hut to see that the incised figures were correct, and from this Vaughan-Stevens concludes that the choice of



Preuss in *Globus*, lxxv. 23, p. 366, Fig. 5.

SPECIMENS OF CORRECT "WĀS"-PATTERNS.

Note by Preuss.—At 18 *B* there must be more than two. ½ indicates that the pattern is about half the size of the original pattern. An asterisk denotes that the number of the lines is definite.



Preuss in *Globus*, lxxv. 23, p. 367, Fig. 6.

SPECIMENS OF CORRECT "PAWER"-PATTERNS.

the ground patterns was also left to them, so far as they had learnt them from the Putto,[1] the servant of Plē.] But now the people who cut the combs choose these patterns themselves, and learn to incise the quiver patterns.[2]

In the case of the individual panels, the following observations may be made :—

[Every separate sign repeated in the first panel pattern is called "wās" also. A distinguishing stripe, either at the top or bottom of the panel (in the repetition of the first panel pattern) is called, as already stated, "gĕhab" ("g'hab")—see, for example, 18E = "kos" in the second panel pattern. When the first panel pattern is blank it is called "wās picheg." Where and why these blank panels were introduced is not known now—"the Puttos have so arranged it" (see 60, 62).] If a supplementary line is introduced at the top of the first panel it is called "tĕpī" or edge-line (see 8B). But this line appears on all the combs and also on all the quivers and charm-tubes; though in very many cases it is not completed and coincides with the line of section. In certain cases this edge-line is represented by a broad, dark stripe. In other cases (*e.g.* on the quivers and charm-tubes) it comes between the first panel pattern and the edge of the comb, and is, naturally, clear and distinct.[3]

[1] Cp. Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 111.

[2] [3] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 81. The combs with these clearer edge-lines are—

(1) Some combs which possess common signs, but which were thus selected and grouped by the Puttos without any known reason for their being thus treated. These combs are Nos. 1C, 8C, 9B, 12C, 14A, 20G, 22A, 26, 33, 39, 54.

(2) Combs which possess a blank first panel, *e.g.* Nos. 1B, 20A, 20D, 53.

(3) Combs which have blank panels in one or several parts (other than the "wās"), *e.g.* in their third panels ("kābŏ' saleg"), etc.; for the second panel and the fifth are never simultaneously omitted from the comb. These combs are Nos. 3A, 3B, 3C, 7C, 8B, 18B, 19O, 23, 29, 32A, 50, 60, 62.

Second Panel (or "Pāwēr").[1]

[When the second panel pattern is covered over with a number of like figures, each figure is called "yil-toij." If a specially distinctive element is introduced into one or several "yil-toij," such a mark is called "'ziat" (see, for example, F19).

If a distinguishing stripe is introduced either above or below the panel in question (*e.g.* at 7C), such a stripe is called "kos," and serves as a token. This token, however, appears on but few combs (17A, 19M, 22D, 28B). It may be at the top, bottom, or either side. The three lines shown in the remaining panels of 19M are due to an error of the cutter's.]

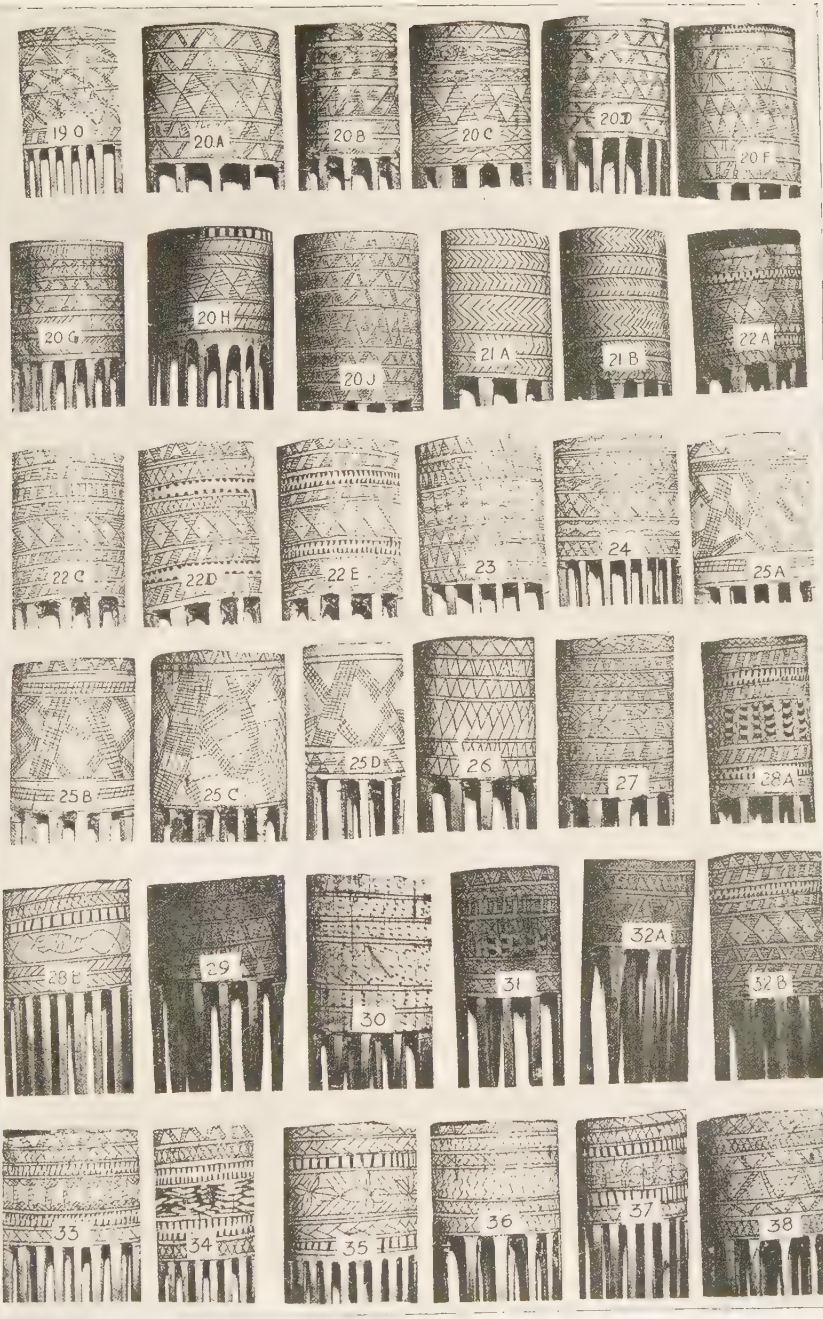
As already stated, there are combs which lack both first and second panel patterns, but which are nevertheless of avail against the approach of fatal Diseases.

The "Palm-fruit" and other Panels.

[When the third, fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth panels are covered with repetitions of a single separate figure, each of these figures is called "yil-toij"; if they are covered with a single figure which cannot be subdivided, but which is of avail for the whole, it is called "ken" (see No. 61). Panel eight ("nos") is bounded

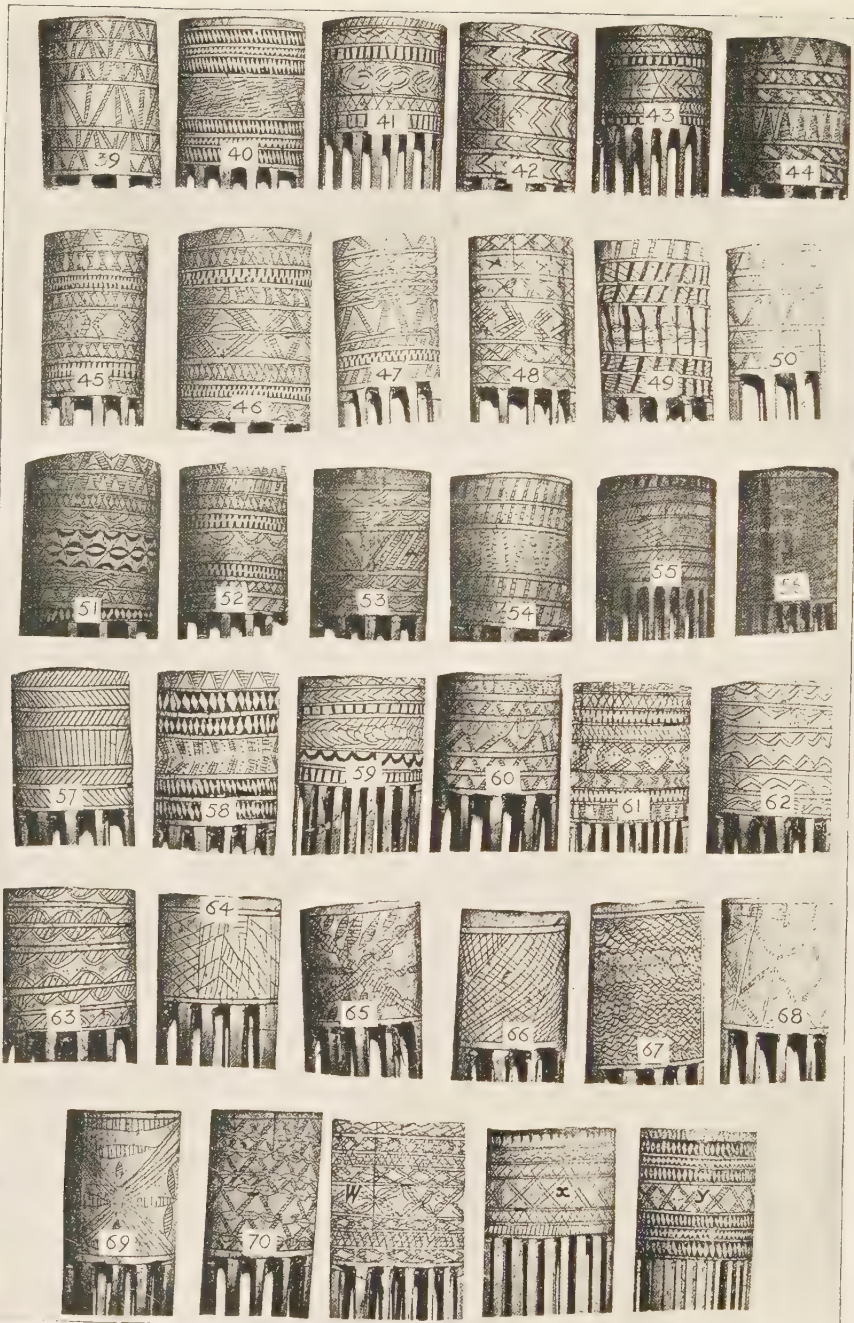
Nos. 8C, 9B, 12C, 14A, 22A, 26, 33 of the first series possess a broad and black "edge"-line, which extends from the first panel to the uppermost border of the comb. The outer cuticle of the bamboo is pared off in order to blacken it with charcoal ("chen-el-us") ["us" is evidently the word for fire]. There appears to be some unwritten law as to the width of this blackened portion, which also appears on the blowpipe patterns. Cp. p. 437, *infra*.

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 81. Nos. 25D "kapal," 56 "ingkeng," 64 "sanol," 65 "mankuing," "munlong," 66 "tel," 67 "bahu," "bahur," 68 "challag," 69 "hillog," 70 "ballur," 25C "lanes." These combs have no "wās" or "yil-toij," except Nos. 25C and 25D, which have a "yil-toij" sign above and below it respectively in order to distinguish them from A and B of these numbers. The Disease expelled by 25A, 25B may perhaps be fatal, but that prevented by 25D and 25C is certainly fatal if the combs are not worn.



Z. f. E. xxv. Plate III.

CHARM-PATTERNS ON COMBS



CHARM-PATTERNS ON COMBS.

Z. f. E. XXV. Plate IV

Verh. 1893, p. 438.

by an imaginary line of juncture between the teeth and the solid part of the comb. The lowest of the ring-lines comes above the eighth panel.[1]]

The Central Panel ("*Tin-weg*").

[The patterns for the various Diseases primarily represent the affected part of the body; when different parts of the body are affected the patterns are combined, but the exact rules which determine the method of composition are forgotten. Only this is certain, that in cases where the "wās" or "pāwēr" flowers (in the case of any particular Disease) are of especial value for healing purposes, only repetitions of the same pattern appear on the comb, and no others. If the central panel shows a pattern which covers the entire panel from left to right, it is called "makeii" ("makiee")—see, for example, 9B. If, however, panel five is covered with a row of repeated figures (as in 19B), each separate figure or emblem is called "sumpid."[2] If the fifth panel is covered with an unrepeated pattern which entirely covers the solid part of the comb, it is called "nening"[3]—see, for example, 68. Any special sign in one of the central panels, or the "sumpid," etc., is called "ob." The figures delineated in the plate are the accepted emblems representing various parts of the human anatomy, which appear in the patterns of the central panel.[4]]

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 82. It is, hence, clear that the diagram given to illustrate these remarks on p. 78 of the *Zeitschrift* is incorrectly drawn, and that the double line below the eighth panel should be deleted.

[2] *Sic*, *quære* "sumpit," a confusion of Vaughan-Stevens, = Mal. "sumpit," or "sumpitan," a blowpipe.

[3] In the original spelt "neningk," an impossible spelling in Semang. All these terms lack corroboration.

[4] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 83.

Other Emblems.[1]

[The emblem representing the square ▯ is called "chenewel," that of the diamond ◇ "ēhūt." The triangle △ is called "kasing" (which is translated by the Malay "dahulu," "long ago" or "overpast"). The circle ○ is called "nai" ("ni"), *i.e.* "one" or "first." The straight line (——) is called "pejuag," unless it is carried across the entire solid part of the comb, when it is called "win-yuing" ("winyooeng"). An emblem formed by two curved incisions or ring-lines which run parallel to each other across the solid part of the comb is called "ĕnghöngye"[2] ("ng-her-'ngyay"); a dot (·) is called "pawor"; a short stroke (–) "bing"; "pawor" was formerly the E. Semang (Pangan) expression for both of these signs, and "bing" an expression introduced from the west coast of the Peninsula in order to distinguish the one from the other. Both signs have an identical significance. Diagonal hatching is called "chenass," rectangular "sud." Between straight parallel strokes and curved strokes ▯ ≋ ≋ no difference is made. They are all called "sud." So, too, any kind of sloping diagonal lines, whether straight or otherwise, */ // ((( )))*, are called "chenass."]

[The signs for different parts of the human body, referred to above, include representations of the following parts of the anatomy :—

(1) The head, (2) the eyes, (3) the nape of the neck, (4) the breast, (5) the stomach, (6) the back, (7) the side, (8) the nose, (9) the breasts, (10) the upper and lower jaws (with teeth), (11) [wanting], (12) the forehead, (13) the hand, (14) the fingers or toes,

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 84.

[2] "Ye" may stand for the first personal pronoun. These terms are all uncorroborated.

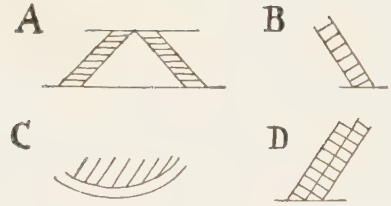
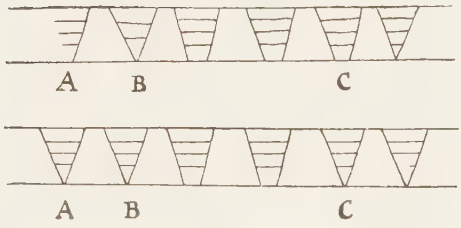


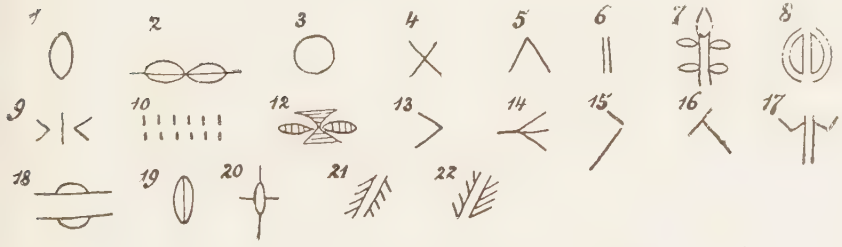
Fig. 5



Vaughan-Stevens.

Fig. 6.

Correction of Inaccurate Drawings (Figs. 5 and 6, *Z. f. E* xxv. 85).



Vaughan-Stevens.

Alleged Representation of Parts of the Body.

(For explanations see text.)

(15) the joints (elbows or knees), (16) the hips, (17) the shoulders, (18) vagina and penis, (19) the anus, (20) the arms, (21) the ribs (seen from the back), (22) the ribs (seen from the front).[1]

Dotted lines (.....) or lines of dashes (— — —) are only used to distinguish one ordinary figure from another which otherwise would be exactly like it.]

Cross-hatching ("*din*").[2]

[Cross-hatching (on combs) has a threefold meaning. In the representations of flowers it indicates a protuberance or "knobby" formation. In the case of combs which have their central panel cross-hatched (*e.g.* that of No. 25B) the cross-hatching indicates a protuberance of great size, in this case a hill (!), the individual lines of the pattern being said to represent pathways upon it. In the "sumpits" ("sumpid") or repeated Disease-patterns this cross-hatching typifies the swelling or inflammation which the Disease in question has caused. The cross-lines may be either horizontal or at right angles to the line bordering the figure (Fig. 5, A, B). In the case of a curve, however, the cross-lines slope downwards from right to left (C). When the figure is formed by three parallel lines the cross-lines intersect the central line of the three (D). In certain cases, whether the pattern is drawn large or small, the number of these cross-lines must be counted. These cases, however, will again be referred to in the course of the descriptions of particular combs.]

[As examples to show how necessary it is that the patterns should be cut as exactly as possible,

[1] But these signs rarely occur where we might expect them in patterns connected with parts of the human body, and the whole of this part of the system recalls the European investigator. See Appendix.

[2] *Ibid.*

and how the similarity of the combs to one another might be exaggerated through inexactness, see Nos. 32B, 22C. The patterns of the third, fourth, and sixth to eighth panels are unimportant, since their selection was optional on the part of the designer, but the first panel pattern in 22C (Fig. 6) is absolutely wrong.[1]]

Private Marks.[2]

[The combs are always said to have once possessed a particular name-mark in the seventh panel ("biĕ"). This mark, however, is not to be confused with the special signs, which may appear only in the patterns of the first, second, and central panels, but must be omitted in the next panel. The name-mark naturally has no influence on the power of the pattern. At the present day they very seldom appear, and when they do, are inserted in the third, fourth, and sixth to the eighth panels, and are called "chor" or "name"-marks.

Among all the combs represented below[3] there is not a single specimen so marked. The marks naturally differ with each individual, and whenever a similarity of name-marks appears it is only through some misunderstanding of the pattern copied, or through some sign that has been wrongly transferred.]

QUIVERS AND CHARM-TUBES.[4]

Besides the charm-patterns on the combs of the Pangan women, a corresponding system of charm-patterns is employed by the men. These are incised upon bamboos ("gō'" and "gā'"), one of which is the

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 84. At (*a*) the left-hand side-line, and at (*b*) the third cross-line is missing, and at (*c*) the side-lines do not meet. The first-panel pattern of 32B is a different flower from 22C.

[2] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 85.

[3] Cp., however, Vaughan-Stevens, iii. *s.v.* And for detailed list of combs, *v.* App.

[4] Preuss in *Z. f. E.* xxxi. 131-147.

Semang quiver, and the other is described as a charm-holder (with patterns corresponding to those now seen on the blowpipe), which is said to have been formerly carried by the men.

[The Puttos[1] gave the Semang (in return for their presents) certain sticks (charred at one end and bearing mysterious signs upon them), which protected the wearers from particular Diseases, when held with the charred end downwards. For this purpose they were inserted in the waist-cord. Originally the patterns were marked out with charcoal; but later they were incised, when the same material (charcoal) was rubbed into the incisions.[2]

By degrees light bamboo tubes, which received the name "gā'," were found more convenient. Instead of charring the end, the Pangan peeled off the smooth outer cuticle, and then blackened it with charcoal, which adhered better in consequence.] This lower extremity, with its node or knot, was called "chen-el-us."[3] Both ends, in fact, were thus peeled, although the upper node was cut off after a few days.[4] The incised patterns were cut into the bamboo while it was still green, usually after it had been held for a few moments over a fire, to facilitate the cutting. If, on the other hand, the cuticle is not removed from the tube-ends, the latter would often split in the course of a few days; though this is not the case with the blowpipe shafts, which are relatively stronger and have

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 131, is taken as read in what follows.

[2] According to another passage, the designs were in the first instance incised on the bamboos and rubbed over with charcoal. The Semang assert that often, instead of a knife, the tooth of a bamboo-rat, or "om" (Malay "dĕkan"), was used for incising bamboo before iron was known. For lists *v.* App.

[3] Cp. p. 431, *n.* 3, *ante*, and see *Z. f. E.* xxv. 82, and *note*.

[4] The (Berlin) Museum possesses a charm-tube ("gar") of Vaughan-Stevens, which exhibits the upper (peeled) node as well.

a smaller bore. To make it more portable, the tube ("gā'") was of small diameter, and several tubes were often carried at the same time, one fitting into the other. They served at the same time to contain the flowers and herbs that were required for warding off Diseases.[1]

The quivers ("gō'"), which are closely related to the charm-holders ("gā'"), were cut and carried in the same way, only the charm-tube was usually carried in the quiver, which latter was the larger of the two.

When they adopted the blowpipe of the Sakai, the Semang kept their darts in the "gō',"[2] instead of adopting the highly specialised Sakai quiver—the Semang still retain a strong dislike to carrying anything slung around the hips.[3] This is the reason why the darts are so much shorter than the quiver[4] containing them, *i.e.* because it was once used for another purpose. The Sakai quiver had a soft wooden bed at the bottom to receive the dart-points, and for this (in the "gō'") the magic leaves and flowers were substituted. The Sakai quivers had a cap to protect the contents from rain ; but the Semang were prevented from covering the orifice, [because the effect of the magic flowers would in that case have been neutralised. But on the introduction of the blowpipe, the patterns, which (up to that time) had been incised upon the charm-holders, were transferred to the shorter portion ("yoh") of the inner tube of the blowpipe. But although the lower part of the pattern (corresponding to the "chenel-us" or charred end of the charm-tube)

[1] *Cf.* Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 131.

[2] The proper name for the quiver is "gō'," or "goh," which latter is De Morgan's word for quiver ("carquois"); cp. Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 171, under "Quivers for blowpipe arrows."

[3] *Cf. Z. f. E.* xxv. 75.

[4] *I.e.* 28 to 30 cm. against the 35 to 45 cm. of the quivers (without the knot).

was occasionally more or less covered over by the resin that coated the muzzle-end, the virtue of the charm was not impaired thereby.

It was evident at once that many of the patterns on the charm-holders ("gā' "), which were originally designed for a bamboo of larger diameter, did not suit the reduced area available for them in the blowpipe. The muzzle part of the latter, therefore, was shortened to correspond with the design.

The patterns now constructed are of varying length (as in Figs. 113, 114, 121, etc.), and further ring-lines are either added at the muzzle-end, or are omitted entirely ; even their pattern is varied. The blackened muzzle-end of the blowpipe was soon either altogether omitted or replaced by a band of varying width, formed by stripping the bamboo of its outer cuticle and smearing it with charcoal.[1] It is still to be seen in many specimens between the main design and the muzzle-end.]

The general irregularities of design extend even to the East Semang or Pangan. The Kensiu, Kinta, Bong, and Belum tribes of the west coast have added designs of their own to the old patterns, and employ them merely as a form of decoration, both for the blowpipes and the dart-quivers that accompany them. [Many patterns of the charm-holders could not be adapted to the blowpipe tube, and hence were retained for the charm-tubes only. The same patterns were never employed in both sets, and hence the two sets (of charm-tube and blowpipe patterns) must be combined to form a complete series.]

[1] See illustrations. The order in which they are arranged is as follows : —(1) Quivers and charm-tubes intermixed from A to Z, and (2) from A1 to Y1. Then come (3) the blowpipe patterns from 1 to 128, where 66A is inserted. The arrangement is that of Vaughan-Stevens himself.

Classification of the Patterns ("Go'" and "Ga'").[1]

The patterns of the quivers and charm-holders usually present such considerable divergencies (as compared with the combs) that there can be no question of dividing their patterns into chief panels (first and second) and subsidiary panels, as could be done with the combs. In the first place, their central or Disease-patterns, when identifiable as such by reason of their special size, are sometimes exactly the same (as appears in the case of Nos. 30, 54, 61, N1, N2, and N3; O1 and O4; O2 and O3). The central Disease-patterns of these quivers and charm-tubes bear, it is true, identical names, but it is against different forms of the same Disease that they are employed. In the combs, again, any such varieties were always strictly separated when indicated in the design. In the second place, the central panels, apart from their size, are not invariably identical either for all ("go'," O3) or several panels (quiver D1, blow-pipe No. 51) of the same pattern, not to mention the smaller panels of other patterns. Moreover, very characteristic patterns sometimes occur even in the smaller panels (O1, R1). In the third place, we may note—and this is for the present the most important item—that the two panels in the same tube (corresponding to the first and second panels of the combs) are in many quivers and charm-tubes identical (O3, T2). They are also sometimes identical in different tubes (*e.g.* Nos. 30 and 36; 54 and 71).

[Lastly, there are (apart from the central patterns and the first and second panels) special designs that are

[1] In original "gor" and "gar." Taken from Preuss in *Z. f. E.* xxxi. 191-195 *seqq.* For lists of the patterns, *v.* App.

never repeated throughout the entire range of the charm patterns (*e.g.* Nos. 36, 66, 124, 01). The first and second panels so insisted on do not, therefore, possess the least advantage over the others. The aforesaid variations from the comb patterns receive considerable emphasis (in spite of the general similarity of the arrangement in both cases) as soon as one takes the patterns in which the central panel, being of the same size as the rest, cannot therefore be distinguished with certainty. The above-described patterns almost all belong to Class IA (see above); and the following come partially under IA, but mainly under ID, which might be expected to exhibit more or less similar patterns in all the panels. Hence we can maintain with certainty that, even if it were admitted that the patterns on the tubes contained flower-designs (in addition to the Diseases there represented), they are not at all events based upon the system employed for the combs.[1] Moreover, it is certain that this logical system is not primitive,[2] but is the result of a development at which, from the endlessly varied patterns of the tubes, we can perhaps guess, but of which scarcely any stages can be clearly determined.

[It is well known that the Semang hold that the tubes with mere ring-lines (quivers A, B, and C; blowpipe No. 50) take precedence of all tube patterns as a foundation for the arrangement of the charm patterns by the Puttos. The original

[1] It is quite incomprehensible why Vaughan-Stevens, even in the tube patterns, should hold so strictly to the system of "wās" and "pāwēr," as it is impossible that he should have heard anything positive about them from the Semang. The only explanation is that Vaughan-Stevens occupied himself with the comb patterns first, and found a solution of them tolerably satisfactory to himself.—Note by Preuss (*loc. cit.*).

[2] There is, I think, no doubt that the *logic* of the system was introduced by Vaughan-Stevens.

form of these designs is said to be the charm on the arrow-quivers against lightning (see p. 400).] The quivers in the Berlin Museum usually show from five to seven triple ring-line groups, just about equi-distant from one another; where there are six groups there is often a wider space left in the centre (see Illustrations). Apart from the number of groups, these two kinds correspond in fact to the commonest arrangement of the panels on the tubes and combs, and even quivers D and E might be here reckoned. Even a simple ring-line group, possessing no specific import, acts as a general charm against Diseases (quivers B, C). There then follow single and double hatchings within the groups of ring-lines, the panels themselves being left vacant (quivers G, M1 to M3, blowpipe No. 50, etc.). Lastly, the same simple figure may occur in all panels or in the second panel of any particular pattern (quivers I, O3, T1, blowpipes 33, 47, 49, etc.). This fact may remind us either of the charcoal stripes with which sick persons bedaub the diseased parts of their body in order to recover, or the special signs which the Puttos employed in like fashion (see above), and which may be regarded as forming the series of ring-lines, which appear to be greatly multiplied here, without any clear object. As soon, however, as the work of differentiating the patterns of particular panels is approached, our difficulties begin, as positive data are completely wanting, and no panel (with the exception of the middle one) is in any way more prominent than the others.

The undivided patterns intended as charms against serious Diseases, which cover the whole tube, seem

to make it certain that the simple signs have always been accompanied by the complicated representations of Disease. These two extremes—simple ring-lines and complicated designs—form the foundation of the subsequent development.

[Only with regard to the occasional Semang practice of inserting a pattern in the centre panel and leaving the rest free, a conjecture may perhaps be offered. The centre panel, like the original scheme of the ring-lines on the arrow-quiver, is generally indistinguishable from the other panels in respect of its size (not to mention the blowpipes, where the design is generally much crushed together). It is also often quite indistinguishable from the rest in respect of the special import attached to the general pattern. It is therefore quite possible that its size, even when unusually large, is not of any special import, and that it was only at a later stage that it was reserved for the chief Disease-pattern, as indeed we find to be the case to some extent in the tubes and uniformly in the combs. One stage of its development appears to be marked by a simple yet specialised central pattern, to which other panels (with pairs of incised lines) are added at the top and bottom (see, *e.g.*, N1 to N_3, O1, R1, R2, T2, Nos. 29, 30, 36, 51, etc.).

Again, in the description of the patterns emphasis is often laid on the fact that the size of the vacant centre panel is a matter of entire indifference. In the blowpipes (as has been said) it is usually so crushed together that a group is formed of the ring-lines which serve as boundaries, and the alleged importance of the size of the centre panel appears to be a mere fancy. On the other hand, its *separating* effect is always recognised and never forgotten, even though a

particular pattern may be no longer distinguishable from one with the incised centre panel. Now Vaughan-Stevens in one place says that patterns with vacant centre panel prevail against epidemics, and further, that epidemics in the drawings are expressed by two complete and undivided patterns, separated from each other by ring-lines, the upper design being intended to protect the men, and the lower the women. The examples cited—96, 97, 101, 105, 109—all belong to group IB,[1] and therefore possess a blank centre panel. It is only with respect to one specimen (quiver H2) that any further explanation is required, as in the quivers the large centre panels are not compressed to the vanishing point. It may be conjectured that these blank centre panels in every case are only intended to separate the men's and women's patterns from one another, but that in certain cases (as in that of an epidemic which attacks men and women alike), when it was not thought necessary to cut special comb patterns for the women, the purpose was remembered. In fact there is actually a quiver (W1) with an empty centre panel, purporting to protect men and women alike from a Disease common to both of them.[2]

The following are the considerations which lead us to this conclusion. Vaughan-Stevens says[3] that the Diseases which may attack both sexes are, since the women as a rule are not far from the men, warded off by the patterns of the men's quivers and blowpipes. Hence the women, as a rule, do not employ any quivers as charms, although there is no rule against it. We see, however, that the charms against epidemics, and indeed even the charm on quiver W1, contained separate and varying charm patterns both for men and

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxxi. p. 152. [2] *Ib.* p. 171. Quiver W1. [3] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 75 f.

women on the same quiver. We also see that varieties of quivers F and G are allotted to the women by way of compensation for the fact that they have their seventy main Disease-patterns (not reckoning the varieties) on their combs, and that these latter only include the Diseases which may attack them alone. Should we not then infer that men and women as a rule have always had different patterns for Diseases common to both? for it is scarcely to be supposed that the seventy, or perhaps one hundred and forty, Diseases of the women should be all absolutely different from those of the men (*cf.* quiver H). So the patterns of the quivers and blowpipes, if they were to be efficacious for both sexes at the same time, must possess two patterns, and these would be the tubes with the centre panel left blank. In this connexion quivers H and O are especially striking. In quivers F, G, and H the pattern is called "hu-ju-weg." Quivers F and G possess no dividing centre panel, and have special quiver patterns for the women. Quiver H has not got it, and therefore shows the division alleged above. Quiver O has an empty centre panel, with exactly the same pattern at top and bottom, though in reverse order.[1]]

Even, however, if this idea is right, it does not help to make the signification of the patterns any more comprehensible. The comb designs would, however, appear to be an imitation of the men's quiver patterns, with a broad incised centre panel. [The signification of the latter was said to be explained by the patterns of the ancient "gi." The

[1] The patterns of the tubes are never directed against Diseases which by their nature can only attack the man. S1 against disease of the testicles forms the only exception. It is a simple pattern. Thus no proof of the point at issue (apart from quiver S1) is possible in this direction.

first and second panel patterns were new additions, and the other (narrow) panels were taken over as mere meaningless additions to the patterns of the men.

There do not appear to be any fundamental differences in the outer arrangements of the quivers, charm-tubes, and blowpipes. The alleged reduction of the charm-tube patterns on the blowpipes may show that the omission of particular panels did not have much effect. Classes IE and IF of the blowpipe patterns are of special importance, since, in contrast to the quivers and charm-tube patterns, they exhibit entire panels, and even entire designs, merely filled up with dotted figures. It might be inferred from this that after the charm-tube patterns were transferred to the blowpipes a fresh evolution of patterns took place.] In the blowpipe drawings we do not find spirals instead of the ring-lines, as in the case of the quivers and charm-tubes.

The names of the tube patterns do no more to help their interpretation than those of the first, second, and fifth comb panels ("tin-weg," "wās," and "pāwēr"). In four of the names of the quivers and charm-tubes (N, S, V1, X1) are to be found expressions for certain parts of the body (the Diseases affecting which, according to Vaughan-Stevens, are supposed to be warded off by means of the patterns). Sometimes, however (besides the name of the pattern), the actual name of the Disease itself is given, and one of these Disease titles (P1) actually refers to the affected part of the body. Moreover, the name for quivers D and E ("lasai") must (according to Vaughan-Stevens) be derived from the black ring-lines of the design; and, besides, the patterns, which possess the same name and ward off similar sicknesses, in some cases are of

identical form, but not unfrequently are entirely different (see quivers I1 and I2, L1 and L2, etc.). On the other hand, the almost identical patterns of quivers C1 and C2, which are both evidently directed against a similar Disease, have quite different names.[1] These contradictory observations may be taken to prove that the names of the quiver and charm-tube patterns must have been strung together from conflicting sources. Among the names of the blowpipe patterns occurs "pong," which Vaughan-Stevens (as in the case of comb 1[2]) translates "fever." Whether the other names which are not translated also denote Diseases must remain undecided. Every pattern here has a special name. There are, indeed, many points of connection with Professor Grünwedel's glossary; but in the entire absence of more definite knowledge as to their meaning it is not worth while to follow them up.[3]

[1] *Cf.* also the names and patterns of "goh," K1 and K2.

[2] *Z. f. E.* xxv. 87.

[3] Out of the five categories mentioned, the frequent complete agreement of names, without their patterns betraying any special similarity, is very striking. They run as follows:—"alteg" (blowpipe 32), *cf.* "alteg" (second panel of comb 49); "bil-uing" (blowpipe 78), *cf.* "biling" ("billing," second panel of 19N, etc.); "buing" ("boing," blowpipe 74), *cf.* "boin" (first panel of 30), "boing" (second panel of 17B, etc.); "hili" ("hillee," charm-tube Z), *cf.* "hĕli" ("h'lee," comb 63); "īs" (blowpipe 81), *cf.* "īs" (second panel of comb 1E); "let-tud" ("let-tod," quiver P2), *cf.* "let-tod" (first panel of 7C, etc.); "lig-boid" ("lig-boid," blowpipe 89), "lig-bui" ("lig-boi," blowpipe 75), *cf.* "lig-boig" (second panel of 16A, etc.); "pa-ham" ("pa-hum") (blowpipe 56), *cf.* "pa-hŏm" ("pa-herm," second panel of 1F, etc.); "pasir" (blowpipe 12), *cf.* "pasir" (first panel of 12A, etc.); "pelīg" (blowpipe 39), *cf.* "pelīg" (comb 11); "pen-al-dung" ("pen-ul-doorng," blowpipe 30), *cf.* "pena-long" ("pena-long," second panel of 15A, etc.); "sob" (quiver C2), *cf.* "sob" (second panel of 50H, etc.); "tak-kor" ("tukkor," blowpipe 92), *cf.* "te-kor" ("tukkor," comb 60); "tīs" (blowpipe 35), *cf.* "tīs" (quiver C1); "cheg-la(r)pun" (blowpipe 5), *cf.* "chig-la" ("chiglar," comb 52); "chel-chinin" ("chel chineng," quiver Q2), *cf.* "chin-eng" ("chin-eng," second panel, 22C, etc.); "toig keling," quiver N1), *cf.* "tu-eg" (blowpipe 24).

Other names agree with the expressions for the "gu'" (*v.* p. 104 f.). "jelabor" (blowpipe 30), *cf.* "jelabo" ("jelabor," "gu'," I21, a mythical animal); "kang-kung" (blowpipe 98), *cf.* "kangkung" ("gu'," I20, a mythical monster); "kĕli-char" (comb 62), *cf.* "klichar" ("gu'," III3, IV, a flower); "sinai tepis" ("seni tepees," blowpipe 117), *cf.* "sinei" ("seni," "gu'," I4, a rattan whip).

This list might no doubt be considerably increased if parts of the various expressions were compared. In the complete absence, however, of Semang texts (and hence of any knowledge of their grammar) this partial agreement would not at present count for much. It may, however, be concluded from the above list that the names of the quivers, charm-tubes, blowpipes, and combs must be taken in close relationship with those of the first and second panels, so that the flower-symbolism of these patterns appears all the more mysterious and obscure.

MYTH-BAMBOOS AND OTHERS.[1]

[The "gu'" is a bamboo tube which is described as having served originally for preserving records of every description, and as having been in the first instance known only to the Puttos. The entire mythology (and history?) of the Semang is said to have been engraved upon them, and some of these remarkable records yet remain in the possession of the descendants of the ancient Sna-huts. These same bamboo tubes served, apart from their mythological significance, to contain the magical and medicinal implements of the Puttos, and were accordingly plugged at the orifice with wood or bark-fibre. The four myth-bamboos here described come from the E. Semang or Pangan on the east coast of the Peninsula.[2]]

[1] The word "gu'" is undoubtedly identical with the word "gō'" (in some dialects "gū'") which we have had already, and merely signifies, as explained above, a bamboo receptacle. The names which here occur were spelt by Vaughan-Stevens as follows: "Guh" (pronounced "goo"), "Puttow," "Sna-hoot," "k'ngoin," "lee-eg," "aiee," "ken-achōle," "pinjor tadook," "Kiee," "Play," "Chinnoi," "kenīgh," "kĕlos," "seni," "kabote," "jug," "Chilleg," "Jelabor," "Champar," "Challog," "Semi," "sin-goie-bewar," etc.

[2] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 104.

Bamboo No. 1 *with incised Mythological Designs.*[1]

Length of the original 45 cm.

1. The "lotong" monkey ("aïï" = *Semnopithecus*).
2. "Penjok taduk."
3. "Kenaij" ("kenigh" *sic*, ? "kĕnaii").
4. "Seni."
5. "Jag."
6. "Kelos."
7. Kari, the Thunder-god.
8. Simei.
9. Plē.
10. Sna-hut.
11. "Kla-tō-ong."
12, 13. "Sin-goi bēwā" or "kampīl."
14, 15. "Chileg langwē."
16, 17. "Sin-goi bēwā" or "kampīl.
18. Kari's throne and "kalcheng.
19. "Kanteh."
20. "Kangkung."
21. "Jĕlābo'."
22. "Kangkeng."
23. "Champa'."
24. Champa's spear.
25. "Chalog."
26. Chalog's spear.

This bamboo is subdivided by the usual ring-lines.[2]

The topmost panel contains an unfinished drawing of a monkey called "aïï" (Malay "lotong"), for

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 107-124.

[2] When a spiral is substituted for these ring-lines, it is called "li-eg." In some cases the "gu's" have been gnawed into by mice, in which case the holes are sealed with resin, but these holes, of course, are entirely devoid of significance (see *Z. f. E.* xxv. (1893) 71 *seqq.*

which see Bamboo 3, but why this figure was left unfinished is unknown.

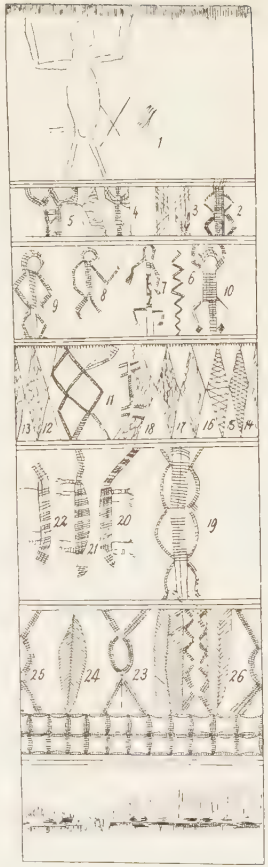
The second panel is called "kĕnachōl" ("kennachole"), this name denoting, however, the panel itself and not the figures inscribed upon it. The figures in each panel will be taken from right to left, beginning with Fig. 2. This figure and those following represent objects which hang above the judgment throne of the Thunder-god Kari ("Kiee" = "Kayi").[1] The Semang call this figure (No. 2) "penjok taduk." The first word means loin-cloth, and the second "pendant flower decorations."

It is difficult to explain exactly what is meant by the expression, unless it may either be taken to signify loin-cloth and flower-pendants (the conjunction being omitted, as is so frequently the case in these dialects), or unless the "taduk" may be some unknown or fabulous material, in accordance with the explanation given to Vaughan-Stevens.[2] Kari alone (according to the Semang) makes use of this material, which, like everything else he possesses, is prepared by the Chin-oi ("Chinnoi"), a race of people who never die.

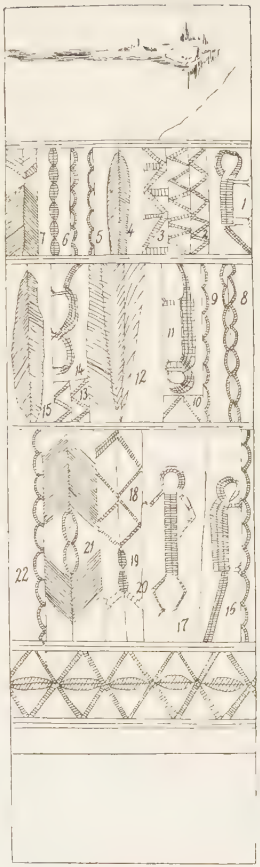
The object represented by Fig. 3 is called by the Pangan "kenaij" ("kenigh"?), a term which is of uncertain meaning. In the case of the women's combs, it denotes the representation of the Disease against which the charm pattern is devised, but it was also applied to anything bright and glittering, *e.g.* a sunrise or sunset, lamps, rings, and even provision tins! It does not seem to mean "light-

[1] This god, who is himself portrayed by Fig. 7, is the chief deity or Thunder-god of the E. Semang or Pangan.

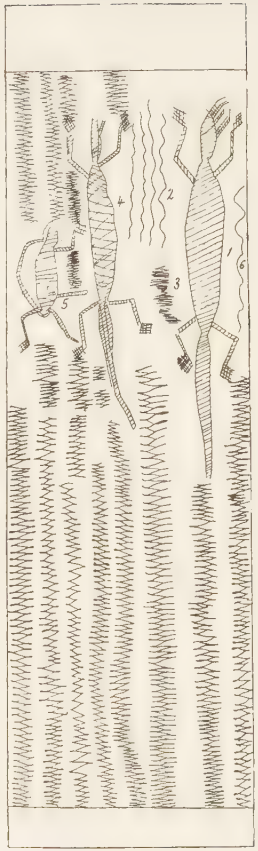
[2] Fabulous objects and materials play a large part in the traditionary accounts of Malay regalia, and this may be the case with the Semang too; V.-St. iii. 106; *v.* pp. 455, 511, *infra.*



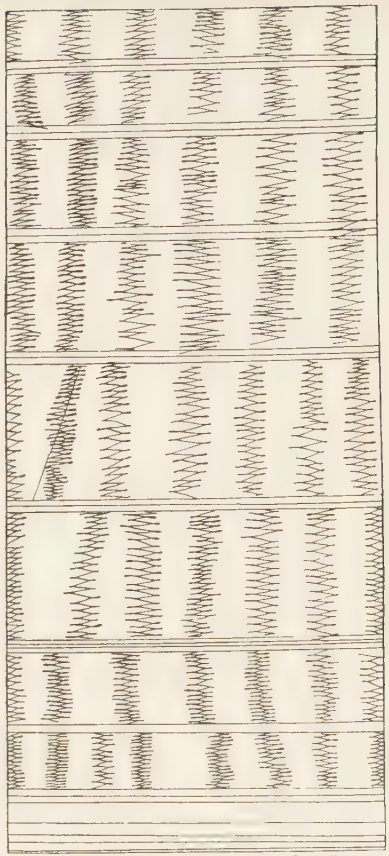
BAMBOO No. 1
V. p. 449. (45 cm. long.)
Vol. I. p. 450.



BAMBOO No. 2.
V. p. 454. (41 cm. long.)



BAMBOO No. 3.
. . p. 457. (40 cm. long.)

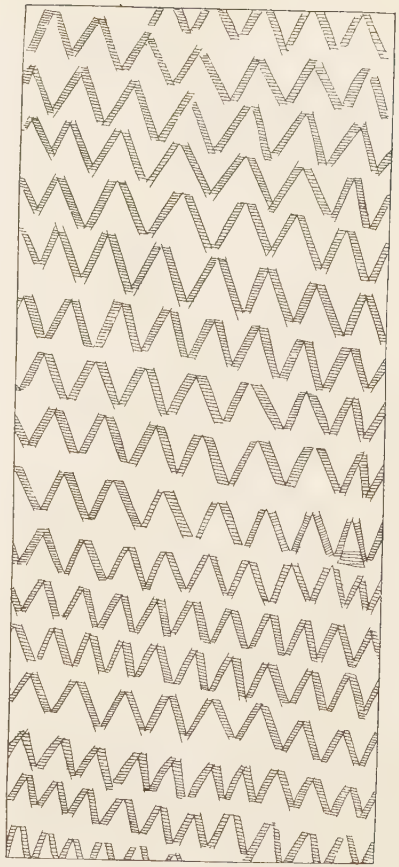


Vaughan-Stevens.

BAMBOO No. 4.
(41 cm. long.)

BURIAL BAMBOO OF A CHIEF
("SNA-HUT") UNEXPLAINED.
(37 cm. long.) *V.* p. 460.
Vol. I. p. 451.

BURIAL BAMBOO OF A MARRIED WOMAN.
(35 cm. long.) *V.* p. 460.



Vaughan-Stevens.
BURIAL BAMBOO OF A MAN
(40 cm. long.) *V.* p. 460.

ning," however, for the usual Semang word for lightning is "kelos."

Fig. 4 is called "Sinai" ("Seni"). These are rattan whips, the emblems of Kari's servant, Sinai,[1] used to whip the winds with, whenever they refused to obey his master's commands. Sinai is himself a wind, and invisible to all but Kari. Sinai has a whip in either hand. The winds do not sit beside Kari, but have a place assigned to them in the clouds below him, at a place called "Kabut" ("Kabote").[2] The winds which refuse to obey Kari are represented by the figure left of Fig. 4; the slanting, waved lines represent the winds, whilst the side lines represent their prison, where they await Kari's sentence.

The beaker-shaped figure (No. 5) which follows is called "jag," and represents a wild fruit on which Kari feeds; it was not known, however, whether the fruit is represented by the entire figure or by some portion of it; it was only known that the Puttos intended it to represent a fruit.

All winds are here personified; they are living beings, servants of Kari, but invisible to all but him.[3]

The next rows (3, 4, 5, and 6) were called "n'nam."

The zigzag line (Fig. 6) represents Kari's lightning. Whenever he is wroth and wishes to strike any one, he sends for his servants, who bring him a flower which only grows at Kari's dwelling-place, and which consists of a spike of bell-like flowers. Kari then leans forward on his throne and

[1] Vaughan-Stevens' spelling of this name varies greatly: Sin-ai, Chin-ai, Sinnoi, Chinnoi, etc.

[2] Mal. "kabut," or darkness; *cf.* Newbold, ii. 423; V.-St. iii. 106.

[3] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 107.

shakes the flower-spike over the sinner, whereat, just as when flint strikes steel, the lightning darts whithersoever Kari desires it. Then from the bell-like flower-cups themselves, as they strike against each other, comes the far-rolling sound of thunder, whilst the mightier detonations of the storm are the voice of Kari's wrath. The echoes which reverberate in the mountains are the answers of Plē, his fellow-deity, who remonstrates with him. In the illustration the flower is not visible, but only the universal zigzag symbol.

The Semang have an intense dread of lightning, their charm against which, employed (it is said) at first by "Plē's command," consists of three ring-lines, incised on the quiver at short intervals.[1] These ring-lines were made in the first instance by the Puttos, but that is all the Semang know about them, though they trust in them blindly.[2]

Fig. 7 represents the god Kari. He is not always depicted in this form, but invariably has with him as his attribute the zigzag line which represents lightning.

Fig. 8 is Simei, the daughter of Plē.

Fig. 9 is Plē.

It is difficult (says Vaughan-Stevens) to say in what relationship the E. Semang (Pangan) consider their two gods, Tuhan and Plē, to stand to Kari, or whether the two former are modern accretions. It is certain, however, that Kari represents the highest power, and that Tuhan, as well as Plē, is compelled to obey him.[3]

Fig. 10 represents a Sna-hut.

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[1] See, however, p. 400, *n.* 1, *ante.*

[2] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 107. Another method of stopping lightning was by means of blood-throwing.

[3] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 109.

The black indentations below these figures represent the rattan mats on Kari's floor, which were made for him by the Chin-oi or Sinoi.

Fig. 11 in the fourth row represents the tree against which Kari's chair leans. In the branches of this tree tarry the still unborn souls, and on its trunk Kari cuts a tally for each new-born Semang. This tree is called "kla-tō-ong," and is full of blossoms.[1] The figures hanging on the right of the drawing are the fruits of the tree which are eaten by Kari.

Next follow Figs. 12, 13, 16, 17, which comprise the flowers "sin-goi bēwā" or "kampīl"; and Figs. 14, 15, which represent the flowers called "chileg langwē."[2]

Fig. 18 represents Kari's judgment-seat, consisting of a short plank which rests at an angle against a tree. The wavy lines between the branches represent "kalcheng," *i.e.* fruits which are eaten by Kari, and which his servants have set before him. The waved line above the seat represents the flowers called "sin-goi bēwā," which are suspended behind the throne on which Kari sits to judge the dead.[3]

In the fifth row, Fig. 19 represents a gigantic spirit called "Kanteh," which resembles a Semang. His office is that of door-keeper of Paradise, and it is he who restrains the souls of alien races from entering into that part of Paradise which is assigned to the Semang.

Beside him stands (at his left hand, Fig. 20) a powerful animal, called "Kangkung,"[4] whose task it is to keep tiger-souls out of heaven.

Next on the left comes Fig. 21, an animal called

[1] See p. 455, *infra*, where "klaton" is a fruit. Perhaps "klatung" is right.

[2] V.-St. iii. 112. Cp. Bamboo No. 3 (p. 457, *infra*).

[3] *Ib.* p. 117.

[4] Possibly the *loris* or Malayan sloth; which is in the front rank as "magic." *Ib.* p. 122.

"Jĕlābo'," whose function it is to keep the souls of wicked Semang from entering heaven.[1]

Next again on the left (Fig. 22) is a beast called "Kangkeng," which keeps out the souls of snakes and scorpions.[2]

In the sixth row follow Figs. 23 and 25, the last of which has been unavoidably cut in two in obtaining the illustration. Fig. 23 is a dark-complexioned gigantic spirit "Champa'" called "Abang" (Mal. for "elder brother"). No. 25 represents his brother "Chalog," who is called "Adik" (Mal. for "younger brother"). The latter is placed under the former's authority, and both are the joint guardians of Tuhan's heaven, Tasig.

Figs. 24, 26, 27 represent the bamboo spears of these two brothers. The zigzag figures between 26 and 27 are the lightning-carrying flowers, which belong to Kari, and whose custodians are the two gigantic spirits just mentioned.

The last row, or "name"-row, which is called "chor" (= name?), is always placed at the end of the bamboo, and is covered with a uniform pattern. Its decoration varies according to the other patterns on the bamboo, but its real significance could not be explained. Vaughan-Stevens regards it merely as a sort of finishing touch to the rest of the figures.[3]

Bamboo ("Gu'") No. 2. Height 41 cm.[4]

Here, too, the order of the figures is fixed, but no definite explanation is forthcoming of the slanting line in the topmost panel.

[1] The nearest Semang animal-name known to me is that of "tĕlābas" (? = dial. "tĕlābâh"), the Malayan sun-bear.

[2] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 122.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 124.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 124, 125.

The first row of figures is called "kĕnachōl," as in Bamboo No. 1.

Fig. 1 represents a sleeping chief (Putto) in the act of receiving (in a dream) a communication from Plē, who acts as Kari's go-between whenever the latter wishes to communicate with the great chiefs (Puttos).

Fig. 2 represents a fruit called "klaton," which the great chiefs or Puttos were in the habit of eating.[1]

Figs. 3, 5, 6 are flowers called "klai-yau" ("klî-yow"), "bi-chu-ring" ("bee-choo-ring"), and "yawel" ("yôwell"); and Fig. 4 represents a spear called "āt" ("art"), all these representing the insignia of the great chiefs' power.

Fig. 7. The smaller part of this figure at the top represents the mallet employed in the manufacture of bark-cloth, the larger part of the figure at the bottom represents the bark-cloth itself.

The following panels are called "n'nam," as in Bamboo No. 1.

Fig. 8. These represent "taduk" flowers (*cf.* Bamboo No. 1, Fig. 2), p. 450, *ante*.

Fig. 9. This object is called "bu-hu" ("boo-hoo"); it represents a special kind of bark-cloth which only the great chiefs wore.[2]

Fig. 10 is a magic stone pillow, called "sni-ding," on which the great chief lays his head when he wishes to get information by means of dreams.

Fig. 11. A Putto asleep with his head resting upon the pillow (Fig. 10).[3]

Fig. 12. A mat called "chi-on," only used by the great chiefs. It was manufactured from rattan

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[1] See p. 453, *ante*.

[2] *Quære* from Sem. "buyu" = Mal. "mĕngkuang," or rather a corruption of Mal. "buluh" = bamboo. Cp. p. 510, *infra*.

[3] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 124.

("rotan sĕga"). This figure, together with Figs. 10, 11, signifies that the Putto is receiving instructions in a dream how a mat is to be made.

Fig. 13. "Angkel," a magic pillow made of wood which serves the same purpose as the stone pillow represented by Fig. 10.

Fig. 14. A great chief asleep with his head upon the wooden pillow (Fig. 13).

Fig. 15. A spear-point. This figure, together with Figs. 13, 14, signifies that the great chief is dreaming how a spear-point should be made.

Fig. 16. A sleeping chief (Putto). By his side (Fig. 17) is his servant (Hālā).[1]

Fig. 18 represents two large black stones, which the great chiefs or Puttos lay together at an angle, so as to form a V-shaped trough, into which their magic flowers and other *materia medica* may be put.[2]

Fig. 19. A tree-bark filter and a water-vessel, signifying the pouring of water over the ingredients, so that it passes through the filter into the vessel in question, which is placed on a sort of stand (Fig. 20).[3]

Fig. 16 represents a Putto dreaming of sending his servant (Fig. 17) to gather flowers and herbs for medicines and to prepare them for use. The servant is shown pressing down the flowers into the trough formed by the two stones described above.

Figs. 21 and 22 represent flowers called "tu-ag" and "jampong," the ashes of which are used medicinally.

[1] In Semang "Hālā" = "medicine-man."

[2] Among the medicines of the Puttos love-potions were also mentioned to Vaughan-Stevens; but the ingredients could not be ascertained. The lesser chiefs (Sna-huts) of the Pangan use bones and teeth, which they grate on a stone with a little water, as also the Sakai do. *Cf. V. B. G. A.* xxiv. (1892) 468.

[3] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 124.

The last row with the ornamental border is called "chor," as in Bamboo No. 1.

Bamboo ("Gu'") No. 3. Length 40 cm.[1]

1. "Tinjo" or "Tin-jui" ("Tinjoe"), a kind of saurian.
2. "Sin-goi bēwā," the name of a flower.[2]
3. "Klī-chā."[3]
4. "Chig-eg."
5. "Aiï."[4]
6. "Sin-goi bēwā."

Fig. 1 represents a terrible kind of saurian, with jaws shaped like those of centipedes, but which in length are equal to the human arm. It is called "Tin-jui." No one knows where the creature lives, yet the great chiefs (Puttos) were able to conjure it up. Directly they were angry with any one they called this beast, which killed the evil-doer.[5] Since the Puttos have disappeared, no one has seen this saurian again.

Figs. 2 (6) and 3 are flowers called "sin-goi bēwā" and "klī-chā," which were of avail in exorcising the reptiles represented by Figs. 1 and 4.

Fig. 4 represents a creature called "Chig-eg," which performs the same functions as the "Tin-jui," but only kills women.

Fig. 5 depicts the monkey called "Aiï": a long-tailed monkey resembling the *Semnopithecus* or "lotong." When the winds sent by Kari as messengers to the earth do not make sufficient haste, Aiï comes and chastises them with rattan whips.[6]

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 125, 126.
[2] See p. 453, *ante*.
[3] In original "kli-char" (*sic*).
[4] See p. 449, *ante*.
[5] Evidently a "sending" of some kind. Lizards are often closely connected with magicians.
[6] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 126.

Bamboo ("*Gu'*") *No.* 4. *Height*, 41 *cm.*[1]

Bamboo No. 4 is of quite a different kind from the foregoing. The designs upon it only represent "klī-chā" flowers. When the great chiefs or Puttos laid these flowers in water, they could drive the poisonous sea-snake "Ikub" back to the bottom of the sea.[2]

BIRTH-BAMBOOS ("TAHONG").

[The "tahong" is a bamboo tube which is worn secretly under the girdle by expectant mothers. The interior of the tube, when each extremity has been stoppered, is used to contain flint and steel for making fire and so forth. The main part of the pattern consists of two portions, the upper part of which consists of zigzag ring-lines, which serve as a charm against nausea and vomiting; the lower part contains a number of rows or columns, each representing one of the stages through which the woman has to pass from the moment of conception till the birth.[3]

As mentioned, the "tahong" is carefully concealed by the Semang women under the girdle, and may not be seen by any strange man. The husband cuts the

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 127.

[2] *I.e.* "Ikub Lingang" (=Mal. "ular berang"), a sea-snake of a kind believed to be most venomous. In case a Semang wished to employ these flowers, they did not receive their magic power until he received the "gu'" as well. Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 126.

[3] It is difficult to fix these stages accurately, as the Semang people often made mistakes in locating the exact position of the ailment. The following, however, is certain: the ring-like marks at the point of one of the column-lines (at the end of the black chevroned line) represent the child in the womb. The black chevrons form the connection between child and mother, the latter being represented as much the larger. At the right extremity of the vertical chevroned line is a row of discs, on the side of the mother, which represents the loss of blood by the tearing of the vessels at birth (*ibid.*).

[It is perhaps worth while adding that the word "tahong" is curiously like Mal. "tabong," a bamboo tube—a fact which raises some doubt as to the genuineness of the word.—W. S.]

pattern, and an *enceinte* woman who lacks a "tahong" is regarded by other Semang women in much the same way as a mother without a wedding-ring would be regarded in Europe.[1]

The patterns of the "tahongs" differ but slightly *inter se*, according to the skill of the men who engrave them. One of the lesser chiefs (Sna-hut) is in possession of the orthodox pattern, and is always in a position, in case he is asked, to produce the accurate design.[2]

The patterns given in the accompanying illustration are not, according to Vaughan-Stevens, altogether correct. He therefore supplies a commentary.[3]]

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 115. [2] *Ib.*

[3] The corrections run as follows:—"In 1" there should be "a *straight*, *horizontal* band of double-lined, gable-shaped figures, which do not run spirally round the bamboo as in the case of No. 2. The ends should not be closed. In 2" there should be "four *spiral* bands of double-lined, gable-shaped figures. In 3" there should be "the same pattern as in the case of No. 2; only that there should be single-line figures instead of two. In 4" there should be "a *horizontal* row of single-line figures (as in 3) as termination of the upper part of the pattern.

"In *A*" there should be "a cross-line of disc-shaped figures. *B*. These patterns should have right-angled hatching. *C*. The upper and under part of this pattern consists of different figures. The upper discs under the ring-like pattern resemble those of *B*; those running down below *A* should wind in sinuous curves from one side to the other. *D*. The > three-cornered figures ought to be exactly opposite; the disc-like figure at *A* ought to end at the centre of the angle. *E*. The exact number of the thick black chevrons on the vertical lines, as well as the adjacent short vertical strokes, is of no special consequence. *F*. The same pattern as in *A*, but in a vertical direction; the two middle ones are correct, and show what the rest ought to be. *G*, *H*. Should have right-angled hatching; at *H* the right angles become larger as they approach the corners. *I*. These figures are exactly like those at *B*, but above the disc-figure at *A* there should only be two figures, of which the lower is considerably longer than the upper. *K*. The crescent-shaped figures should be one behind the other, so that the point of the upper is covered by the end of the lower one. *L*. A part of these figures should show right-angled cross-lines. *M*. These figures differ at the top and bottom, but all should be regular crosses. The lower figures should have the points of the inner square on the vertical margin-lines. *N*. The cross-lines of these figures should be right-angled. *O*. The pattern above the disc-pattern at *A* is incorrect. The gable-shaped, one-lined figure over the disc should be obliterated. The square lying uppermost should have above a one-lined, gable-shaped figure with a short one-lined under-piece, the other being triple-lined, forming a double strip, so as to pass into the second figure without any dividing line at the top of the second square. All other lines of the lower square are double. The third square must be extended towards

BURIAL BAMBOOS.[1]

[The "pĕnitåh" or burial bamboo is a bamboo tube covered with incised patterns which is buried with the deceased, whose soul is supposed to take it to the judgment throne of Kari. If the dead person has been very wicked in life, his tribal chief or Sna-hut, who alone is in a position to cut the patterns on the burial bamboo, refuses to do so, and the soul which, when interrogated by Kari, cannot produce its own burial bamboo is condemned. The power that the chief (Sna-hut) exercises in consequence of this belief is boundless.

The engraved patterns differ for these chiefs (Sna-hut)[2] according to the sex and age of the deceased; that of the Sna-hut himself differing from those of the other members of the tribe. The Puttos or greater chiefs, too, had their own "pĕnitåh" pattern, but this is no longer known to any one. Vaughan-Stevens failed to obtain a detailed explanation of these patterns, and all he could make out was that the pattern assigned to the chiefs or Sna-hut had reference to their functions as medicine-men, and that it had been assigned to them by Plē and the greater chiefs or Puttos.

The burial bamboo of the men is always a larger and longer tube than that of the women. Formerly it always bore a name-mark ("chor"), but now it is usually made without any such distinction.[3]

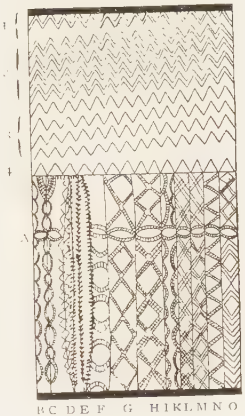
The very different patterns which are in use for

A, in order that the space may be filled out." All this may be true, but see, however, remarks on p. 404 as to the essential irregularity of these patterns. —Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 116.

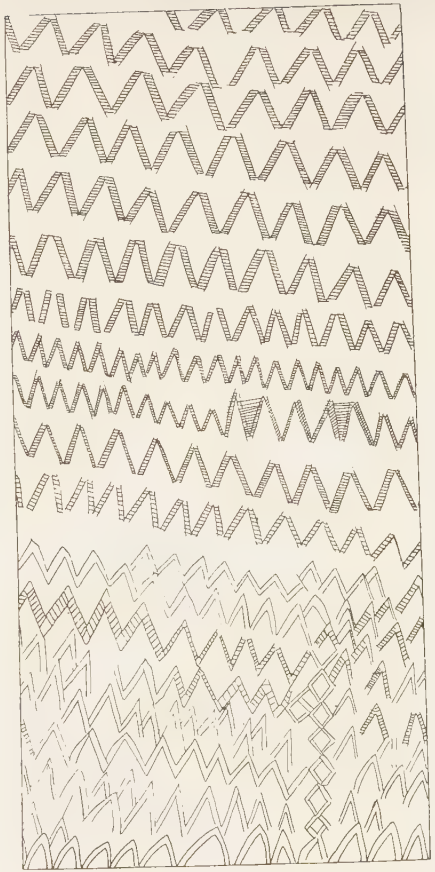
[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 119-123.

[2] See illustrations (*ib.* p. 119).

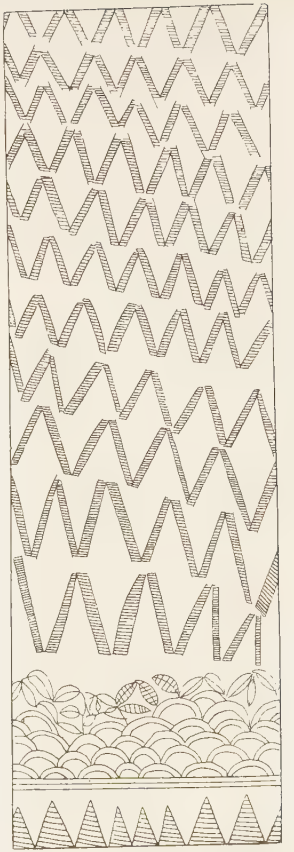
[3] *Ib.* p. 120. *Cf. A* in the illustrations.



BIRTH BAMBOO OR TAHONG.
(21 cm. long.) *Vol. I. p. 458.*

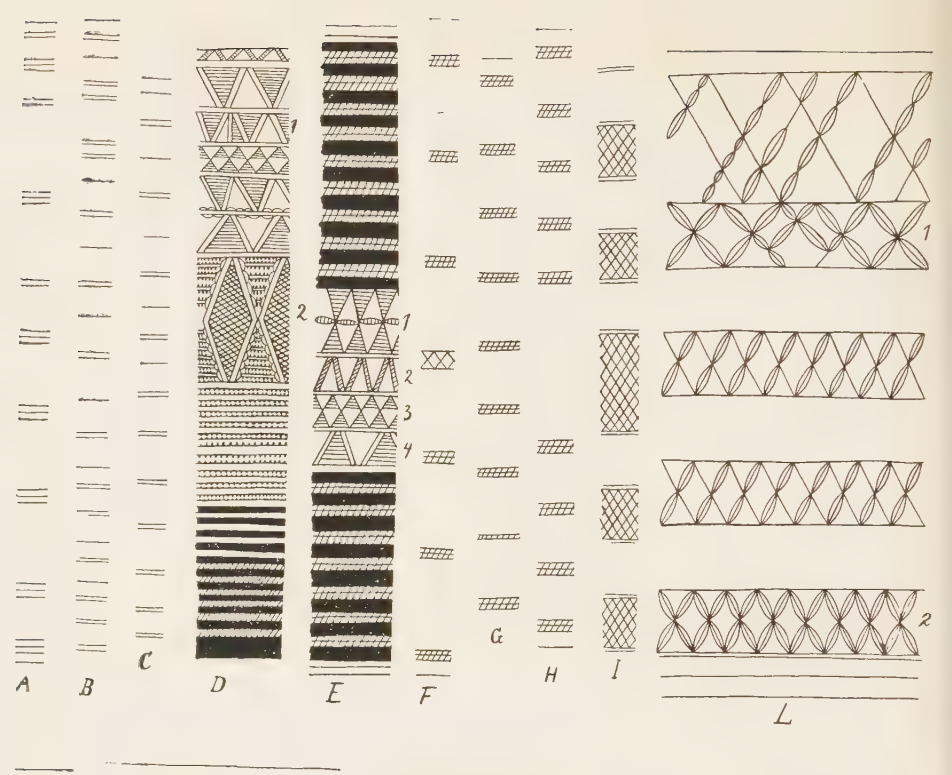


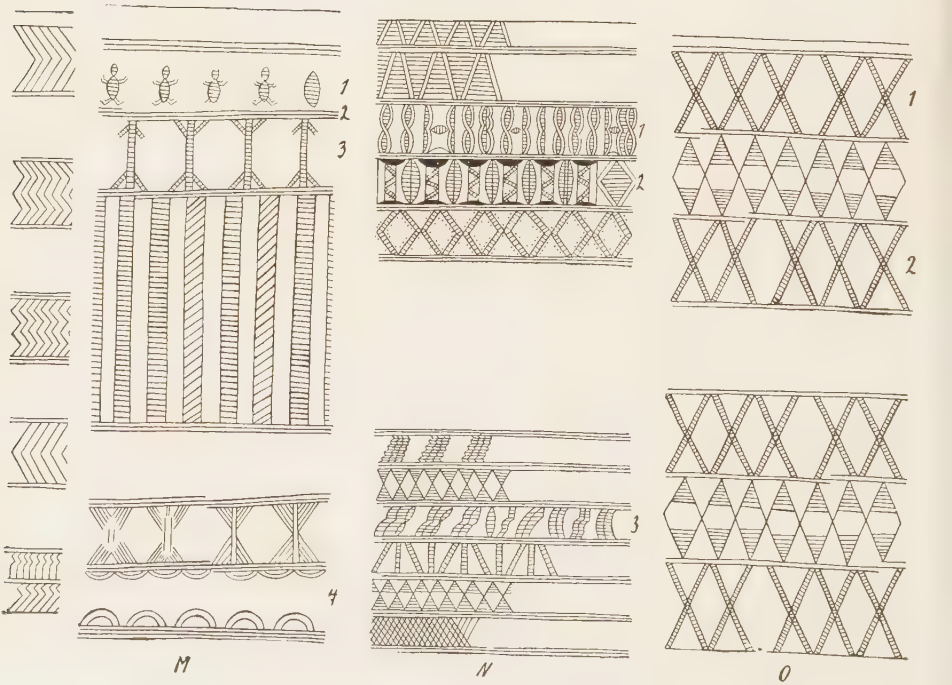
BURIAL BAMBOO OF A BOY.
(35½ cm. long.)



Vaughan-Stevens.

BURIAL BAMBOO OF A GIRL.
(38½ cm. long.)





TUBE ("GOR" AND "GAR") PATTERNS, PLATE I. (*Z. f. E.* XXXI. 142).

Vaughan-Stevens.

Vol. I. f. 461.

the grown women are believed to be the invention of the goddess Simei.[1]

The burial bamboo is inserted in the dead man's girdle. The expression to "receive a pĕnitâh" is equivalent to "dying."[2]

The following is the list of these burial bamboos collected by Vaughan-Stevens:—

(1) That of a Semang Sna-hut. Height 37 cm.[3]

(2) That of a man. Height 40 cm. The hatching of the figure A is a name-sign ("chor").[4]

(3) That of a married woman. Height 35 cm.[5]

(4) That of a boy. Height 35½ cm. That the two hatchings in the middle are to be regarded as name-signs is very probable, but this is not quite clear from the notes.[6]

(5) That of a girl. Height 38½ cm.[7] (identical with "Gu'," No. 2).]

BLOWPIPE PATTERNS.[8]

The list of the old blowpipe patterns was described by the Pangan as being practically complete, but plenty of modern ones certainly exist, to say nothing of other patterns of the quiver and charm-tube types. The topmost line of the pattern of the latter always coincides with the upper edge of the bamboo, the lowest with the commencement of the peeled portion of the tube (muzzle-end or "chenelus"). The blowpipe patterns, on the other hand, with the exception of the first eight, were originally

[1] V.-St. iii. 120. See accompanying illustration, which differs completely from the others—those of a man, a boy, and a girl (*q.v.*).

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 118, 121.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 118.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 119.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 120.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 121.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 123.

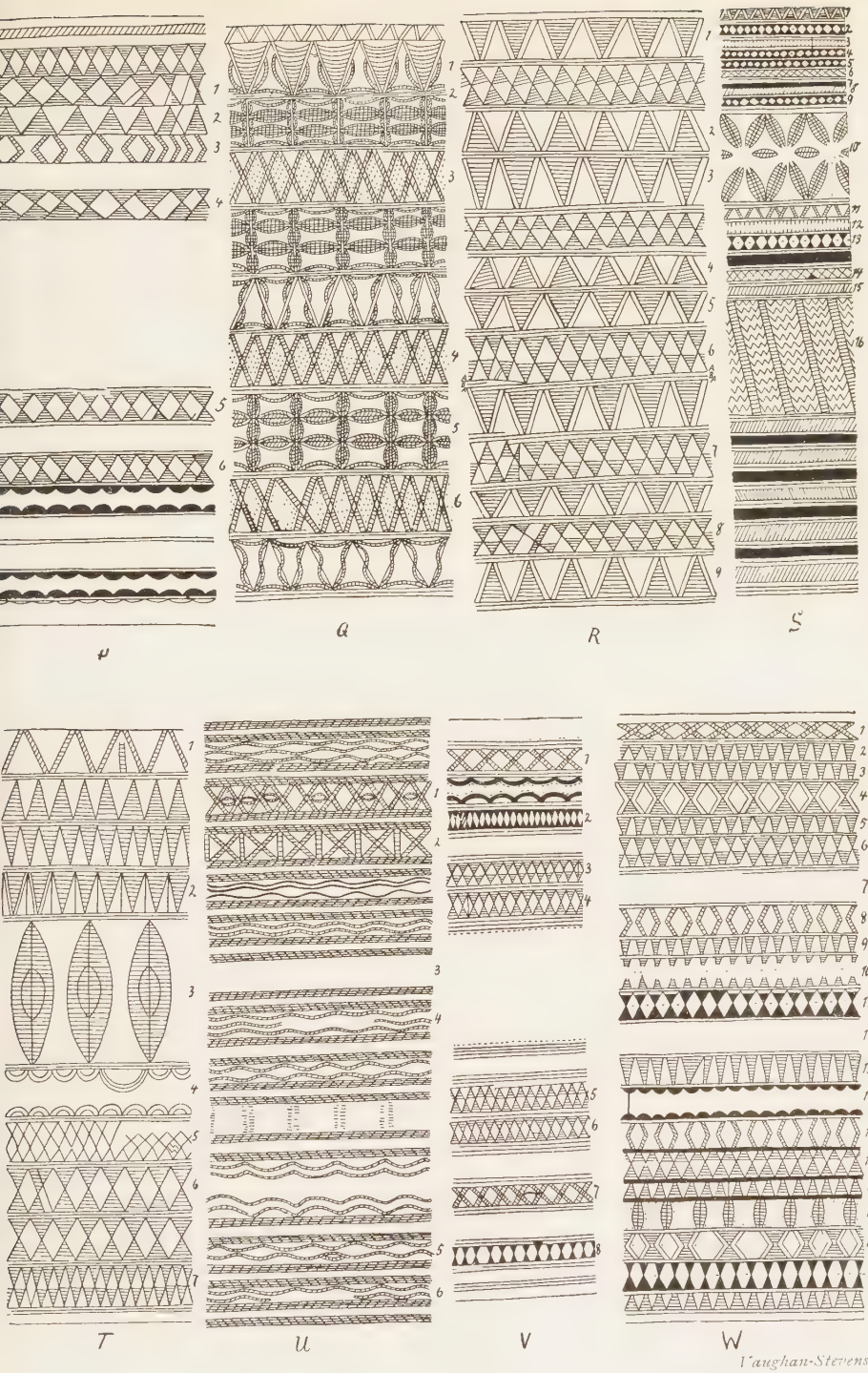
[8] *Z. f. E.* xxxi. 162-164. For list of patterns, *v.* App.

taken from bamboo tubes, on which the patterns of the original blowpipes had been copied. The upper end of the design is always remote from the mouth-piece, *i.e.* from the bearer;[1] whereas the first panel or "wās" end may, as already mentioned, be either above or below, and its exact position in each design will be given in accordance with Vaughan-Stevens' statements. No portion of this tube is peeled ("chenel-us"). Hence the uppermost and the lowest line in the design coincides exactly with the upper and lower extremities of the tube.[2]

[It is impossible to give so much space to the description of individual patterns as is done by Vaughan-Stevens. The reader must ascertain from the design on his own account the differences between the various pattern-bands, as well as the "peculiarities" of each individual band. For in these Semang patterns it is a cardinal feature that where a figure is repeated at intervals, there always occur some slight modifications (*e.g.* in the matter of the hatching, etc.) of the exact design. Hence the position only of any such peculiarities will be given. The number of the figures in any particular "row" or panel appears to be a matter of indifference, and to depend upon the

[1] In making his corrections of the Semang drawings Vaughan-Stevens himself (as his editor quite rightly points out) is not free from errors. Moreover, as to Vaughan-Stevens' observation that the Semang knew no semicircles, he himself allows that it is extremely difficult for them to cut curves on the bamboo, though semicircular curves are, in fact, very numerous. One might perhaps expect that a wild race should hesitate to attempt to draw semicircles, but the idea that it "anxiously avoids" them is absurd, and untrue as well. Moreover, this exaggerated demand for geometrical regularity, which the original patterns themselves never show, must awaken many doubts. It is true that so much accuracy must be claimed for the correct patterns as may be necessary to keep all the manifold figures distinct, but in consequence of Vaughan-Stevens' insistence on "accuracy" one often asks one's self in vain, Does such and such a figure belong to the essence of the pattern or not?

[2] *Z. f. E.* xxxi. 163. For an exception see, *e.g.*, Nos. 5 and 7, compared with the original blowpipes.



Vaughan-Stevens.

TUBE ("GOR" AND "GAR") PATTERNS, PLATE II. (*Z. f. E.* xxxi. 143.)

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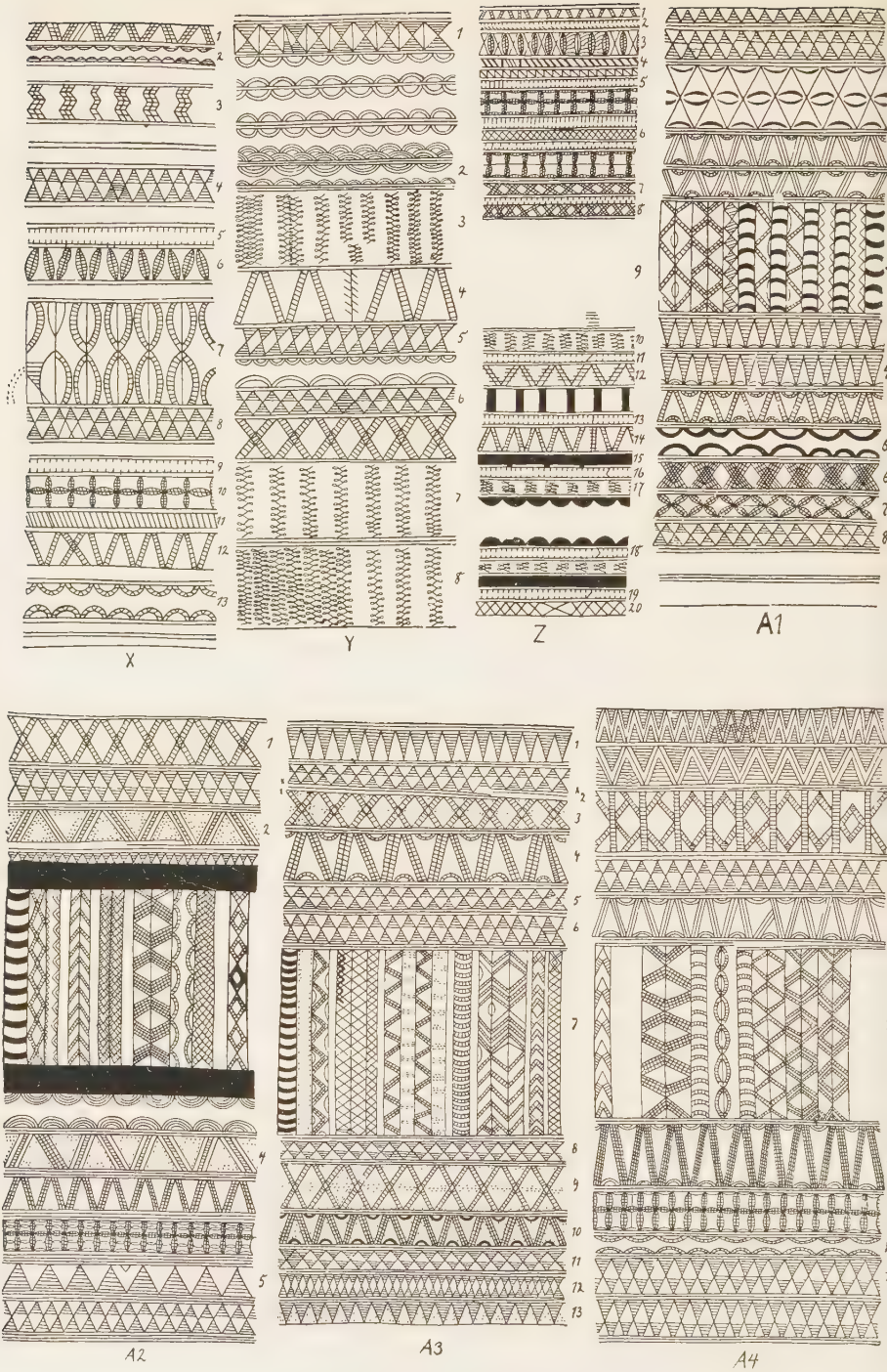


Tube ("Gor" and "Gar") Patterns, Plate III. (*Z. f. E.* xxxi. 144).

Vaughan-Stevens.

Vol. I. p. 463.

actual circumference of the bamboo and similar circumstances. It is not always possible to tell which figure is the real subject of a panel. Where, however, nothing is said to the contrary, it may generally be taken to be the figure furthest to the left in each of the designs. Many panels, however, have only one pattern throughout, and hence an irregular figure inside the same is no "peculiarity" in the above intended sense, and will only occasionally be mentioned in the description.[1] Between a "peculiarity" and such an irregularity there is a great difference from the Semang point of view (see No. 40). Besides these two there is a third kind of "deviation" or differentiation (see No. 96 and No. 112, etc.).[2] Where there are only spirals instead of the ring-lines, the exact position of both extremities relatively to the figures represented is always exactly determined. In the case of the repetition of figures in a band, the beginning or the end may occur either to the right or left or in immediate coincidence with one of the figures, the aforesaid "peculiarities" occurring relatively to a definite figure (see, *e.g.*, spiral 2 in charm-tube M). T2 may perhaps be taken as an exception, as may be inferred from its design.]

The widths of the various pattern-bands or panels are not arbitrary, but stand in a certain fixed relationship to one another, very much as is shown by the designs. The exact width, however, of the central panel (when it is left free) is of no consequence, and hence the Semang generally commences to cut the pattern at the top and bottom first, and so gradually

[1] *Z. f. E.*, *loc. cit.* It must therefore be presupposed that the differentiations not mentioned by Vaughan-Stevens belong to the class of mere irregularities.

[2] In the designs, however, no difference can be seen between a "peculiarity" and a mere "irregularity." See No. 45.

works towards the middle. On the other hand, the design for the central panel is usually the first part to be incised by way of a commencement. The various kinds of cross-lines have already been partially described in connection with the comb patterns.[1] [The following rules, however, have also to be observed. The not uncommon figure *a* must never be hatched at the point of intersection.[2] The right-angled cross-lines are scarcely ever inserted, except where they can be given their full length (see figure *b*). Exceptions may, however, be seen in quiver A2, part 3, in 8 and 9, 11 and 12 (lines counted from the left). Special attention should be given to the cross-lines of two pairs of parallel lines in and about the space formed by their intersection (see, for instance, figure *b*, as well as quiver O, quiver Q, parts 3, 4, and 6). To these should be added many other kinds of cross-lines which help to produce a difference in the patterns (*e.g.* parallel and slanting cross-lines). The effect of these will become evident through a closer consideration of the designs. Their number is usually quite arbitrary.]

Very short strokes have the same significance as dots: they are produced by means of a blunt-pointed knife (see, *e.g.*, No. 24). The broad black stripes and figures of the designs here given are produced in the originals by peeling the part and colouring it black.[3]

Classification of the Patterns.[4]

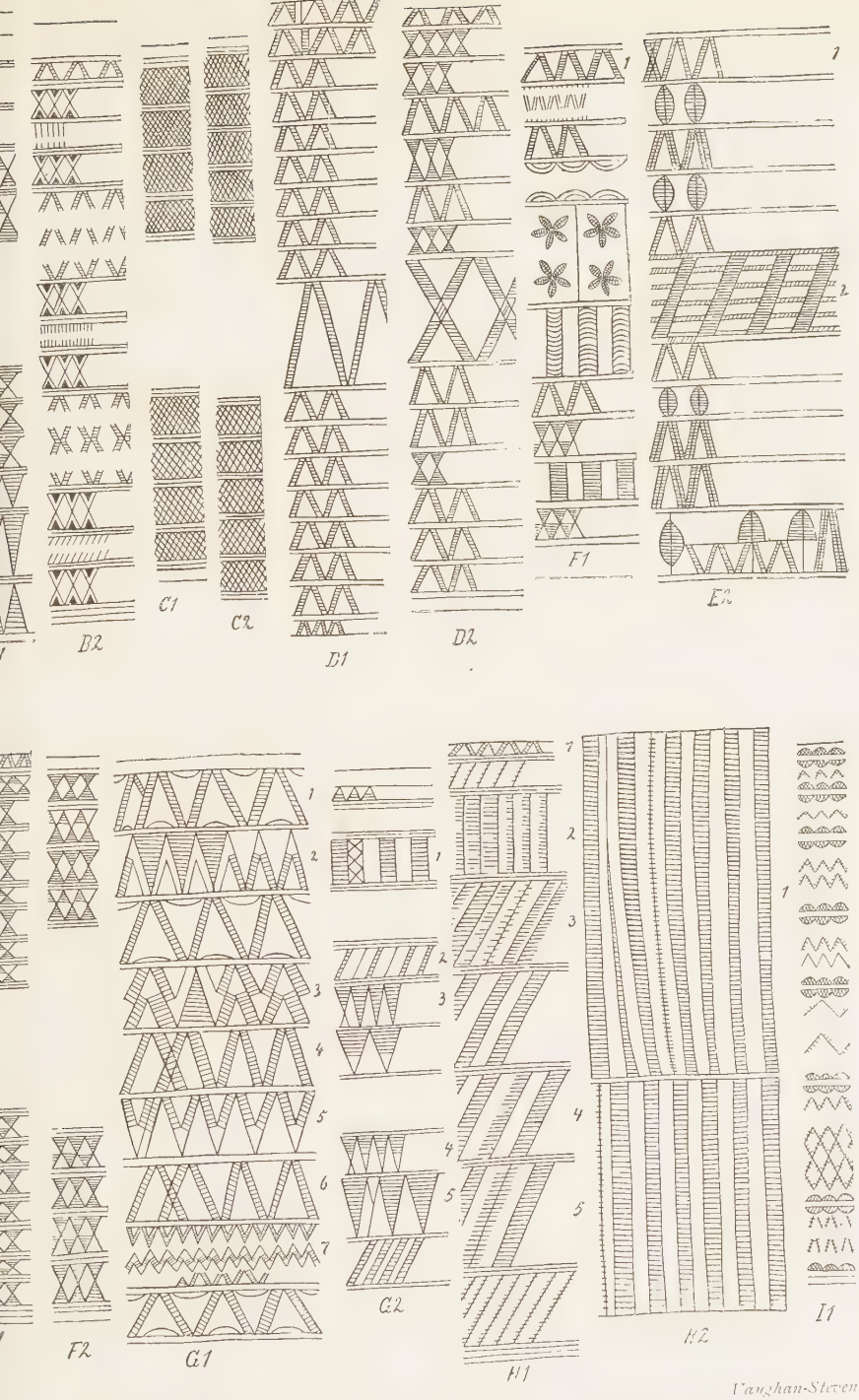
If the general arrangement of the blowpipe patterns is compared with that of the quivers and

[1] See *Z. f. E.* xxv. 85.

[2] These so-called "rules"—to taboo the cross-hatching of a point, and to say that a line may only be inserted when there is room for it—are unfortunately only too typical of the hair-splitting character of much of Vaughan-Stevens' work.

[3] *Z. f. E.* xxxi. 164.

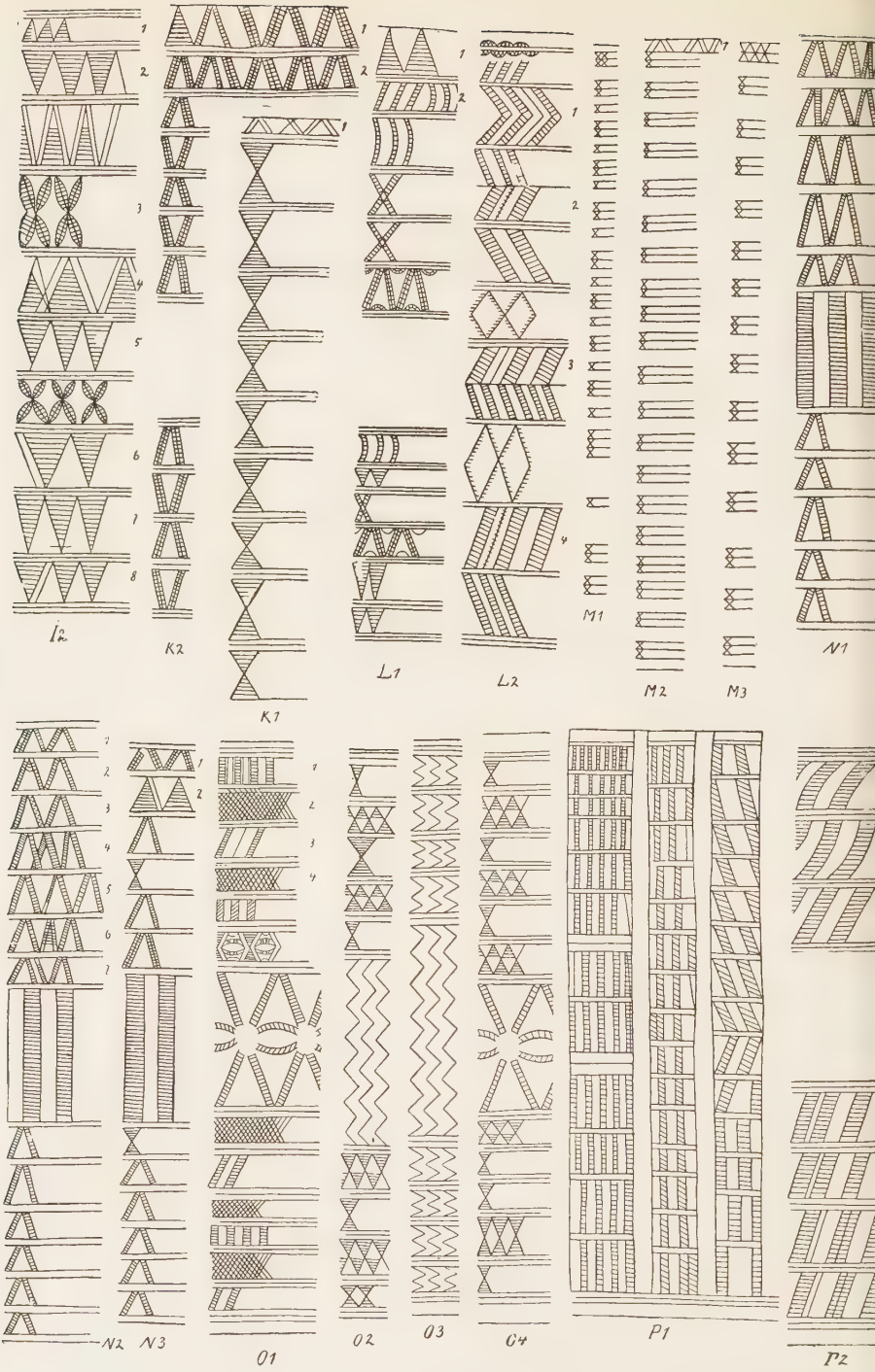
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 147-159.



Vaughan-Stevens.

TUBE ("GOR" AND "GAR") PATTERNS, PLATE IV. (*Z. f. E.* XXXI. 145.

J. I. p. 464.



TUBE ("GOR" AND "GAR") PATTERNS, PLATE V. (*Z. f. E.* XXXI. 148).

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charm-tubes, their similarity is evident, in spite of the differences between the individual patterns.[1] The Semang themselves appear to classify both kinds of patterns in the same general groups, and although this grouping was frequently undertaken by widely different members of the race, it has always remained essentially the same, even though the assigning of individual figures to particular classes may have varied. In the case of the blowpipe illustrations Vaughan-Stevens has adopted this classification, though in the case of the "go'" and "ga'" he has only occasionally referred to it.[2]

The blowpipe patterns, called "tenwad," may be separated into two types—(*a*) that of the majority, which, as possessing ring-lines, have each band or panel of figures separated from the next, and (*b*) those which have these lines at the extremities alone (see, for instance, Nos. 18, 21, 23, 44). In the first class, subdivision IA (see, for instance, Nos. 29, 30, 36) contained the chief "motive" in the central portion (called "betud"), just as the combs contained the pattern representing the Disease in the central panel, and above and below this came alternate rows or bands of figures and ring-lines. Whereas, however, on the combs the central (or Disease-pattern) is

[1] Vaughan-Stevens here expresses himself thus: "Others (*sc.* designs) could not be reduced (*sc.* to 'sumpitan' size), and consequently are retained as 'gor' or 'gar.'" Thus "go'" and "ga'," so far as the derivation of the "cha-nam-pah-i" is concerned, are used without distinction. See below, where V.-Stevens, after comparison of the "sumpit" and "go'" patterns, declares that the "cha-nam-pah-i" is developed out of a "go'." In another place V.-Stevens includes the "ga'" with the "go'" as dart-quivers. *Cf.* also V.-St. iii. 136. This is due to the fact that V.-Stevens evidently found no real difference of pattern between the "go'" and the "ga'," whilst his account of the development of the arrow-quiver ("cha-nam-pah-i") rests upon tradition alone.

[2] Of the following classes IE to IG there appears at all events in the "go'" and "ga'" a much more limited number than on the blowpipes. For Class IIA and IIB of the "go'," see below.

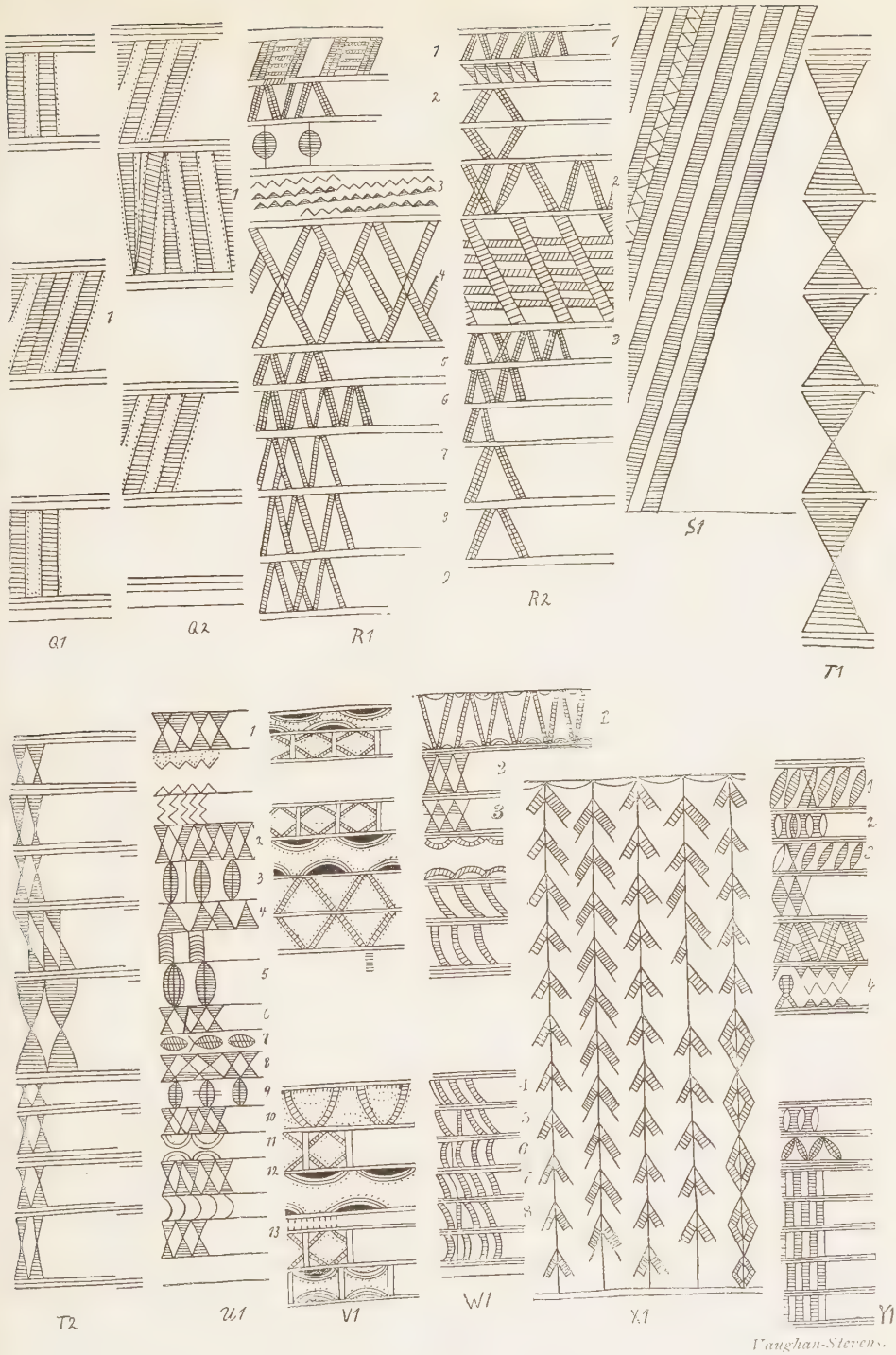
of relatively great width, the corresponding central panel of the blowpipes frequently seems to be narrow.[1]

[Subdivision IB of the same class has an empty space in the centre corresponding to that to be seen in quivers L1, F2, etc., whereas a space of this kind does not occur on the combs. This characteristic is one of a kind that does not usually strike the eye. When, indeed, the design of the long charm-tube ("ga'") was adapted to the shorter portion of the blowpipe-tube ("cha-nam-pah-i"), the meaningless blank centre space, the existence of which was only due to the rule that the pattern must cover the entire bamboo, was either altogether omitted or reduced to the space between two ring-lines. If any one wished to make the intervals between the ring-lines as wide as the vacant middle space (see, for instance, No. 56), there would be no rule to hinder him, but only custom. Hence it is difficult to know whether any particular figure belongs to this class,[2] and Vaughan-Stevens himself was doubtful how to classify No. 75 until a Semang cut the design for him on a charm-tube ("ga'"), leaving the open space in the centre. It belongs, therefore, to the same type as No. 56, except that the latter blowpipe pattern may be classified with yet another group on account of the dotted lines of the design, as we shall see. Since the vacant centre space in No. 75 was only

[1] *Z. f. E.*, *l.c.* 152. Only comb 20G has also a small, scarcely prominent central panel (*Z. f. E.* xxv. 94). Hence it is frequently impossible to establish the "betud."

Of the remaining panels there may be either four above and three below, or three above and two below, or in the case of a long "cha-nam-pah-i," five above and five below. But there does not appear to be any precise rule, as other variations are also admissible.

[2] Confusion with class IA is especially easy because of the want of prominence given to the "betud." Again, the non-multiplication of the ring-lines ("kening-uin"), which one would expect to find there upon the omission of the vacant centre space, does not point to the omission.



Vaughan-Stevens.

TUBE ("GOR" AND "GAR") PATTERNS, PLATE VI. (*Z. f. E.* xxxi. 149).

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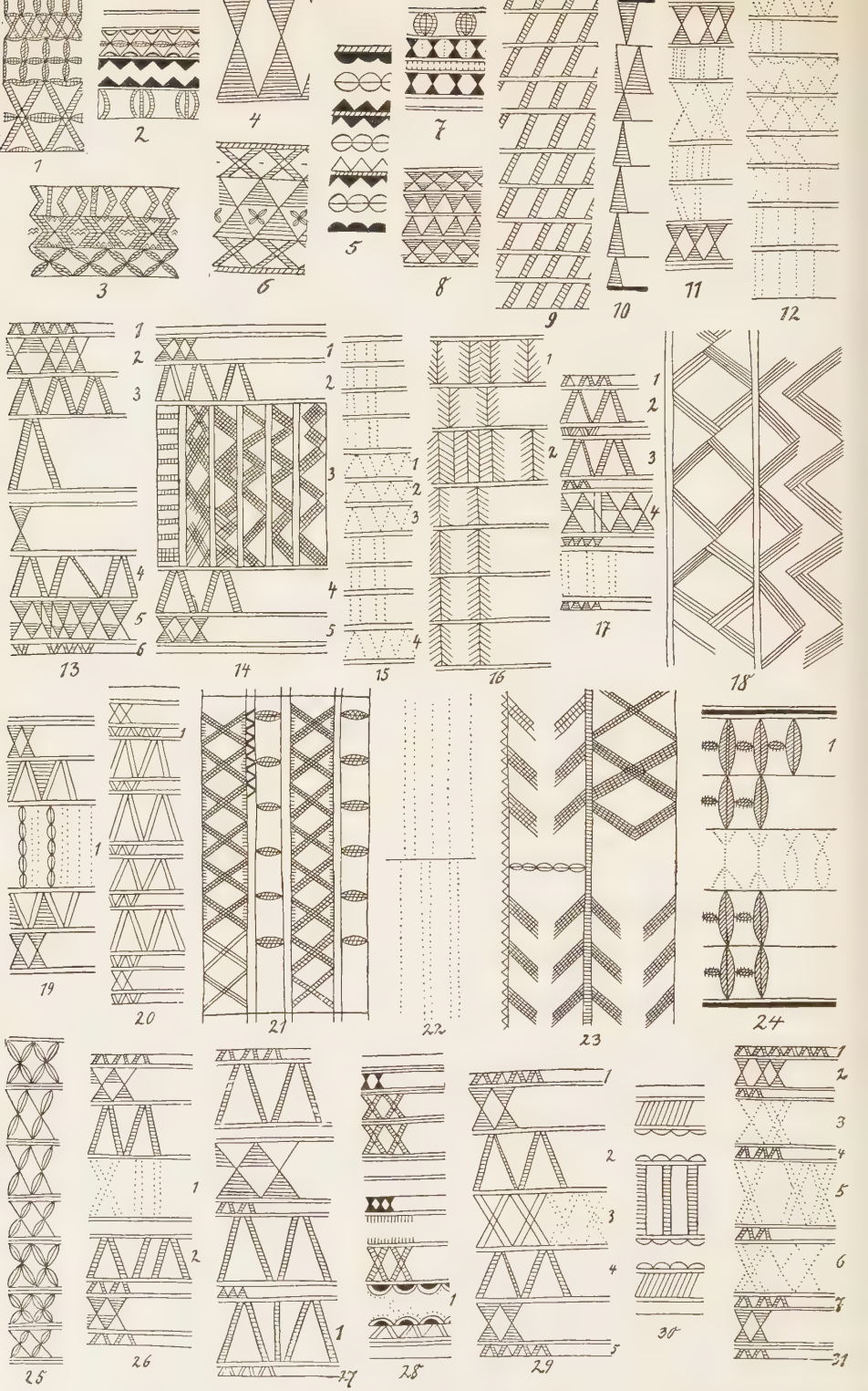

SPECIMENS OF "SUMPIT" PATTERNS, PLATE VII. (*Z. f. E.* xxxi. 150).

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Vaughan-Stevens.

bounded on each side by a ring-line, there was no indication when the space was omitted.[1] Blank panels in general are called "picheg," with the name for the panel in question prefixed.[2]]

This class IB is used for protection against any form of epidemic, whether severe or light.[3] In another place, however, Vaughan-Stevens restricts the patterns employed against epidemics to a special subdivision of Class IB. On this point he says that a Disease which we should call an epidemic, and which, though it only appears occasionally, attacks all or many at the same time (*e.g.* influenza, small-pox, and cholera), is signified by Nos. 96, 101, 105, 109 of the blowpipe patterns and by quiver H2, in which cases a design (usually, but not always, of identical form for both halves) fills the entire space, and is only divided into two parts in the centre by means of ring-lines. The upper half is for the men, the lower half for the women. This class, moreover, is not represented upon the combs, since the Disease attacks both sexes equally. No. 97 at first sight appears an exception, but the single black cross-line of the lower half is not a ring-line, since these are invariably at least drawn in pairs.[4]

[Apart from these two subdivisions, there is a yet further subdivision of the first type.[5] IC is of avail against Diseases which appear at different times and in different forms and in different parts of the body.]

[1] See the previous note.

[2] *Z.f.E.*, *l.c.* 152. *Cf.* "wās picheg" on the combs (*Z.f.E.* xxv. 81).

[3] But the Diseases against which the "ga'" and "go'" patterns (which possess a vacant centre space) are said to prevail are *not* epidemics.

[4] *Loc. cit.* 153. *Cf.* also i. 11.

[5] In what follows Classes IC and ID appear to be arranged under IA; IE and IF, on the other hand, as far as externals go, are not precluded from being grouped with Classes IA and IB (*cf.* No. 56.). IG shows, moreover, an approach to Class II., in respect of the general arrangement of the patterns (see Nos. 73, 77, 88).

A number of short pillar-like figures with other figures near one another in the central space are specially characteristic of this class of pattern. These more general charms are called "bihē" ("beehay").[1] Above and below the central space are to be found spaces containing yet other figures. The blowpipe design No. 127[2] is an example; it corresponds to quivers A1 to A4, and also to combs 28A and 31.

In subdivision ID the spaces separated by the ring-lines, including the central space, are filled with an essentially identical figure.

The dotted designs or "pichod" were divided by the Semang into two groups, which Vaughan-Stevens distinguishes as simple and compound. In answer to his question why these designs, especially those in which there were only a few rows of dotted figures, were not classified with the designs which resembled them in arrangement, he was told that they were quite another kind of charm ("tankor" = Mal. "tangkal"?).[3] Class IE, a simple series of dotted figures, protects the owner against slight external injuries, and the complicated pattern IF against more serious ones. This latter was formerly cut by the Sna-hut themselves.

Finally, there is subdivision IG, of which the narrow bands or spaces, enclosed between one or several groups of ring-lines, contain double cross-lines. Those with single cross-lines are special marks of Class I.[4]

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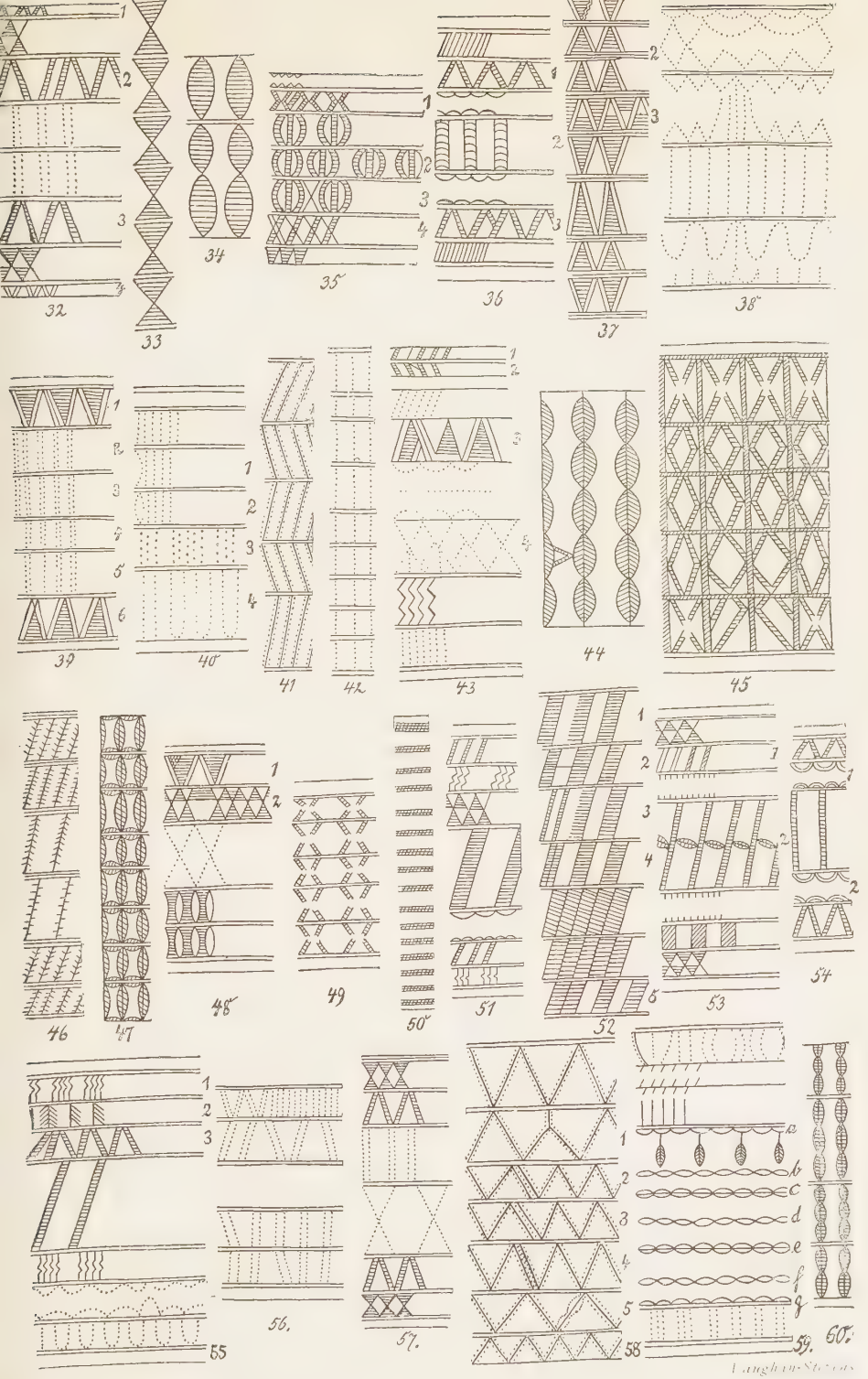
[1] *Cf.* the Semang name "biĕ" ("beay") — which means "two" — for the seventh space of the comb pattern.

[2] In the following table, however, No. 127 is introduced by V.-St. under IA, and Nos. 121 and 123 have no bands above or below the central space (see No. 127) although included by Vaughan-Stevens under IC.

[3] A talisman or amulet — dotted figures appear to a small extent in all classes, *e.g.* 95, 118, 125, etc.

[4] *Loc. cit.* 157.



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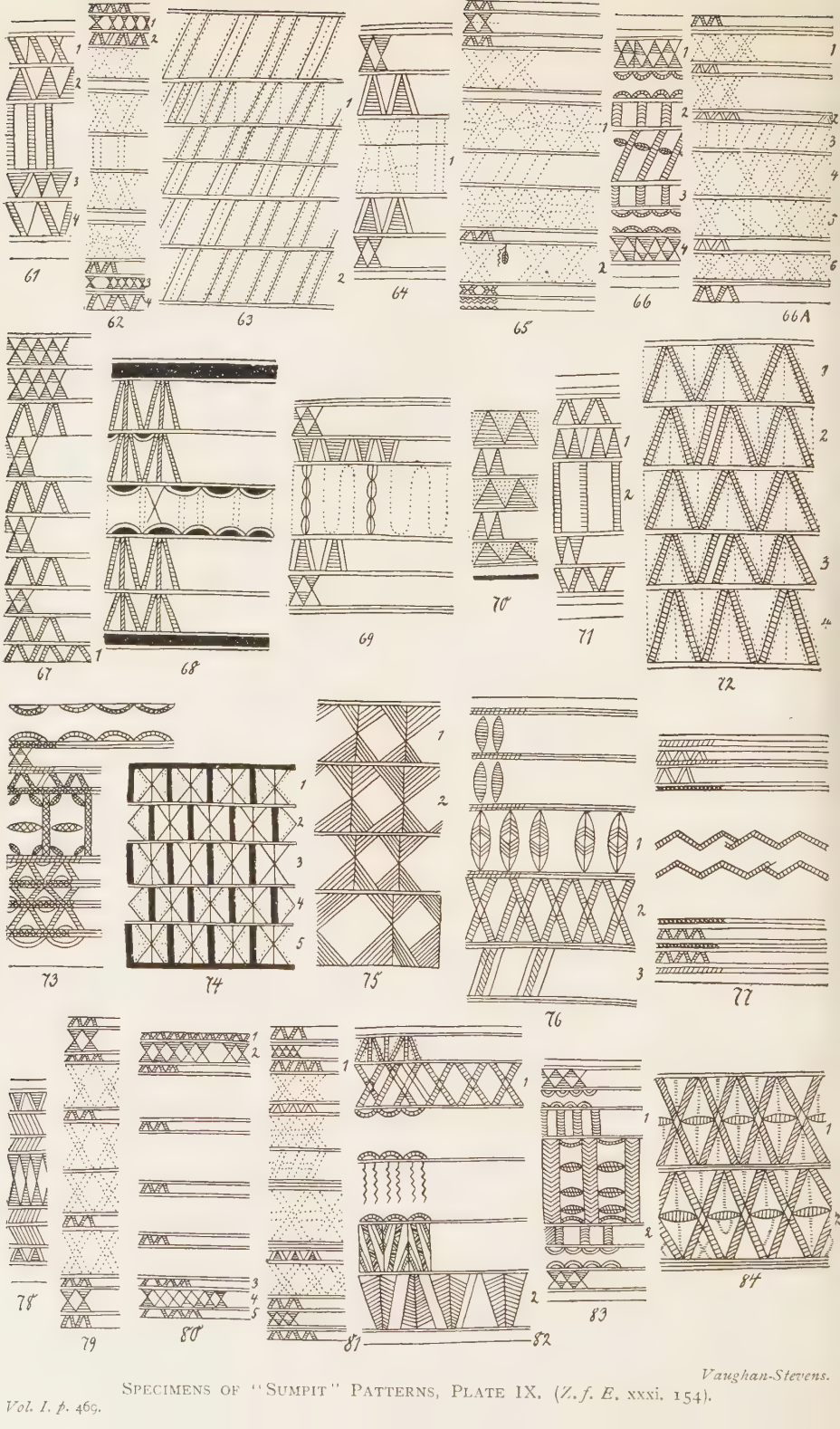
SPECIMENS OF "SUMPIT" PATTERNS, PLATE VIII (*Z. f. E.* xxxi. 151).



Vaughan-Stevens.

SPECIMENS OF "SUMPIT" PATTERNS, PLATE IX. (*Z. f. E.* xxxi. 154).

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[The essential features of this class, as declared by the great chiefs, are as follows:—

(1) The number and position of the ring-lines.

(2) The figure-rows or bands of the "wās" and "pāwēr," as well as the Disease-pattern in all cases, and in some tube-figures. The ring-lines denote, in inverse proportion to their number, the seriousness or otherwise of the Disease in question.[1] The tradition that the Putto only gave these rings as charms to protect the owner against lightning[2] appears, however, to be an exception to this rule.

A few remarks may here be made with reference to the representation of these ring-lines. Three such parallel ring-lines when in combination are called "keng-uin" or "kening-uin," but the ring-line proper is the middle line *a*, which should, however, be accompanied by both the others.[3] The two outside lines are also ring-lines, and form the usual dividing band or border between each row of figures on the bamboos.[4] If these two latter are compared to a full stop, the single line would represent a comma. The three lines appear in many drawings, but like the double, triple, and quadruple spiral ring-lines, the double,[5] barred,[6] and doubly barred[7] ring-lines are employed in place of the original

[1] In this case the shorter blowpipe patterns as compared with the longer "go'" patterns must invariably represent more serious illnesses, since the ring-lines of the former are relatively smaller in number than those of the latter. This, however, is most improbable.

[2] On the arrow-quivers and on "go'," A, see Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 136, and illustrations.

[3] It corresponds to the sort of lightning which is, to some extent, dangerous, but which at the same time may be averted by charms, whilst the upper line represents the harmless, the lower the most terrible, which cannot be averted. *Sic* Vaughan-Stevens (iii. 136). Cp. p. 400, *n.* 1.

[4] *E.g.* in "go'," O and T2. Spiral lines and rings are also used in combination as dividing lines of patterns, *e.g.* in "go'," A2.

[5] *E.g.* No. 117.

[6] *E.g.* No. 99.

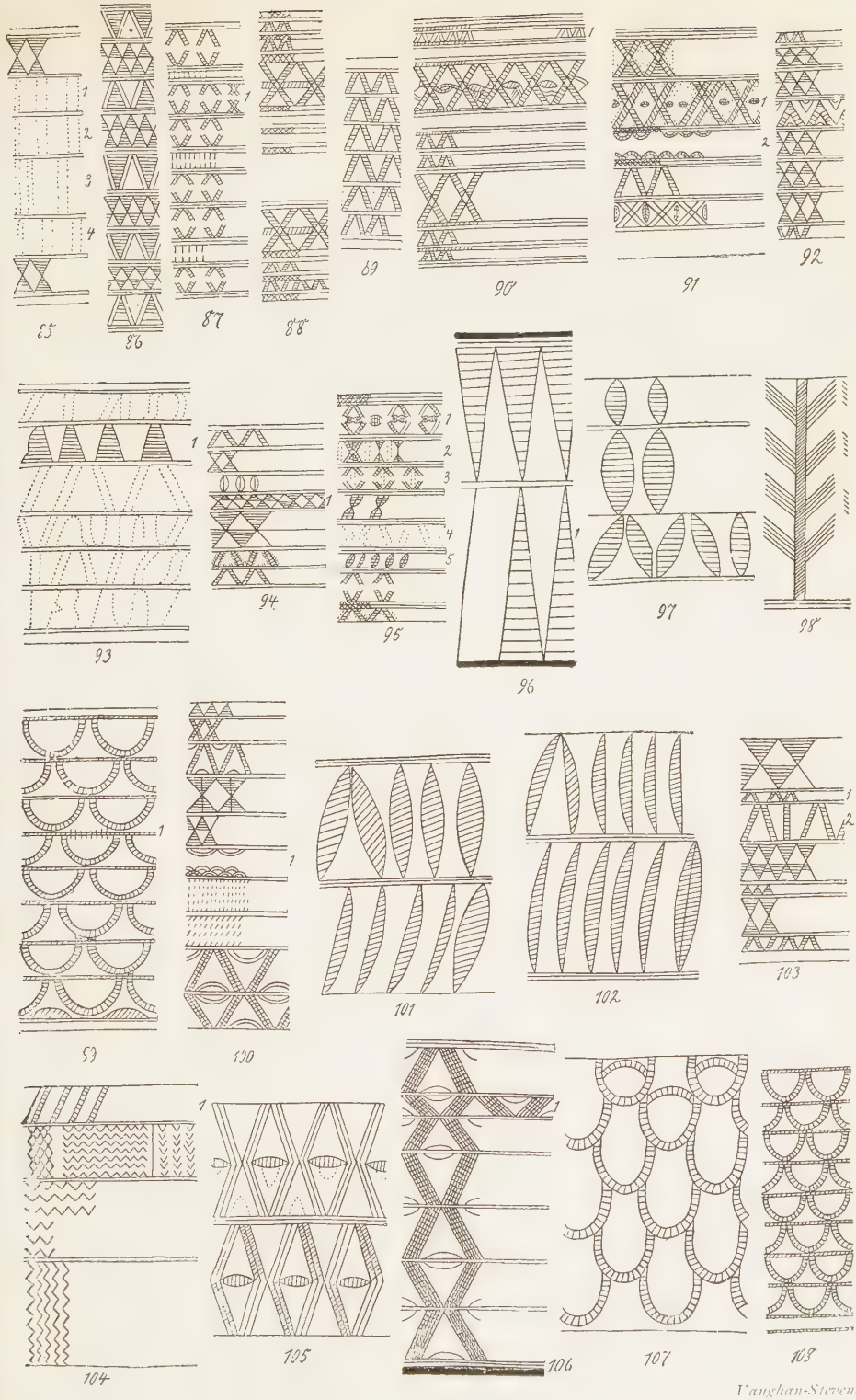
[7] *E.g.* No. 73.

patterns, perhaps as a new kind of distinguishing mark, when the same figure has been specialised to such an extent that it is difficult to invent new variations. No one, however, knows now why the great chiefs originally chose these forms.

Again, a fundamental difference may be distinguished by observing whether the "wās" (the upper figure) reaches to the edge of the bamboo (as in No. 79 and in quiver Q), or whether a vacant space is left separated by one or more horizontal lines (as in No. 51 and in quiver P). The edge-line above the "wās" plays the same part in the patterns of these tubes ("go'" and "ga'") as it did in the case of the combs, the only difference being that above the "wās" there may be one or two bands of ring-lines. This refers to the lower border and to the "mos"-line. The fact that the quiver and blowpipe patterns show these same distinguishing characteristics, is supported by the assertion that the shorter portion of the blowpipe-tube ("cha-nam-pah-i") was originally derived from a quiver pattern.[1]

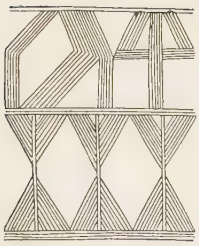
The second class of these patterns contains two further subdivisions. The one (IIA) goes with comb pattern 25D, the Disease connected with which always terminates fatally except when averted by the patterns. Here, too, belong, *e.g.*, Nos. 107, 112, 115, all of which are without the vertical lines which divide the entire pattern. In the second subdivision which possesses these vertical lines (IIB) the Disease is one which may cause death. The corresponding comb patterns are 25A and 25B. So, too, in the quivers both classes are present and both exhibit patterns either with or without the vertical lines referred to.

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxxi. 157, 158.



Vaughan-Stevens.

SPECIMENS OF "SUMPIT" PATTERNS, PLATE X. (*Z. f. E.* XXXI. 155).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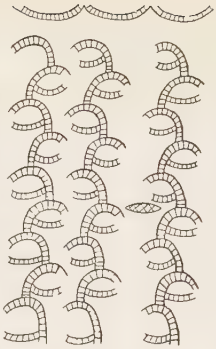
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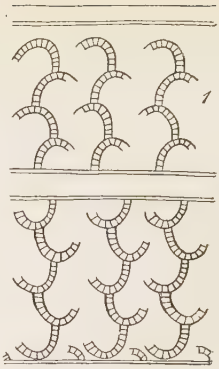

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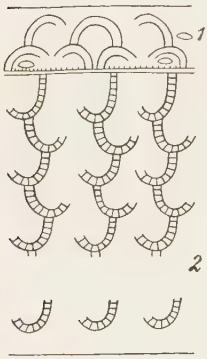

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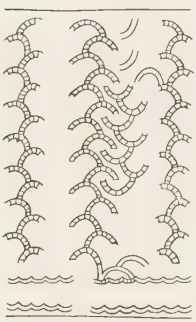
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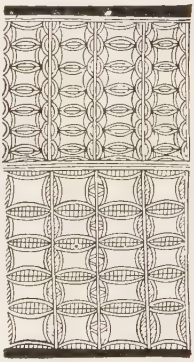
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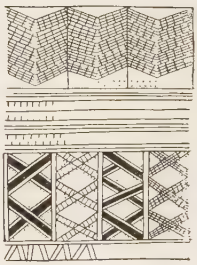
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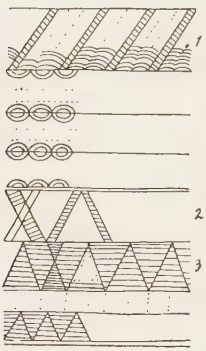

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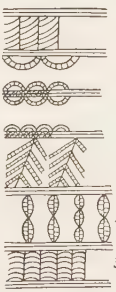

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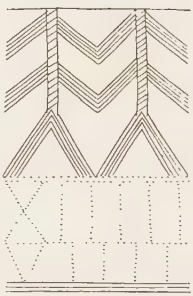
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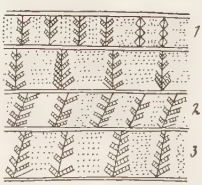

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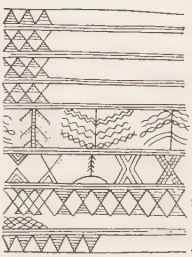

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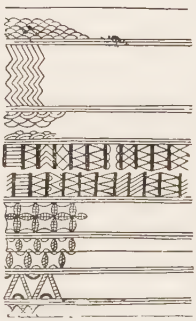
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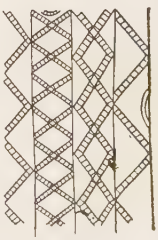
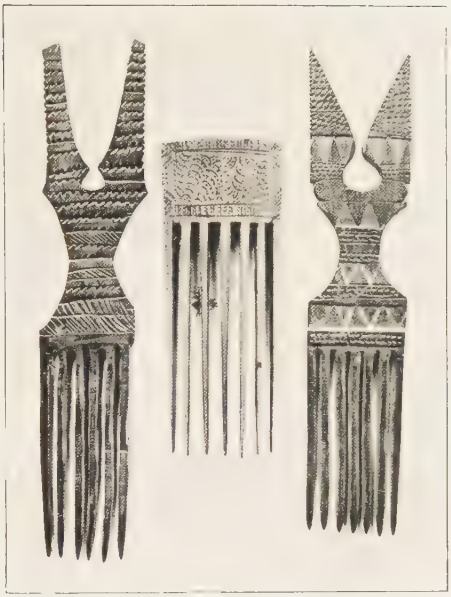

128

Vaughan-Stevens.

SPECIMENS OF "SUMPIT" PATTERNS, PLATE XI. (*Z. f. E.* xxxi. 156).

Hale Collection.

SAKAI HAIRPINS, PERAK.

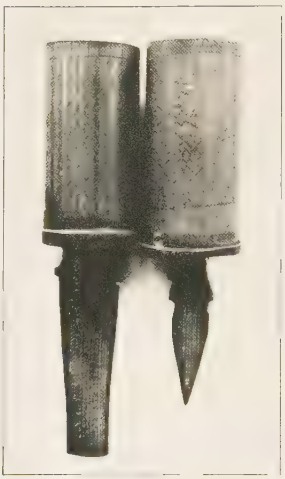


Hale Collection.

SAKAI COMBS, PERAK.

Hale Collection.

SAKAI COMBS, PERAK.

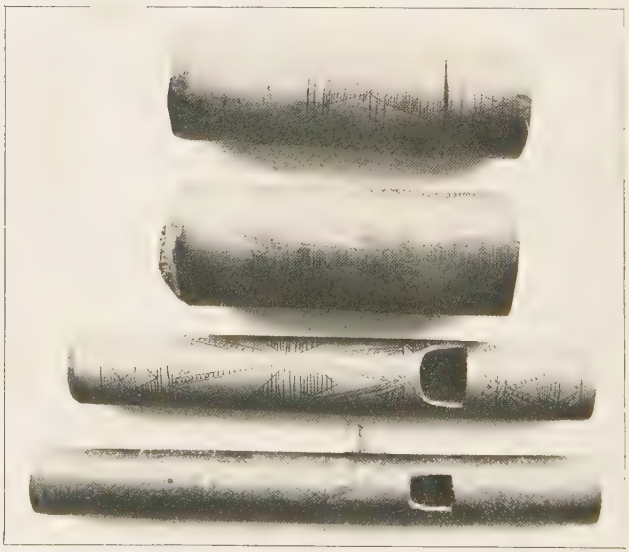


Hale Collection.

BAMBOO VESSELS USED BY PERAK SAKAI.

Hale Collection.

QUIVER USED BY PERAK SAKAI.



Hale Collection.

BAMBOO VESSELS USED BY PERAK SAKAI.

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For instance, IIB is represented in quiver P1, S1, and X1; but Vaughan-Stevens was not able to obtain a pattern of IIA. The significance of the patterns with regard to the course of the disease is the same as that of the blowpipes. In both subdivisions the same figures may occur, although they are usually made smaller in IIB than in IIA. The chief difference does not lie in the form of the figures, but in their general arrangement.[1]]

If these charm patterns, no matter of what class, are not worn till after the Disease has got a foothold, they do not help. In that case a decoction of the materials denoted by the figures[2] must be drunk by the patient. This rule applies alike to the patterns of combs, quivers, charm-tubes, and blowpipes.

II.—Sakai.

We shall now consider the designs on some musical instruments of the kind called "tuntong" (or, I think, more correctly, "tuang-tuang"), this being the only form of the decorative work of the Sakai that appears to have been studied by Vaughan-Stevens.

[1] *Z.f.E.* xxxi. 158. In fact, however, there are in IIB quite different figures to those which are grouped under IIA, at least in the case of the blowpipe, and in Class IIB there is no sign of any special smallness of the figures.

The 129 patterns of the blowpipes are divided in the following way into the classes described :—

IA. 5, 13, 28, 30, 35, 36, 51, 53, 54, 61, 66, 67, 71, 76, 78, 82, 83, 86, 87, 90, 92, 94, 100, 103, 104, 111, 124, 126, 127.

IB. 2, 7, 27, 34, 68, 84, 96, 97, 101, 102, 105, 109, 113, 116-118.

IC. 14, 121, 123.

ID. 8-10, 16, 20, 25, 33, 37, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 58, 60, 63, 70, 72, 74, 75, 80, 99, 106, 108, 125.

IE. 11, 15, 17, 19, 26, 29, 31, 32, 39, 48, 55-57, 62, 66A, 79, 81, 85, 120.

IF. 12, 24, 38, 40, 43, 59, 64, 65, 69, 89, 93.

IG. 73, 77, 88, 91, 95, 119.

IIA. 1, 3, 4, 6, 22, 107, 112, 114, 115.

IIB. 18, 21, 23, 44, 98, 110, 122, 128.

[2] Naturally it is quite different in the case of the fatal disease of Class IIA. *Cf. Z.f.E.* xxv. 81, 83.

STAMPER ("TUANG-TUANG") PATTERNS.[1]

These "tuang-tuangs" were bamboo tubes closed at one end by the natural node or joint, but open at the other. They were decorated with magical designs, and were employed in the magic ceremonies of the Sakai. Two of these instruments were generally used together, and being held one in each hand were struck upon the ground from time to time in such a way as to produce musical notes. The account given by Vaughan-Stevens of the specimens he succeeded in obtaining is as follows:—

Bamboo No. 1.[2]

[The explanation of the first of the patterns was that if the bamboo were held with the knot downwards, the two figures represented at the bottom would be seen to be those of a man and a boy, both of them in a sitting or rather in a squatting posture.

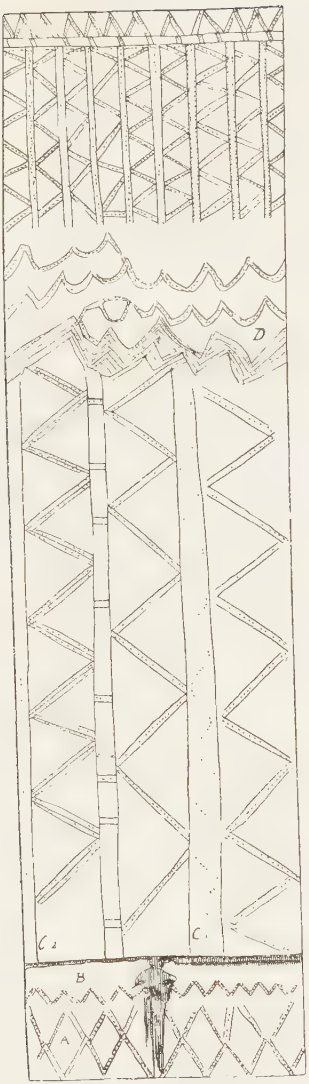
This explanation must be taken for what it may be worth, though Vaughan-Stevens adds that his Sakai informant showed him the exact posture that the bottom design was intended to represent, viz. that of a man (as has been said) in a squatting position, with the right leg drawn up and the right knee resting upon the knee of the left leg.

The line of chevrons just above this lowest design is explained as being formed by the angles of the boy's knee and ankle, which motives are repeated all round the bamboo in a continuous band (B).

So far, the explanation of this pattern appears to

[1] For list, *v.* App. The same criticism applies here as at p. 411, *n.* 2.

[2] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 146. Length of the original bamboo, 42 cm.



Vaughan-Stevens.

BAMBOO NO. 1.—CHARM PATTERN OF UNKNOWN USE.
(For explanation see text.)

Original length, 42 cm.

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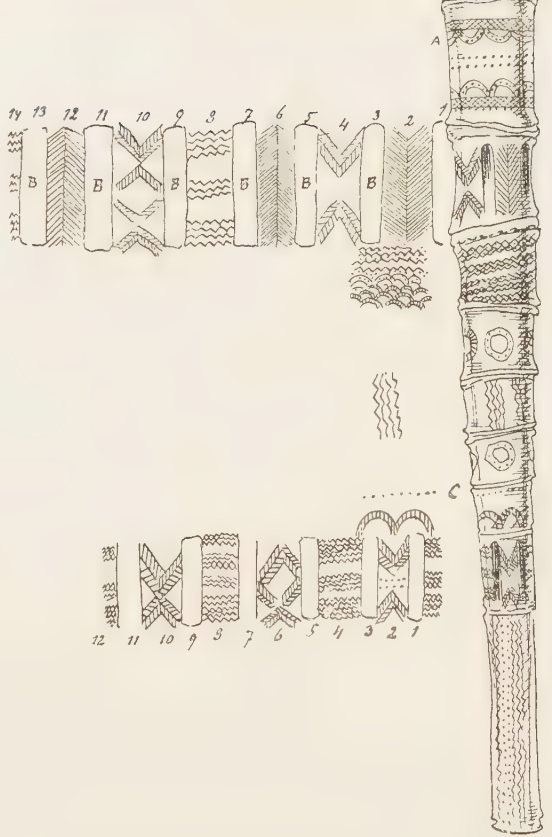

FIG. 7.—MAGICIAN'S STAFF (62 cm. long).
For explanation of figures see text.

Vol. I. p. 473.

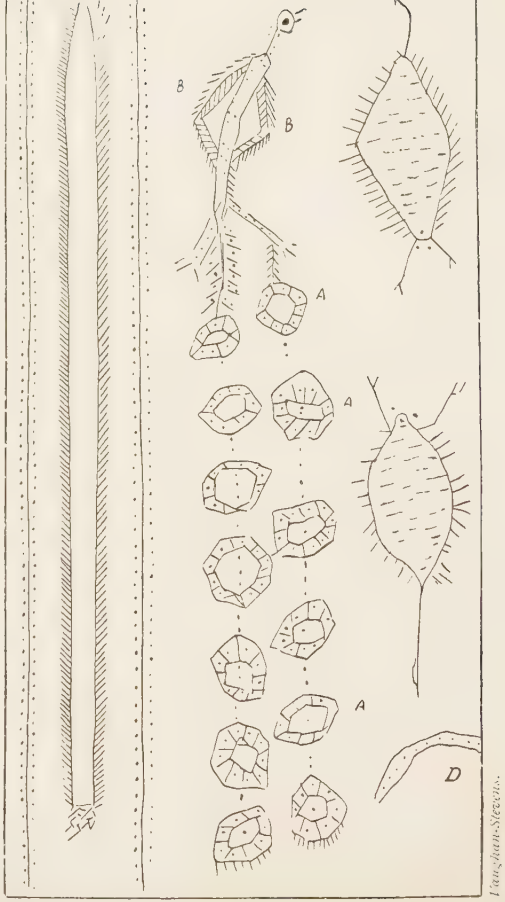

FIG. 8.—CHARM TO INVOKE AID OF ARGUS-PHEASANTS AGAINST CENTIPEDES AND SCORPIONS. Breadth of original, 24½ cm.

be the least convincing of the series, there being no discernible reason for distinguishing this chevron from any other.]

At C (Vaughan-Stevens continues) is represented a long fish-fence with a trap or "weel" in a river (Mal. "sērok"), the wavy line in the centre representing the movements of a fish in the water. The dotted straight line at C2 represents the posts of the fish-fence as seen from above. The other three parts are angles of the fish-fence. At D (Vaughan-Stevens was told) a man warming his hands at the fire was represented, the fingers of his two hands being intertwined, the figure thus produced forming the sign for "fire." But this explanation is not very convincing, and of the rest of the pattern no explanation whatever could be obtained.[1]

Bamboo No. 2.[2]

Fig. 7.—The wizards' staff proper was a crooked bamboo. The one figured contains a charm against the vampire, apes (*i.e.* epileptic attacks), and the Argus pheasant (*i.e.* madness). On the uppermost internode is represented the figure of a house or rather perhaps fence (such as that already mentioned).

A "vampire," according to the view of the Sakai, is not a demon—even though it is incidentally so called—but a being of flesh and blood. The ape-demon and the Argus-pheasant demon ("kuang") are distinguished from it by the fact that the demons can come through walls and hedges, which the vampire cannot do. The dots near the figure of the fence

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 146. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 167-172.

represent the upper extremities of the posts forming the fence, as seen from above. The projections at A in the fence pattern represent the feet of the vampire, and hence, indirectly, the vampire itself. The double row of dots running between the fence figures represents the vampire's loin-cloth or "chawat." [1]

The next row shows (at B—B) the "seven bamboos" of the "Tabong" legend,[2] which form a favourite subject for representation. Between these seven bamboos (all separate) there now remain the following alternate figures: (1) a bamboo-leaf or leaves, pointing upwards; (2) the vampire's wings; (3) a bamboo-leaf or several leaves, pointing downwards; (4) clouds; (5) the vampire's wings and body; (6) a bamboo-leaf, pointing downwards; (7) clouds.

The next division shows the figures on the feathers of the Argus; the scale-shaped figure which is shown beside it in the illustration representing the scales on the feet of the bird. The fourth division contains the eyes on the feathers of the Argus pheasant's tail. The fifth division represents clouds, which, like the vampire, are emblematic of nocturnal life. The sixth division again shows the eyes on the tail-feathers of the Argus.

The seventh division represents the elbows of the ape, as emblematic of an entire ape. The dots shown above at C are the dots on the blowpipe-dart, and help to distinguish the figure from others, such as the elbow of an ape.

The broad stripes produced by stripping off the skin in the eighth division again represent bamboo stems.[3]

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 170.

[2] This will be found in vol. ii. pp. 213, 214.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 171. Here again it is possible that Vaughan-Stevens may have fallen into some trap through misunderstanding his informants.

The figures in this field are: (1) a bamboo; (2) the vampire's claws, the double row of dots between the claws again representing the "chawat" (or "vampire's" loin-cloth); (3) a bamboo; (4) clouds; (5) a bamboo; (6) the wings of the Argus pheasant; (7) a bamboo; (8) clouds; (9) a bamboo; (10) the vampire, hanging downwards; (11) a bamboo; (12) clouds.

The lowest part of the stem of the instrument represents clouds and stars, as emblems of night, during which the demons are especially active.

It is with a musical instrument of this kind that the magician conducts the ceremony, his pupil meanwhile sitting behind him with painted bamboos, of which those portrayed at A and B are specimens. The one marked A is 48 cm. long, and has a diameter of 5 cm.; B is 56 cm. long, and has a diameter of $3\frac{1}{2}$ cm. The patterns with which they are painted are given again unrolled at the side of this text, from a pattern made for Vaughan-Stevens himself.[1]

[These particular bamboos were said to represent in general the oldest form of this instrument. The figure marked A was said to show the hot finger-marks of Tuhan impressed upon the bamboo by way of ornament, while the seven bamboos are again said to be denoted by the peeled stripes.] From its shape the object at A must represent the chief bamboo at a "tuang-tuang" ceremony, and B the second one. The figures portrayed on the second bamboo represent two sorts of rattan, called respectively "riong" (or "rayong"?) and "butong" (? "bĕtong"), which play an important part in the preparation of the Pangan

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 171.

arrow-poison. The figure is an ordinary representation of rattan; the interval representing the tree round which the rattans climb. The repetition of the figures indicates multiplicity.

These two bamboos do not form a pair, but came from quite different localities. Vaughan-Stevens, however, adds that up to the time of writing he had not seen a painted pair really used. The shorter of the two is always held in the right hand.[1]

Of the many existing patterns of these instruments Vaughan-Stevens only succeeded in getting specimens of the following :—

Fig. 8. A charm to be used by men as a protection against scorpions and millipedes.

Fig. 9. Against mice and squirrels.

Fig. 10. Against ants.

Fig. 11. Against a skin-disease.

Fig. 12. Against the collapsing of houses.

Fig. 13. Unexplained.

Fig. 14. Against millipedes, a charm intended for the use of women engaged in searching for the fruit of the "salak"-palm.

Fig. 15. Against spiders supposed to be venomous.

Fig. 16. Against fish armed with poisonous spines.[2]

Fig. 17. Against animals which destroy the rice-harvest.

Fig. 18. Against drought.

The first two of the following illustrations are taken from copies of designs incised upon bamboo staves by a Sakai who refused to part with the originals. The rest are originals.

Fig. 8.—In the centre of the pattern is seen a

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 172.

[2] *E.g.* "sĕmbilang" fish.

male Argus pheasant ("kuang") with its two long tail-feathers covered with "eyes." The wheel-shaped marks at A represent these "eyes," the disc-shaped marks at B its wings. To the left of this bird is portrayed a long, reddish-yellow millipede, its head looking in the direction of the Argus's tail. The dotted lines running parallel to the millipede on its right and left represent the traces that it leaves behind on the flesh of any person whom it attacks. To the right of the Argus are shown two blue scorpions in the act of approaching each other. The object confronting each of their stings represents the swelling that forms in the flesh of any person stung by them. The female of this kind of scorpion is considered more poisonous than the male, and is said to produce double perforations when it stings.[1] Hence the double row of dots at C denotes the effect of the female's sting, the single row at D the sting of the male.

The original pattern was incised upon one of these bamboo "tuang-tuang," and the interpretation given to Vaughan-Stevens was that, "since the Argus pheasant lives on scorpions and millipedes, its help is summoned against them by striking this bamboo upon the ground."[2]

Fig. 9 (a copy like Fig. 8).[3]—The illustration shows three rows of designs, separated by lines, which ran completely round the original bamboo. The man who copied this drawing for Vaughan-Stevens took only a half-stem instead of the whole, because it was easier to hold on the knee while the figures were being incised with the chopper ("parang").

[1] This distinction, perhaps, may be due to a tradition of the double-stinged scorpion.

[2] *Z.f. E.* xxvi. 173. For more conventionalised Argus patterns, *v. Fasc. Mal.* 17-26.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 174, 175.

The central row is of special interest, as it shows how the Sakai draw elevations as ground-plans. The central figure represents a Sakai house, the structure being raised on posts and lashed together with rattan. The floor of these houses is raised, as a rule, two or three feet above the earth, is of split bamboo, and a roughly made wooden ladder leads up to it ; the interior is divided by a partition made of split bamboo slivers, tree-bark, or leaves. One of the rooms thus formed (at the back) serves as a bedroom for the married inmates, the other (the front one) being set aside for cooking purposes, as well as for sitting in, and for the reception of guests. At one end of this front room is a small square wooden box, which is filled up with earth to form the hearth. The two gable-ends of the roof are filled in with palm-leaves ("atap") fastened to light slats to prevent the rain from entering. The sides of the house consist of upright sticks, with horizontal cross-pieces, to which latter palm-leaves are fastened as before. Thus the drawing is to be explained as follows :—

A is the track leading to the house.
B is the house-ladder.
C^1 the cooking-room.
C^2 the sleeping-room.
D a doorway (without door).
E the partition.
F the hearth or fireplace.
G the side walls (except the front one).
H H the palm-thatched gables of the roof.
J the back gable-end.

The lowest panel with the dotted lines represents a rice-field ("padi") near the house.[1]

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 175.

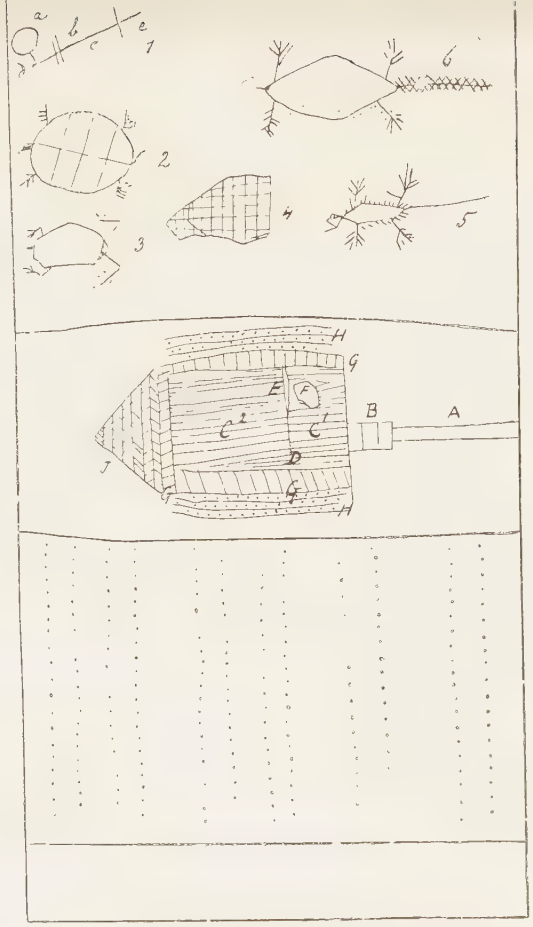

FIG. 9.—CHARM TO CAUSE RAIN AND PROTECT YOUNG RICE-PLANTS. Original width, 25 cm.

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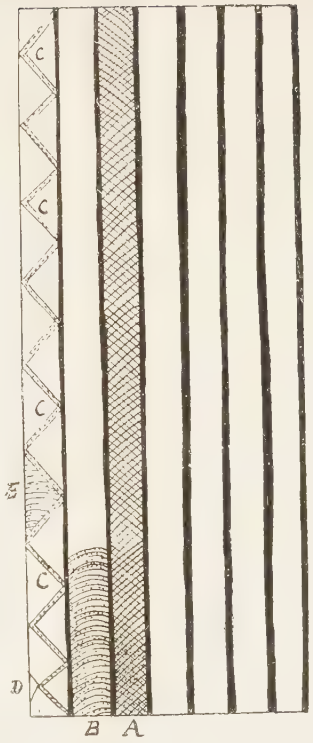


FIG. 10.—CHARM TO KEEP AWAY ANTS. Original width, 60 cm.

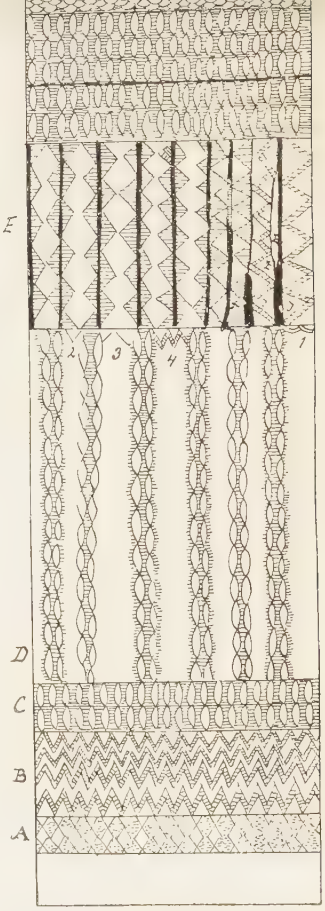


FIG. 11. CHARM AGAINST TWO KINDS OF SKIN DISEASE. Original width, 48 cm.

Vaughan-Stevens.

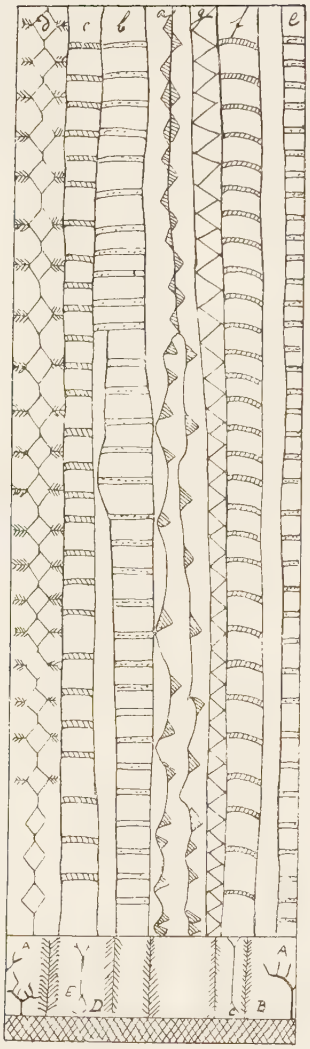
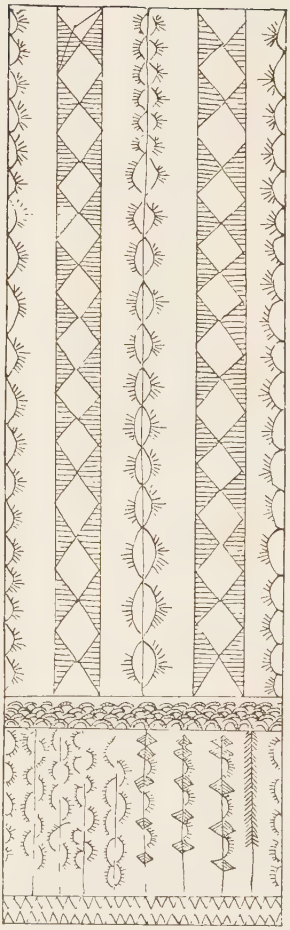


FIG. 12.—HUT-BUILDING CHARM (TO FACILITATE COLLECTION OF MATERIALS).

Original width, 72 cm.



Vaughan-Stevens.

FIG. 13.—CHARM FOR DRIVING AWAY DEMONS.

Original width, 71 cm.

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In the upper panel are represented at Fig. 1 the rice-stamper which the Sakai, like the Malays, use for pounding rice out of the husk—(*a*) is the rice-mortar, (*b*) the trestles supporting the rice-stamper, (*c*) and (*d*) the stamper as it falls into the mortar, and (*e*) the extremity of the stamper.

Fig. 2 portrays a tortoise; Fig. 3 a frog.

Fig. 4 is the sieve used for winnowing the rice when pounded.

Fig. 5 represents a mouse; Fig. 6 a squirrel—recognisable by its bushy tail.

The entire design is a rain-charm, the effect of the rain being symbolised by a tortoise and frog, which enter the rice-field, the mice and squirrels which come after the rice (when it is already gathered in) being expelled thereby.

Fig. 10.—Original drawing of a "tuang-tuang."[1]

The seven long stripes, where the outer cuticle of the bamboo has been peeled off, represent the seven bamboos already mentioned.[2] The figures at A stand for a house-floor (an abbreviated symbol or emblem standing for the whole house.) The dots at the bottom represent the hearth.

At B are shown the bristles of a wild pig, which are introduced as symbolising game that has been slain and brought home. At D is the pig's carcase. At C are the ants which devour its flesh; and at E the nest in which they live.

The general design is intended to keep the ants at a distance, and the bamboo that bears it is very often given into the charge of one of the children, who proceeds to strike it upon the house-floor whenever there is boar-flesh about, if ants are seen

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 177.

[2] *Cf.* Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 129.

approaching. The Sakai believe that the hollow sound of the bamboo, together with the vibration of the floor-timbers struck by the instrument, will drive away the insects.[1]

Fig. 11.—Original drawings of a "tuang-tuang"[2] intended for protecting the person against two forms of skin-disease, one of which produces white leprous-like ulcers, and the other hard knobs on and under the skin. To take the bottom of the picture first (the open end of the bamboo being uppermost) —at A are shown a number of frog-holes in the banks of a river. The dots and lines represent these holes as they appear in the soft mud, some (at A) being under water, others (at B) above it. Above this figure, from which it is separated by a ring-line, are portrayed (at B) a number of frogs' legs, which are introduced as an abbreviated symbol of the frogs themselves, completely conventionalised. Above these frogs (at C) are a number of elliptical figures, said to represent rows of ant-heaps.

Other objects represented by these figures are (1) a Disease[3] whose effect is compared to the biting of ants, and (2) the torso of a victim of the Disease referred to.

Out of the ground (at D) grow creepers, which are represented (by means of interlaced lines) as climbing round the stems of trees, the short horizontal strokes between the interlacing figures symbolising the stems of the lianas. The still shorter strokes on the outer side of the interlaced creepers show if they are prickles and thorns, or (when they are mere dots)

[1] *Z.f.E.* xxvi. 176. [2] *Ib.* pp. 177-179.
[3] Probably Mal. "sĕmut-sĕmutan," or "cramp," *lit.* the "creeping of ants."

the claw-marks of animals on the bark.[1] Directly under the ring-line, which divides this panel from the one above it, are to be seen, between the lianas, four minute figures (numbered 1 to 4) which are said to represent a bird, a butterfly, a caterpillar, and a tree-frog respectively. The panel (E) above the ring-line represents various stages in the growth of a tree. Reading this from right to left, we commence with the broad black stripe signifying the leafless tree-trunk. To the left of this there follow five similar figures, which represent fully developed leaves. To the left of this again is a black stem, with leaf-drawing on the right side only; these represent the young and undeveloped leaves at the top of the tree. Returning to the right of the panel, we come to a black stem with zigzag figures (*y y*) on each side of it; these zigzag lines represent twigs.

The cross-hatched figure to the left of this latter stem (*z z*) represents the extremity of the creepers (which are shown in the panel next below), and signifies that these creepers, starting from the ground, have reached the topmost branches of the tree.[2]

Still further to the left (next to the stem with the branches) is represented the topmost shoot of the tree with its leaves still undeveloped. The lower part of the tree is of some interest.

The broad part of the stem is portrayed by peeling off a thin strip of the outer cuticle of the bamboo.

[1] In the German original, a sentence here follows to the effect that the short cross-strokes between each pair of creepers represent two lines of ants, which are portrayed as running up and down the creepers. This statement, however, conflicts with what goes immediately before, as the strokes in such a case would necessarily run in a *vertical* direction instead of a horizontal one.

[2] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 178. Some of V.-St.'s explanations in this and the following ten pages seem far-fetched, and should be received with caution. He gives no localities.

This treatment, however, is only continued up to a certain point, and then the stem shrinks suddenly together to a single line ; this is to signify the diminution in size of the tree towards the top. Above this panel there is a repetition of the pattern already described at C, but in this case the three rows of the pattern are explained as representing the spots on the skin caused by the Disease, these spots being described as resembling " melon-seeds," and as breaking out upon the head, the body, and the feet, thus necessitating the three rows of the pattern.

The topmost panel (above the one just described) represents fish-scales, which signify the leprous scales caused by the Disease, and which are again repeated in three rows, corresponding as before to the head, body, and feet of the patient. They are multiplied in order to denote that if not cured they will gradually spread over the whole body. Near the right extremity of this panel are to be seen a number of dots on the scales ; these are meant to signify the last stage of the disease, which is marked by incurable ulcers out of which blood comes. They are said to resemble the sores which come from wounds inflicted by the poisonous spines of a kind of fish.[1]

The entire design is a survival of a charm-pattern which was employed by the ancient Sakai magicians.[2]

Fig. 12.—Pattern of a " tuang-tuang " resembling Fig. 11, the open end of the bamboo being in this case at the bottom.[3]

[1] There can, I think, be no doubt whatever, from what I myself saw of small-pox on the east coast, and from what I remember of native descriptions of the symptoms, that this pattern was a small-pox charm. The tree represented, too, may quite possibly resemble the " bidara pahit," which the east coast Malays employ in their ceremonies for warding off the attacks of the Small-pox Demon.

[2] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 179. [3] *Ibid.*

The hatching in the lowest panel represents the wall of a house, as symbolising the house itself. The figures A A are partially burnt trees, which have remained standing after the felling and burning of a clearing. To the left of these trees (at B) is a young "bĕrtam"-palm leaf placed upright (in its natural position). At C is shown a branch or tree-stem forked at both ends, stems of this kind being used as props or trestles.

The next three figures to the left of these are also "bĕrtam"-leaves (one upright and two upside down), the upright ones representing the central or inner leaves of the palm, and the remaining pair the outer ones (which are forced outwards and downwards as the inner ones expand). At D there follows a tree (either blown down by the wind, or perhaps uprooted by human agency), which is shown lying ready for its stem to be split.

At E we have a leaf of the "langkap"- (*Licuala*) palm, such as is sometimes used for thatching in substitution for "bĕrtam" (*Eugeissona*). Above this are drawings which symbolise house-building material.

a. This represents a creeper in full leaf. Whenever this creeper (which is used for the house-lashings) is pulled down from the top of the tree up which it has climbed, it falls in coils on the ground. These are symbolised by the duplication of the lower part of the figure.[1]

b. Left of this is the figure at *b*; the lower part of which represents a kind of rough ladder by means of which the roof (of the half-built house) can be reached; half-way up comes a break showing the place where the roof is joined on, and above that we

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 179.

see the roof-timbers, which serve here as a substitute for the ladder by which the ridge of the gable is reached.

c. The figure at *c* (representing the roof-frame?) is in contact with the roof (*b*); the lower half represents the thatch-work ("atap") of "bĕrtam"-leaves.

d. Two rattans (cane-creepers) intertwined (together with their leaves) are seen at *d* (*cf*. Fig. 13).

e. At *e* we have rude steps which are ascended by the worker when he wishes to detach the rattans from the summits of the trees.

f. Joined to the thatch at *f* are small figures symbolising the freshly cut leaf and the slat of thatch made out of it.

g. The figure at *g* represents a long zigzag path, the windings of which denote the obstacles round which the cut "ataps" have to be carried in the jungle before they can be brought to their destination.

The complete design is a charm to assist the builder of a house in finding and using the materials he requires.

Fig. 13.—The tradition explaining the origin of this pattern is now, alas! no longer current, and for each of the figures two different versions were given. This bamboo had descended from father to son for three generations, and was universally recognised as a charm-pattern intended to drive away demons seeking shelter on cold nights in the warm upper story or loft in the roof. The various figures of the pattern were still universally recognised—with the exception of some about which nothing certain was known, and which were only retained in accordance with ancient custom. All that could be remembered with regard to the tradition of this

pattern was that it was connected in some way with the "tabong" legend. Beginning at the open end of the bamboo, the second important figure was the rattan creeper, but the significance of the numerous triangular figures could not be made out. Only in one respect was opinion unanimous. The rattan referred to shows fruit and leaves, and a whip will be seen in the same figure. Hence the conventional forms of the rattan depend in each case upon the use which is to be made of it.[1]

Fig. 14.—This is the original pattern[2] of a "tuang-tuang" which is sounded by those who are about to collect the acid fruit of the "nipah-" or thatch-palm[3] (as well as that of a similar sort of palm called "k'lubi asam" in Malay) before entering the swamp in which they grow. These particular fruits are employed as spices by the Sakai. The palms in question resemble the "bĕrtam"-palm in being stemless. The leaves grow out of the ground in a great tuft, and the root-clump itself, swelling gradually as the plant gets older, forms a small hillock in the swampy ground. These hillocks are full of scolopendra attracted by the fruit, which always grows upon a thick stem, suspended only a few centimetres above the surface of the ground. Because of these scolopendra the women are not allowed, as a rule, to pick the fruit, which is the business of the men.

The figures depicted at *a* in the top panel of the design are the typical "frogs'-leg" pattern, which are said to be always used as the symbol of a "swamp."

The fact that the figures are represented both at the top and the bottom signifies that the entire region where the fruit grows is swampy. The panel marked

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 181. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 182, 183. [3] *Nipa fruticans.*

d represents the interlacing of palm-leaves amid vegetation of such luxuriance that a passage has to be cut through it with a chopper ("parang"). At each side of the pattern a simple zigzag line (*b b*) runs upwards. This represents a series of scattered root-hillocks belonging to the palms on the landward side of the swamp. The figures at *c* (the right-hand bottom corner of the design) represent a slight rising of the ground at the point from which the swamp has been entered. The panel next above *d* represents clumps of dead palm-stumps, the decay of which leaves an open pathway composed of earth that is soft on the top. Such a pathway, however, often conceals the pointed growing shoots of the palms, which, as they near the surface, often inflict severe wounds upon the naked foot, whereas in the case of living "nipah"-palms, which have a firm stem to support the foot, this cannot happen. It is on this account that the outlines of the hillocks are furnished with points on the inner side. When, therefore, the fruit-gatherer walks across these hillocks to reach the interior of the swamp (as indeed he always does from the land side, rather than, like the Malay, in a boat from the water) the ground gives way beneath him and he sinks in. The surface of the hillocks is heaped with dead sticks and leaves, and if the fruit-gatherer happens to sink deeper still till he reaches another hillock lying underneath, his foot is not unlikely to come in contact with sharp shoot-points below the surface (*e*). Farther on he comes to the great leaf-tufts and the "nipah" fruits, which latter look not unlike a gigantic bunch of grapes protruding from between the leaf-stems on the hillocks round the palm-clumps. The figure at *f* represents one

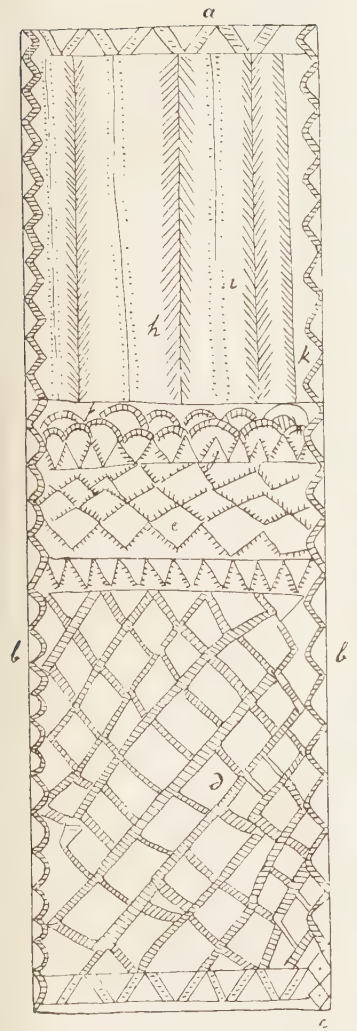
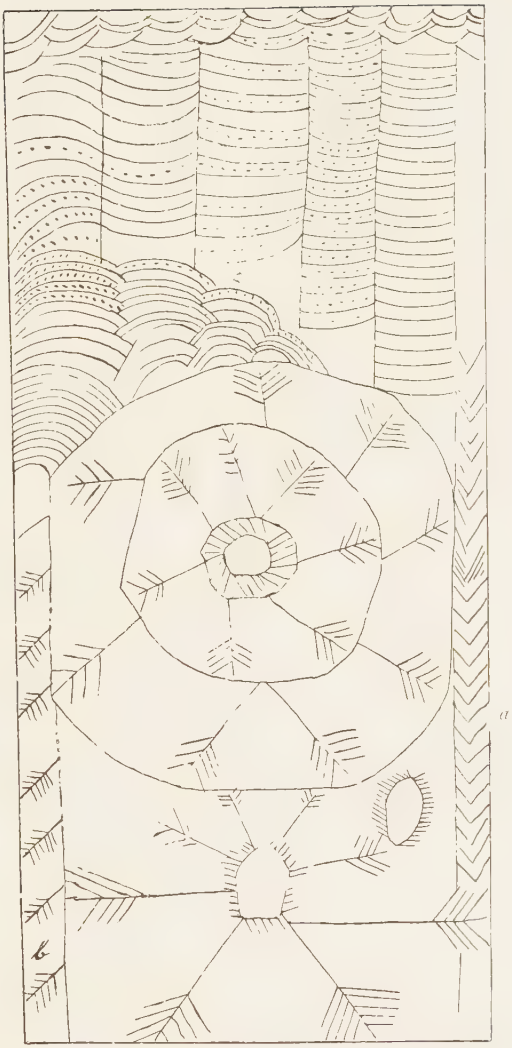


FIG. 14.—CHARM TO SEND CENTIPEDES TO SLEEP AND PROTECT GATHERERS OF "NIPAH"-FRUIT.
Original width, 26 cm.



Vaughan-Stevens.

FIG. 15.—CHARM AGAINST VENOMOUS SPIDERS.
Original width, 28 cm

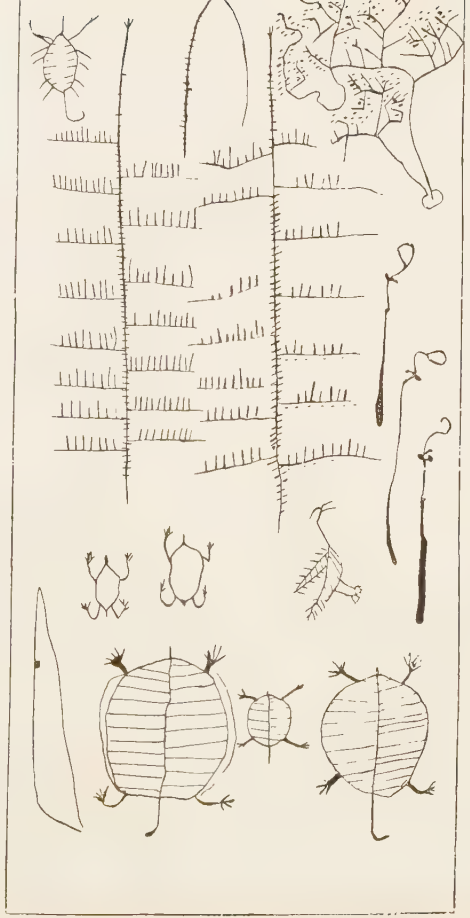


Fig. 16. Charm to facilitate Capture of

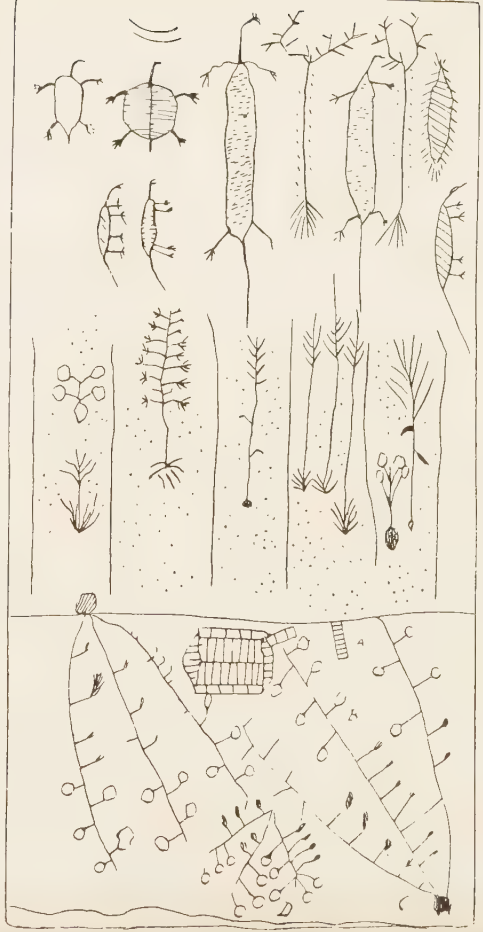


Fig. 17. Charm to protect the Crops from

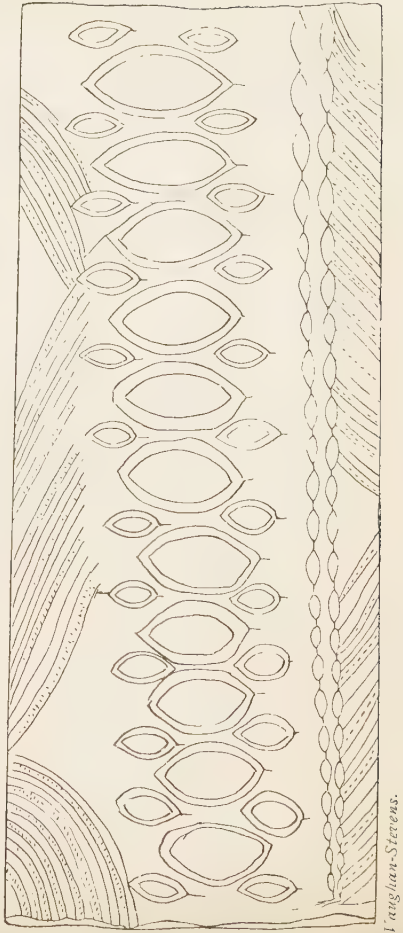


Fig. 18.—Charm to bring Rain

Vaughan-Stevens.

of these bunches of fruit and that at *g* the hillock itself. Over this (at *h*) is portrayed a millipede, and at *i* the track of the same insect. The track of the millipede as it creeps to and fro on the leaf-stems is indicated by two drawings of millipedes looking in opposite directions.

The object of the charm is to cause the "millipedes to fold their legs together and sleep," so as not to be able to injure any one engaged in plucking the fruit. At the right side of the figure (at *k*) a sleeping millipede is shown.[1]

Fig. 15.—Among the great variety of spiders in the Peninsula there is a poisonous one that spins its web at about a man's height in the jungle.[2] According to the aborigines, it is the male that spins the thread and directs the prey towards the female, who sits in the web guarding it.

The angles (called "elbows") at the right of the pattern (*a*) represent tree-branches, and the female spider (the lower figure) is seated upon them. The female spider in this case has a superfluous leg, which extends to figure *b* at the left of the figure.

Such superfluous limbs are not unusual in the drawings of the wilder Sakai. They are not due to want of observation, but to want of calculation. The more Malayized Sakai would never commit such an error.[3]

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. p. 183.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 184, 185.

[3] When Vaughan-Stevens saw the mistake in the figure he pointed it out to the Sakai who brought it. The latter, taken aback, counted the legs by laying each of the fingers of one hand in turn upon each of the legs of the spider. After thus counting up to five, he appeared not to be able to reckon the two additional legs, and it did not occur to him to help himself out by means of the other hand. After two or three failures, he took a number of twigs in his hand, and laid them on each of the legs of the figure in succession. Then he caught a spider and killed it, and compared it for some time with the drawing without being able to see clearly where the mistake

Other Sakai drawings of spiders have five legs, but in this specimen we sometimes see seven and sometimes eight. Perhaps the mistake may have arisen from copying an older pattern. The fact that the male spider (in the centre of the figure) has two rows of legs, instead of one, was explained as indicating that these spiders do not remain in one place, but run to and fro.

The Sakai believe too that the spiders have fangs or jaws like the millipedes, but that they are too small to be seen. As already mentioned, the "spider's feet" at the edge belong to the female; the explanation being that the spider is supposed to have run along the thread.

Near one of the right feet of the female is to be seen a small round figure surrounded by short strokes. This is the young one, which the female is supposed to be tending.

The figure on the body of the male is incorrectly drawn, but has no significance.

The upper part of this pattern is of special interest. It represents the stony side of a hill—a locality where these spiders are supposed to be specially numerous.

The figure *c* towards the upper half of the drawing indicates a hill emerging into a sand-covered plain (like the plains which lie near rivers). Over this again rise hill-ridges, represented by a figure that appears to possess three separate types, denoting respectively (1) projecting rocky masses, (2) simple rocky or stony ground, and (3) water-courses.[1]

was. At last he tore off the legs of his victim, and laid them in succession on those of the figure, when he was highly astonished to find that there were not enough to go round. The only thing he then said was "silap" (mistake).

[1] *Z.f. E.* xxvi. 184.

The dots denote "leaves" or vegetation, *e.g.* grass, etc. Slopes covered with forest are also shown, with their summits bare of vegetation. The curves [⌒] which reach to the centre of the pattern represent a ravine which is only wooded at the upper part, where the trees of the surrounding jungle are shown. The vertical lines are the trunks of the trees, the curves [≷] their branches, and the dots their leaves. The boughs at the right are leafless. Then follow two columns of leafy trees, and a third (leafless) one with lianas, orchids, etc., growing upon its dead branches. Above these, at the rim of the pattern, the signs [≷≷] represent long rattans and similar creepers climbing from tree to tree.

The figure is the copy of a "tuang-tuang" pattern —a picture of the forest as the draughtsman had probably often observed it.[1]

Fig. 16.—Like Fig. 15 this is only a copy of one of these patterns, with which the owner absolutely refused to part. The original was intended to serve as a charm to assist the women in catching small fish, and at the same time to afford them some slight protection against poisonous fishes. Towards the left, at the bottom, is depicted a big tortoise; a little to its right, a small one and a rather larger one; these three, which typify a male, a female, and a young one, are meant to symbolise the amount of the booty. In the extreme left-hand (bottom) corner is a fishing-rod, which is drawn upside down. The rather thicker black line represents the rod, the black spot near its foot the reel, and the thinner line the line itself. In the centre of the right-hand border are to be seen three rice-spoons of an ancient

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 185.

type, consisting of a wooden handle with a bowl made from a kind of shell. A little to the left of these spoons stands a water-bird, the species of which could not be ascertained. It has, however, webbed feet and a pouch under its beak. Further to the left are two frogs. Above the spoons, in the right-hand top corner, stands a mangrove-bush, such as grows in the salt-water swamps. The central figure of the pattern is a rattan creeper of the kind called "manau," which frequently grows at the mouths of rivers. The vertical lines [=|=] are stems of this creeper with its formidable thorns, the cross-strokes its leaves. Between these two rattan-stems, and just above them, one of the prickly leaf-whips of the same plant is shown, the prickles being so formidable as to have earned from the Malays the name of "tiger-claws." In the left-hand top corner is depicted a scorpion, which serves as a sort of hieroglyph indicating the word "scorpion-tail," as the Sakai name these "tiger-claw" thorns.[1]

Fig. 17, like Figs. 15 and 16, is the copy of one of these instruments ("tuang-tuang") with which the owner would not part. This pattern is intended as a charm to protect the growing crops and the plantations round the house from injury by animals. In the lowest (third) division of the pattern are to be seen—(1) the house itself, and (2) near the house (at A) a figure which looks like a ladder. This figure represents the steps, which consist of small logs thrown into the mud and dirt in order to make the soft ground passable. Around the house there is a field planted with sweet potatoes. The round white figures on stalks [——o] at B are the leaves of the

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 186.

plant ; the dark ones the edible tubers. The plant to the right at C is supposed to be growing, as it appears, at the foot of a slope, and the smaller one, shown upside down at the bottom (near D), appears to be growing on the hill. The Sakai frequently clear the side of a hill for their small plantations and huts. The entire landscape, indeed, is hilly, and the valleys are mostly so overgrown with vegetation that a successful clearing cannot possibly be made without good implements.[1]

The central division of the pattern is occupied by several kinds of plants, divided from each other by six dead trees, which are denoted by vertical strokes. Starting from the right, we see, in the intervals between these trees, (1) maize, (2) yams or "kĕladi" (*Caladium*), with their edible tubers, then three sugar-canes, which are throwing out (edible) shoots at the root. Next we again see maize and tapioca ("ubi kayu"), the latter with its edible root-tubers ; then come two plants, one above the other, the upper one being a species of yam with tubers, and the lower one a banana tree with young banana shoots. The dots around the plants denote a considerable growth of grass. The uppermost part of the figure contains the animals against which this charm is directed. Above, at the right-hand corner, is to be seen a caterpillar, with a rat underneath it ; then follow (on the left) two monitors or "lace-lizards" (such as steal hens' eggs). Beside each of the monitors stands a leafy tree, representing the favourite hiding-place of these reptiles. The large trees, which are often left standing in the clearing, then form the hiding-places referred to ; the little strokes that cover each side of their stems represent the running up and

[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 187.

down of these reptiles at night-time. In the left-hand top corner a tortoise with her young one is to be seen. The crescent-shaped figure is meant for a puddle, denoting the home of the reptile in question.[1]

Fig. 18.—Copy of a "tuang-tuang," which the owner refused to sell. It serves as a charm to produce rain when a light monsoon (and consequent drought) is damaging the rice-fields. The figures [/.////] represent rain driven by the wind, the strokes a violent downpour, the dots the drops; [////] is the north-east, [///] is the south-west monsoon. The lines of rain indicated by these curves typify a tempest. The repetition of the rain-motive denotes "much rain." Near these rain-figures is a double row of tortoise eggs as symbols of the tortoise, which in its own turn represents moisture, wet, dirt, etc. Down the centre there runs a row of figures representing young "kĕpayang" ("piyung") fruits. The "kĕpayang" begins to develop its fruit when the rainy season commences, and its ripened fruit drops as the season ends—which explains the symbolism. There are certainly some kinds of "kĕpayang" trees that bring forth their fruits in other months, and the Sakai, when shown these trees, remarked that the rainy season was the season in which the "kĕpayang" trees of his ancestors ripened. What the real explanation may be is not known, but most probably the tradition of the Sakai is quite correct, even if one cannot explain it in every detail.[2]

Magic combs are also found among the Sakai, but little is known of them. They usually have more teeth than the Semang ones.[3]

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[1] *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 188. [2] *Ibid.*

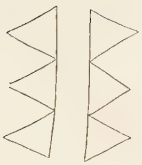
[3] See, however, Martin, 703, and cp. p. 423, *n.* 1, *ante*.

Brit. Mus.

KUANTAN DART-QUIVER.

(See also p. 315.)

[For rubbings of Besisi and Blandas blowpipe patterns, *vide* Appendix.]



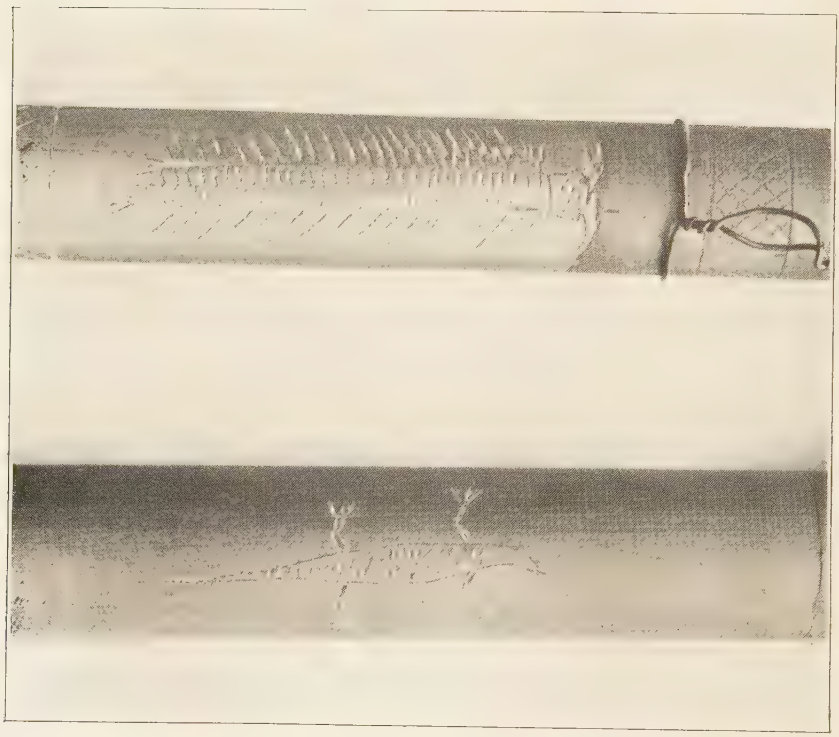
Blagden.

"Krakap chamai": this "okeh" (ornamental design on the blowpipe, Mal. "ukir") is so called because it imitates the growth of the wild "sirih" or betel-vine ("chamai").

Blagden.

"Okeh le-it hubi," Mal. "ukir lilit ubi," compared to the intersecting branches of an "ubi" (tuber).

MANTRA PATTERNS.



Skeat Collection.

BESISI ZOOMORPHS.

Centipede on Besisi flute, bought from the performer. Lizard on shaft of Besisi blowpipe.
(See also p. 309, *ante*.)

III.—Jakun and Orang Laut.

As has already been pointed out above, no material is at present available which would enable us to come to any conclusion with regard to the artistic work of the Jakun. The patterns employed both by the Blandas and the Besisi showed no appreciable departure from those employed by the Sakai. Yet it is perhaps worth while recording that the same practice that has been recorded among the Sakai of drawing the part of a figure instead of the whole was certainly well understood by the Besisi, who were themselves the first to inform me of this fact, and who showed me many specimens of their work in which this principle was acted upon. The commonest Besisi zoomorphs were lizards, centipedes, and the "lotong," the long-tailed "spectacle monkey" of the Peninsula, of which I have seen drawings both on their blowpipes and their quivers, and although as a rule it was only the bones, or in some cases the extremities ("jari" = fingers and toes), that were represented, every member of the tribe appeared to recognise them, without the slightest difficulty, as the symbol of the *Semnopithecus*. The pattern representing it bore some resemblance to a pattern recorded by Mr. Blagden among the Mantra of Malacca; these latter, however, gave it the name of "krakap chamai," or "wild betel-vine shoots." Another pattern, which Mr. Blagden sketched at the same time, was called "le'it hubī'" or "entwined tuber-shoots" (= Mal. "lilit ubi"). But these, with a few Kuantan and Mantra patterns preserved by Vaughan-Stevens, form about all the material at present available.

CHAPTER X.

The Social Order.

CHIEFS, LAWS, AND SUCCESSION.

A striking difference between the three races is discernible the moment the question of social organisation is approached. The Semang have at present no organised body of chiefs, and though it is true that, according to Vaughan-Stevens, they possessed a set of superior chiefs called "Putto" ("Puttow" or "Puttau"), and a set of inferior chiefs called "Sna-hut," neither title has yet been recorded by any other observer, and all that we know at present from other sources is that the tribal heads of the Semang tribes were called "Pĕlima" (= Mal. "Pĕnglima"). The Sakai, again, appear to possess nothing more elaborate in the way of social organisation than the Semang, but among the Jakun of the south we have, under the tribal Chief or Batin, a series of subordinate chiefs called respectively "Jinang," "Jukrah," "Penghulu," "Pĕnglima"—a state of things which points to a comparatively great advance on the part of the race in the art of self-government. And it is also significant that the titles of the first three of these offices (Batin, Jinang, and Jukrah) are very rarely found north of Selangor, except perhaps in some of the scattered communities of the Orang Laut on the western sea-board of the Peninsula. It is, in fact, among these very Orang Laut

or Sea-Jakun that this system of tribal chiefs and sub-chiefs is most fully developed.[1] In other words, we here have evidence that the aboriginal Malayan race stands upon a higher social plane than either the Sakai or the Semang—a fact which agrees very closely with the conclusions derivable from other grounds of comparison. This fact, however, will appear still more clearly from the detailed descriptions of social customs to follow, *e.g.* from the evidence of their possessing some knowledge of political boundaries—a knowledge which both the Sakai and the Negritos fail to possess.

To sum up, every portion of the primitive social fabric reared by these tribes bears the clear impress of the child-like simplicity and trustfulness that lies at the root of their character; and in no department is this more evident than in that which pertains to law and public order. The evidence discovers an unappreciable amount of crime, few laws, and still fewer hard-and-fast penalties fixed for the non-observance of the latter.

De Morgan considers that the laws of the Sakai should attract attention, not only from the fact of their forming a rudimentary system based solely on customs which, originating in the peculiar circumstances and habits of the people, have grown to possess the authority of a legal code, but also from the remarkable spirit of equality and fairness which this primitive body of custom exhibits, and which is calculated to produce a high impression of the intellectual worth of the race that made it, in spite of their having always lived apart from the civilisation of their neighbours.[2]

[1] Most of the Jakun tribes have traditions of a great chief of their own, superior even to the Batin (*e.g.* the Mantra, *Misc. Ess. rel. Ind.*, Sec. Ser. vol. i. p. 301); and in the old constitution of the kingdom of Johor the Batin was inferior to the Orang Kaya, though superior to the Penghulu, of whom he had several under him. *Misc. Ess.*, *l.c.* p. 288. It is here, therefore, that we must look for the Batin's original status.

[2] De Morgan, vii. 419.

They live as nomads in a densely forested region, in which, as a rule, they make small clearings or plantations, remaining in one place for this purpose during varying periods from about three months to a year, but never more. When they migrate and form fresh clearings they seldom move to any distance, but remain in the neighbourhood in order to gather the crops which come to maturity after their departure.[1] Hence their hunting is also confined within definite areas.

They thus possess the characteristics at once of nomadic and agricultural races, shunning their more civilised neighbours, and only engaging in trade to an altogether negligible extent.[2]

The most rudimentary of the social systems that obtain among these tribes is that of the Semang, who live under the simplest form of patriarchal government.

The Semang and Jakun chiefs have a kind of regalia.[3]

I.—Semang.

Kedah Semang.—The chief of each Semang tribe is now called "Pĕlima" (= Mal. "Pĕnglima," the "Snahut" of Vaughan-Stevens). Proof is still required of the statement that there were till recently yet greater chiefs, who possessed a more extended influence and were called "Puttos." These, if they ever existed, seem to have now died out, at least in name, if not in function.

I was told that the last Big Chief ("Pĕlima Bĕsar") of the Kedah tribes was called "To' Pĕlima Chiak" (or "Old Chieftain Finch"). He was reputed to be invulnerable ("bĕkĕtŏk," *i.e.* "pachydermatous through magic"), and hence had great influence. His tribe told me he once kept a Malay who had murdered a Semang

[1] De Morgan, vii. 419.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 420.
[3] See vol. i. pp. 450, 455 (of the Semang); 510, 511 (of the Besisi); and vol. ii. pp. 291 and 313, *note* (of the Jakun of Jelebu).

tied up to a tree for two to three months, until a blood-fine of twenty-three dollars was paid. To' Chiak (though even he died not long afterwards) was, moreover, the only Semang in the whole country who ever entered the presence of the Raja of Kedah.

In modern days the Pelima's authority is confined to his official relations with his people. He is, however, still the chief medicine-man of the tribe, and actively follows his profession.[1] His duties appear in fact to be practically identical with those of the obsolete Putto, his position and authority being practically those of the head of a family, which in this case is represented by a larger family, the tribe.

In Kedah the tribal chief of the Semang was called (as already mentioned) "Pĕlima," but in Perak the word "Penghulu" appears to be more general.

Laws.

Crime among the Semang appears to be extremely rare, but I was given by the Pelima the following scale of fines. These, however, are less by way of illustrating the precise amounts which would be actually levied in each case than the general principles and proportions according to which the amount would be determined.

Theft of a blowpipe	$5.00
Theft of a bow	6.00[2]
Theft of a shot-gun (European blunderbuss)	10.00
Abduction of a married woman (nominally)	40.00[3]

[1] As in a case of which I had personal cognizance, cp. vol. ii. p. 230.

[2] It is interesting to note that among this Negrito tribe the theft of a bow was considered a greater offence than that of a blowpipe.

[3] But this is a sum which no Semang would usually be able to pay; hence the idea was probably taken from the law of

This last was also mentioned, if I remember rightly, as the fine for murder. In default of paying the fine the culprit should be "flogged with a rattan," or "bound to a tree until he paid."

For cheating a fellow-tribesman a man would be fined, so long as he had money to pay the fine; otherwise he would come in for a "thoroughly good scolding" from all the members of the tribe (in other words, he would have to run, on a limited scale, the gauntlet of tribal opinion).

Perak Semang.—There were originally among the Semang (according to one account) thirty Big Chiefs or Puttos, but these have now all died out.[1] Their duties were to choose the inferior chiefs from

the local Malays, with whom it would be the usual "blood-money" (to be paid by a murderer); in other words, it is the fine which has to be paid, if possible, in commutation of the death penalty. These fines are always, I believe, paid in kind.

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 103.

There is no confirmatory record of this title yet to hand, and it appeared quite unintelligible to the Semang of Kedah. If not Siamese, the word may be due to some mistake or confusion with some such word as the Malay "Dato'," which simply means big chief (lit. grandfather), and which in its abbreviated form "To'" is still commonly applied to Sakai chiefs as well as to Malays. On the other hand, this does not explain Sna-hut. [Blagden compares "patao," the "wizard" of the Jarai (Annam), who speak a Malayan language.] The full account given by Vaughan-Stevens is as follows:—"According to the Pangan, the Semang never had, at any time, a Raja or Batin, or anybody corresponding to those functionaries. In ancient times the Puttos were highly esteemed as the religious teachers of the people, as well as rulers. Plē, the Semang deity, was their chief; but whether he was a deity whose servants the Puttos gave themselves out to be, or a chief chosen by the Puttos, and who on his death was replaced by another Putto, could not be clearly ascertained. There were 'many'—some say 'thirty'— Puttos, who met once in every eight months to consult. Each of these thirty Puttos had a district assigned to him. The Semang of each district chose a Sna-hut (roughly corresponding to the Malay Penghulu), who decided all local questions. The Sna-hut received his directions from the Putto of the district, who gave his instructions in the name of Plē. The Puttos were dreaded in the highest degree as the messengers of the deity; they formed a separate class, and were unmarried. When one died, Plē elected a successor from among the Semang. The command to move their residence on the fifth day did not apply to the Puttos; they lived at Plē's abode, on the 'Jelmol' mountain, in the northern part of Perak, but are now no longer in existence. Only the Sna-huts are still in possession of the charms against misfortune and disease, and of much other knowledge, which the Puttos have communicated to them" (Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 103).

among themselves, and to be teachers of religion to their people.[1]

They formerly had great power as priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men.[2] "The tribesman went to the Sna-hut, the Sna-hut to the Putto, the Putto to Plē, and Plē to Kari,"[3] these last two being the two chief deities of the Semang.

De Morgan gives us the following general account[4] of the social constitution of the Semang of Perak. The political and administrative organisation of the Negritos is, like that of the Sakai, exceedingly simple. In every "changkat" or village there is a functionary invested with full powers, who is called by the Malays "Penghulu." These Penghulus are all of equal standing, and own no superior, whether in the shape of a Raja or any higher assembly. Hence each Penghulu has absolute authority in his own village.

On the occurrence, it is true, of any dispute between the villages, an assembly of the Penghulus of the villages concerned will take place, and to these may be added a few men who are specially well versed in affairs; but these assemblies are altogether exceptional, and are only occasioned by the necessity of composing private interests.

Complete equality exists as between individuals, and caste is unknown. Even the chief is on an equal footing with his men, except when in discharge of his official duties.

To the foregoing it should be added that all their property is in common.[5]

[1] Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 103.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 109.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 107.
[4] De Morgan, vii. 420; cp. *L'H.* ii. 558.
[5] *J. I. A.* vol. iv. p. 427, *sea quære.*

II.—Sakai.

Chiefs.

Perak Sakai.—The only functionaries of the Sakai are the Penghulus, of whom there is one to each village, who "is succeeded at his death by his eldest son, or by any one else whom he may have appointed, in default of a son, as his successor during his life-time."[1] Over his tribe he has every right (but the capital one), but the enforcing of his authority is mainly due to his position.[2]

When a village migrates, the Penghulu conducts the migration; if more than one village is established, the original Penghulu appoints a chief (from among his sons or relations) to take charge of each of them.[3]

The chief is the equal of his fellow-tribesmen, except when he is acting expressly on behalf of the common interests of his village.[4]

Of the Ulu Bertang (Bujang Malaka) Sakai, Dr. Luering writes me, that they do not employ the title of Batin, their chieftains being called "Sĕruyan."[5] The first "Sĕruyan" Dr. Luering's informant could remember was one Ba-Naun, who is now dead, as is his son Ba-Jĕlang. Ba-Naun had authority over all Chenderiang and Dipang.

Then there are special titles given to the Sakai by the late Sultans of Perak. "My ancestors," said the same informant, "were made 'mĕntri,'[6] and my proper title should be Singa' mentri" ("mĕntri" is a Malay title of dignitaries). Another title given by the Sultan was that of To' Sang, who died without children, and a

[1] Women excepted. *Z. f. E.* xxviii. 167. [2] [3] [4] De Morgan, vii. 420.
[5] I have no other record of this title.
[6] This title was also given to the chief of the Sakai at Slim.—Swett. in *J.R.A.S., S.B.*, No. 5, p. 59.

third title is Lēla Pa-jangga. The last occupant of this latter title had a daughter, who is now alive and is married to Si Itam, the elder brother of Dr. Luering's informant Singa'.

Laws.[1]

The penalty of death is reserved for murder,[2] and the execution of the murderer is permitted to the relatives of his victim, the weapon which is to be used being that with which the crime was committed. As a rule the criminal escapes into the forest, where he is pursued and killed, frequently during his sleep. Crimes of this kind (murder) are, however, so exceedingly rare as to be a *quantité négligeable*. The penalty for theft, which is equally rare, is exclusion from the tribe—"a sort of banishment." The man thus exiled has to fell and plant a new clearing at a distance from the settlement of his tribe, and if he refuses, is tied up to a tree and flogged with a rattan.

In cases of dispute (about women), or assault, the Penghulu (who acts both as civil and criminal judge) condemns the guilty party to pay fair compensation to his victim.

For enticing away a married woman, the penalty is a fine of seven dollars "at the most." Among tribes which use money, the fines vary from one and two to seven dollars; among the wilder tribes they are paid in kind (tapioca, rice, etc.).[3]

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[1] De Morgan, vii. 25; *L'H.* ii. 558.

[2] The punishment of those who used the blowpipe to commit murder was especially severe; the murderer being compelled to eat a portion of his victim's flesh [no doubt in order that it might poison him].—*Eth. Notizbl.* i. 10.

[3] Cp. Br. de St.-P. Lias, p. 281, where we find:—"Adultery is considered a great crime, To' Lilâ told me, and often gives rise to a fight. The guilty parties are made to pay a fine to the husband, generally thirty dollars each. (This well proves the enormity of the fault!) The woman's fine is paid by her father or brothers. I prosecuted my researches on the penal legislation of the Sakai:

Elsewhere De Morgan adds that in case of banishment the condemned party has to leave at two nights' notice, abandoning for ever, not only his property, but his wife and children. In serious cases the Penghulu always takes counsel with the elders of the tribe.[1]

Contracts.[2]

The following is a summary of what De Morgan says about Sakai contracts :—

There is no form of actual sale among the Sakai, who do not use money or any substitute for it. Frequently, however, a form of contract is met with which consists in handing over some portable object, such as a blowpipe, in return for a promise to supply a family with food for a specified period. Thus a blowpipe and quiver with darts are valued at a fortnight's food-supply for a family, and a loin-cloth of beaten tree-bark ("t'rap") is priced at a month's supply of food, and so on, according to the character of the object transferred.

Leases are rare, on account of the patriarchial system in vogue. The family takes the place of an artificially created society, and is usually numerous enough to cultivate its own lands without farming them out to strangers. Such land is, however, occasionally leased in return for a supply of food. Loans for one or more stated occasions are more usual; *e.g.*

"'And when a Sakai kills a man . . . ?'

"'Never!' interrupted To' Lilå quickly.

"'When he steals . . . ?'

"'Never!' he replied, with the same energy.

"'What! Are there no robbers?'

"'No.'

"'When a man is hungry, and he has no yams?'

"'He asks or buys.'

"'If he has no money?'

"'That does not matter, he is given them. When a man from a distance enters the country, he has only to ask and is given food.'"

See *Notizbl.*, i. 7-11, for further information by Vaughan-Stevens, who does not, however, specify from what localities he collected it.

[1] De M. viii. 224. [2] *Ib.* vii. 424.

loans of knives, hatchets, and other objects which the Sakai cannot make themselves and obtain from the Malays; as well as loans of houses, clearings, or crops. The Sakai are honest and always return a loan.

For all these contracts consent alone is necessary, and no regular form is used.

The "contract of donation" is chiefly applied to some portable article, *e.g.* a knife. Similar presents were those made by a son-in-law to his (prospective) father-in-law.

Debts may arise, *e.g.*, from failing to return a borrowed article that has been lost, or from fines, etc.

The debtor and his family work for the creditor for one or two months (according to the Penghulu's decision), the creditor finding them food. They then retire into the forest until their plantation is once more able to support them. A debtor is despised by everybody, and is derisively given, when a monkey is killed, the creature's muzzle as his portion of food. Sometimes the creditor is put by the Penghulu in possession of a debtor's crops.[1]

Property.[2]

As has already been pointed out, the petty chief of each Sakai village (Pelima or Penghulu) has, as De Morgan states, every right but the capital one over the members of his settlement. His authority is enforced (like that of the father of a European family) by means of the influence derived from his age and position in the tribe, rather than by that of any legal sanction. The tribe, in fact, merely forms (as it were) a rather larger family circle.

[1] De Morgan, vii. 424. [2] *Ibid.* p. 420.

Individual property does not exist; its place is taken by family property.[1] So, too, cultivation is carried out in common, and the plantation is cultivated by all the members of the family under the directions of the father, extra work being imposed in default. The produce is shared between all the members of the family (and, perhaps, even with a few of their neighbours). What proves this community of cultivation, is the fact that as soon as one of the sons of the family takes up land elsewhere, he is excluded from his share of the produce of the plantation, although he is nevertheless very well received when he comes to pay a visit to his parents.[2]

Succession.[3]

The order of inheritance is as follows:—(1) Descendants, (2) ascendants, and (3) collateral branches of the same family. The rights of the first class include representation, or the rights of the children of

[1] On the other hand we have the following statements from Vaughan-Stevens: — "Women, though they might not hold office, were allowed to possess land. At marriage such land passed to the husband, the wife losing all title to it. But all durian and other trees, if planted either by herself or by her orders, were her exclusive property, and might be made over to any one whom she chose in the lifetime of her husband. In such cases the tree was marked in the presence of the chief with the sign of its new possessor (such signs consisting of an incision), which varied with each individual, and which was cut into the bark of the tree thus disposed of. A married woman ran no great danger of contracting debts. If she had any such before her marriage, the bridegroom was informed of them; and if the marriage took place, he himself became responsible for them. If, however, he was not informed, the woman's parents were held responsible. If the woman had lost her parents, or if she were a widow, and gave her [new] husband no information about such debts, she was liable to be punished for her deceitfulness by a minor chief, but the creditor dared not press his claim upon her [new] spouse, since it was the creditor's business to see that the prospective husband knew of it, as every marriage was spoken of far and wide before it actually took place. The failure of a crop which she had sold beforehand might bring a woman who owned land into debt, and she was unable to work off the debt as the men could, except by the protracted process of mat- and basket-making; so that in the eyes of the Sakai, this was a [valid] excuse for her debt" (*Z. f. E.* xxviii. 168).

[2] De Morgan, vii. 421. [3] *Ib.* p. 423.

the deceased to take his place in the succession. In default of heirs belonging to any of the three branches referred to, the house and clearing are abandoned as if accursed.

If the deceased has died of an epidemic sickness, everything is abandoned by his heirs, who fear that the very soil or goods of the deceased may contain the germs of the disease.

Property rights are collective, not individual.

This flows from the custom by which the Penghulu designates, in every case, the limits of the ground that each member of the tribe may occupy. Even abandoned land may not be taken up again without the consent of the tribal chief.

The result is that all the members of the tribe are guaranteed against dispossession.

Chiefs, Laws, Succession.

Selangor Sakai.—There is no trustworthy authority for the title of "Batin" as obtaining among the Sakai of Perak. Whether we may conclude that this title is not used at all in Perak is doubtful, but in any case the completest form of the Sakai constitution (and that one of Malayan origin)[1] is to be found in the interior of Selangor, where the Batin is the chief of a group of Sakai villages, which as a rule are fairly near each other. Under the Batin are the Mentri or Jinang, Jukrah (or Jĕkra), Penghulu Balai, and Penglima.

The foregoing is probably the full list of these functionaries, but it very seldom happens that any

[1] Letessier, p. 99. Both forms Jĕkra and Jukra (or Jukrah) are used. The form Jukrah is explained as an abbreviation of Juru-krah, or "*corvée* officer" ("supervisor of the *corvée*"); but this derivation does not seem altogether certain, and the form Jukrah may merely be an instance of popular etymology. All these titles are Malayan, and show the strong Jakun influence among the Sakai of Selangor.

group of villages has a complete set of them all at once. Some tribes have a Batin, Jinang, and Penghulu, others a Jinang, Jukrah, and Penghulu, others a Jukrah only, and so on.

Three of these six titles (Mentri, Penghulu, and Penglima) are used by the civilised Malays of the Peninsula, but the other three are otherwise only used by the Jakun, from whom the Selangor Sakai have clearly borrowed.

The title of Batin is hereditary and passes as a rule to the eldest son; but if the Batin die without issue, and none of his close relatives happens to be a suitable person, the Jinang or Jukrah appoints as Batin some close relation of another Batin of the same tribe.[1]

The Batin is the executive, and at the same time the administrative, head of the tribe, although his methods of performing his duties are distinctly patriarchal in character. In addition to the duties already mentioned, he is required especially to insist on the enforcement of the tribal customs generally, and the selection of seasons and methods for the fishing of the river.[2]

A fine is the penalty most generally inflicted on the guilty parties, but for insubordination or serious crime it commonly takes the form of banishment from the tribe, or death by the kris, in conformity with ancient custom.[3] Of these two forms of punishment

[1] Letessier, p. 99. The rule among the Sakai tribes of Selangor is certainly as described, but *vide* Logan in *J. I. A.* i. 275: "At the death of a Batin his successor is chosen from his sisters' sons." This is probably among tribes under Rembau influence.

[2] Letessier, p. 99.

[3] *Ibid.* This last statement agrees closely with what I myself was told on more than one occasion by the Jakun chiefs. But from the extreme rarity with which anything of this sort happens, I am somewhat inclined to doubt whether the power of inflicting the death penalty, which is claimed by the Batins, was not borrowed by the Sakai from the Jakun or Malays.

the former alone appears to be an original Sakai practice. A small tribute of rice (says Letessier) was paid annually to the Batin by the members of the tribe.

The Jinang is the representative of the Batin on all occasions when the latter is unable to be present in person, and not unfrequently is tacitly allowed to assume the government of the tribe, without the election of a Batin at all. "Mentri" is probably only the Malay equivalent of "Jinang."

The Jukrah is the petty chief who marshals the tribesmen (for any necessary work that has to be performed in common).

The Penghulu (or P. Balai) fills the post of a sort of master of the Batin's household, and is also, generally speaking, his administrative officer. The Penglima (Letessier adds) is his executive officer.

Selangor Sakai.—Of the Sakai of Ulu Langat, Mr. Campbell relates that they very rarely commit such crimes as murder. He enquired (he says) what punishment a murderer would probably receive, and was told that he would be fined ten jungle-knives ("parangs"), ten hatchets ("b'liongs"), ten blowpipes ("sumpitans"), ten saucepans, and such-like. In a case of adultery the man was fined as for a murder, but he kept the woman. Very frequently no fine was inflicted for adultery, but the woman was simply taken over. But in any case, the woman was not punished. Mr. Campbell adds that he was told that there were no specific punishments for theft, which rarely occurs. Things taken out of another person's house were regarded as "borrowed, not stolen." In the case of a

On the whole, it is more probable, I think, that the idea was borrowed from the Malays, as indeed the method of enforcing it, by execution with the kris, seems pretty clearly to show. The kris is certainly a Malay rather than a Jakun weapon, and execution by means of it is a typical Malay practice.

hardened offender, the Batin would send him some miles away into the jungle to live by himself.[1]

III.—Jakun.

Blandas.—The Blandas of K. Langat have the same system of government as that of the Selangor Besisi. They have further, however, condensed the description of the limits of their jurisdiction in a series of proverbial or legal "maxims," which have all the force of a duly formulated, though unwritten, code, and which are invoked by their chiefs for the purpose of settling any disputes that may arise among them. The following are a few examples which I took down from the lips of one of their chiefs :—

1. The laws of Batin Tanggong Gagah : [2]
   By hill and hill-foot, cave, hill-basin
   Lies the path, prevail the customs,
   Of the kin o' the wasting millet.[3]

2. The Batin and the Jinang tarry
   At the limits of full flood-tide ;
   The Land-folk's chief frequents the hill-tops,
   His sway is o'er the upper Langat,
   His are the dues of yams and 'gharu,'
   'Chĕrok,' 'los,' tin-sand, mine-paddocks ;
   'Tis his to feed upon wild aroids,
   His are rattan and gutta taban.

3. To the Batin of the Sea-folk [4]
   'Longs the bellying sail of palm-leaf,
   'Longs the swirling of the oar-blade,
   Anchor dropped and spreaded awning,
   Clearing, felling for fish-fences,
   Hunting fish, and sting-ray spearing.

4. The laws are at the top of the trunk,
   The genealogy at the bottom,
   The laws of our chiefs follow the Raja's ruling.

5. Where the wild-bees' nest swings, where the wait-a-bit creepers fall away from their supports,

[1] J. A. G. Campbell, p. 242.

[2] Said to be a son of To' Klambu, who lived and died at Tunggul Si Jaga.

[3] The expression is obscure, but probably means "of the kinsfolk who live upon millet" (instead of rice), this being a custom of the wilder tribes.

[4] *I.e.* of the Besisi (as a Coast tribe). "Chĕrok" and "los" are unexplained.

Where the streams commence their tricklings, where the "kasai" trees crowd
ever closer together,
Where the croak-croak-croaking of frogs is heard,
Where the wind follows through the divide
And the streams follow down into the valleys,
There through the swamps—splash-splash—go the chiefs of our tribe.

Another version of the Law, of a slightly different type, ran as follows :—

Gobang Gubin, Buluh Bohal ;
Round the Island of Sumatra,
Round the Menangkabaus' Island,
Came we unto Pagar Ruyong,
Came we to the land of Jati,
Came we unto Tanjong Pagar,[1]
Came we unto Johor Lama.
Toh Bombong[2] opened the Nine Rivers,
With Batin Chap, and Batin Maruis,[3]
Batin Lengges, Batin Bereh,
Batin Kantun, Batin Galang,
With old To' Klambu, Granny Bēoi,
Batin Wat, and Batin Minah.[4]

Says the Law again :—

Where betel-palms grew thick together,
Where coco-palms grew thick together,
Where betel-palms their crests were waving,
Where coco-palms their crests were waving,
Founded we the Land Sĕmujong,[5]
Ruling o'er the Nine Streams' Sources,
By the Fourfold States maintainèd,
By the Fourfold Clans sustainèd.
Thence we spread to the Pass of Bidai,
Thence we spread to the Pass of Naning,
Thence we spread to the Stream of Labu,
Thence we spread to Granny Bēoi's.
All the land's To' Bombong's country,
He it was became To' Klana,
Founder of the Land Sĕmujong.
Batin Galang wended seawards,
Seawards wended and turned pirate.
Granny Bēoi and Batak G'rodok,
Reaching Rawang, went ashore there ;
At Rawang, Big and Little Rawang,
Dwelt our Sires both big and little.

A collection of these Jakun records, which are

[1] At Singapore.

[2] This was the name of To' Klana before his inauguration ("bĕlum dilantik").

[3] Or Baruis.

[4] Altogether there were said to be twelve of these Batins. See p. 513, *n.* 2.

[5] The older (and accurate) name of the State that is now (I believe through a white man's blunder) called Sungei Ujong.

comparable to those of the Rembau Malays, would prove of great interest.

Chiefs.

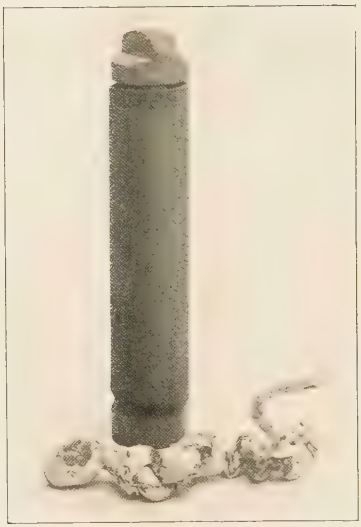
Besisi.—Among the Besisi of Langat the Batin is the arbiter of all disputes, at least of all such as are referred to him by the subordinate chiefs of the tribe. He also acts as priest at marriages, as magician, and as judge in cases of wrong-doing, the fines that he inflicts, in place of money, usually taking the shape of pieces of cloth ("sarongs," etc.) or cooking-pots ("kuali," etc.).[1]

The Jinang is their vice-Batin; the Penghulu Balei has charge of the tribal feasts and the holding of councils; the Jukrah is the summoner of the tribe; the Penglima the Batin's executive officer.

There are, I think, some grounds for believing the drum (which is not usually found among the Semang or Sakai) to be part of the insignia of Jakun chiefs.

The Besisi of Sepang more than once described to me a strange sort of head-gear which had formed the insignia of their lineal chiefs; and I heard later from a local Malay chief that this head-gear had been, within his remembrance, in the actual possession of Batin Pah Kasat (a former chief of Sepang Kechil), who showed it to my informant, and who used to wear it on his head whenever the tribe met in council. My informant stated that this head-gear was made of some unusual material, which might have been some kind of manufactured tree-bark; strands of this material (whatever it might be) were cunningly interwoven to form knots resembling the "buku bĕmban" (a kind of multiple knot) of the Malays. This head-gear was called the Buluh Bohal (lit. "Bamboo of

[1] Bellamy, p. 227, etc.



Skeat Collection.

MODEL OF INSIGNIA OF BESISI BATIN OR CHIEF.

A mystic knot (in foreground) of some unknown material. It is carried in the bamboo receptacle here shown upright behind it.

Bohal"), and descended direct as an heirloom ("pĕsaka") from father to son in the male line. It was not used, however, by any other than this one tribe, and although I offered great rewards, I was never able to obtain a sight of it. Indeed, I was told that when the Batin who had owned it died, it was taken back to Selat Dumei in Sumatra.[1]

Chiefs.[2]

Mantra.—The constitution of society was as simple amongst the Mantra as amongst the Benua of Johor. Perfect equality prevailed. The Batin was not distinguished in his manner of life from the others.

Of Batins the Mantra had Batin Palimei, who ruled in Jempul, Batin Chinchang of Johol, Batin Puchu of Batang Muar, Batin Kechi of Ulu Muar, and Batin Jedam (? Jadam) on the borders of Pahang and Muar. Each of these Batins had under him a Jinang, a Jukrah or Juru-krah, and an indefinite number of Penglimas and Ulubalangs. On the death of a Batin a successor was chosen from amongst the sons of his sisters.[3]

The Batin must be called to take part at the installation of every new Raja. This is because all rulers, from the Raja downwards, were first "instituted" by the Batin.[4]

[1] Finding that there was no means of seeing the thing itself, I had a copy of it made in cloth by one of the Besisi, on the understanding that the copy was to be as exact as it was possible to make it. On the whole, I am inclined to believe that Buluh Bohal was a place-name (? in Sumatra), whence came a piece of bamboo "cloth," which was believed to have been taken from the bamboo out of which the first ancestor of the race was said to have issued. But cp. the insignia of Kari described by Vaughan-Stevens (*s.v.* "penjok"), which appears, from the name "buhu" (*sic*, ? "buluh"), and from the fact that "penjok" is a Semang-Sakai word for "loin-cloth," to have perhaps been a loin-cloth of this very material. *Vide* p. 455, *ante*; and cp. p. 450, *ante*.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 330*.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 275; compare *Misc. Ess. rel. Ind.*, Sec. Ser. vol. i. pp. 301, 302.

[4] *Ibid.*

In the work of government (added the relater), the Batin, in the forest, was guided by the ancient customs ("Selasila'"), or what used to be done from times of old; the Penghulu, in his Hall of Audience ("Balei"), by the written laws ("Bĕrundang"); and the Raja, in his Palace ("Astana"), by equity ("'Adilan").[1]

Laws.

Crimes were very rare. Theft was unknown, and children were carefully instructed to avoid it.[2]

Property and Succession.

Mantra.—Amongst the Mantra the distribution of property on the death of the husband was as follows: the goods which belonged to the husband before the marriage went to his parents and brothers and sisters. Those acquired during the marriage were divided equally between these relations and his widow, who, however, was considered as a trustee for the children. The clearing ("ladang") was inherited by her. On the death of the wife, in the event of her husband surviving, her antenuptial goods go to her children, and the goods in common are equally shared between the husband and the children, who leave their father and live with the nearest female relatives of their deceased mother.[3]

The Family.

Benua-Jakun.—The Benua family was an innocent and happy one, and mutual kindness prevailed on

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 327*. Penghulu here = the chief of the State, Raja = head of the confederation of States, and 'Adilan = Mohammedan law.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 330*.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 274, 275.

every side. The authority of the father was absolute, nor were the sons freed from it even when they had themselves become the heads of families. It is probable that in the more purely nomadic ages the family was less subject to be early broken up, and that the patriarchal system prevailed to a yet fuller extent. In the house, however, the husband appeared more as an honoured guest than as its lord. The wife had the entire management. A Benua expressed their ideas on this score figuratively, by saying that the husband was the captain of the vessel ("Nakhoda prahu") and the wife captain of the house ("Nakhoda rumah").[1]

Chiefs.[2]

Benua-Jakun.—The boundary between the east coast State of Pahang and Johor intersects the Benua country; the whole of the Anak Endau and the lower part of the Sembrong being in Pahang (and consequently under the Bendahara), and all the other rivers, including the Madek, on which the Benua are found, appertaining to Johor (so that they are, consequently, under the Temenggong). The authority of the Bendahara and the Temenggong, however, was little more than nominal, the affairs of the Benua being entirely administered by their own chiefs, each of whom had a definite territorial jurisdiction. The highest in rank and in nominal authority was the Batin Anak Setia, the descendant of the ancient (traditionary) Raja of the Benua. On the Endau, below the junction of the Sembrong and Anak Endau, resided

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 266, 267.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 273-275 (quoted by De Quatrefages, pp. 221, 222). See also Newbold's account (vol. ii. pp. 392-394): "The Benua are divided into tribes, each under an elder, termed the Batin, who directs its movements and settles disputes. In the states of Sungei Ujong and Johol are twelve tribes, consisting of upwards of 1000

the Batin Hamba Raja. The Lenggiu, a branch of the Endau, was under the Batin Setia Raja, who was also their great executive officer; his relationship to the Batin Anak Setia having some resemblance to that between the Malay Temenggong and the Sultan of Johor. The Sungei Selai, again, was under the Batin Singa Dewa. The Sembrong in the vicinity of Tanjong Bongko' was under the Batin Setia Bati, higher up near Gagau under the Batin Jukrah, and still nearer its source under Batin Dewa Kasuma (?) and under the Batin Bentara. All these, except the two last, were within the Pahang boundary. The local Malay authority, who, in matters of government, possessed a nominal power, and whose relationship with regard to the Benua was properly that of the maintainer and regulator of the Malayan trade monopoly, was called To' Jinang. The Benua on the Batu Pahat and its branches were under the Bentara or Mangki (*sic*, ? Mangku) Pemanggun of Bekok. The jurisdiction of the Malay Penghulu of Batu Pahat had once extended to Ginting Batu on the eastern Sembrong, but since the waterways became obstructed the To' Jinang

individuals, under twelve Batins, who, as mentioned in the account of these states, have the power of electing the Malay chiefs. [These twelve chiefs were probably those referred to in the Blandas traditions (*v. supra*).] Under each Batin are two subordinates, termed Jinang ('Jennang') and Juru-krah ('Juroka'), who assist the former in his duties. A Juru-krah of the Besisi tribe, named Tenggin (?), from the interior of Selangor, and a Poyang named Ambui, of the Blandas tribe, informed me that the latter had four Batins named Baning ('Banning') or the 'Tortoise,' Lunggeyng, Singa-kuasa ('Singa-quassa') or the 'Mighty Lion,' and Pakat. The Besisi tribe has one Batin only, Pā' Limpei ('Pa-limpei'), who succeeded his uncle, Breyk, a short time ago *pro tempore*, until his son, now a child, be old enough to take upon himself the direction of the affairs of the tribe. The Blandas have four Jinangs, viz. Pawampa de Cheyng (*sic*, ?), Ampu Manis, 'Palsye' (? Pa' Lĕsai), and Rumbong; and two Juru-kras. The Besisi, one Jinang named Mumin; one Juru-krah, Sekanal; and one Poyang, Manan ('Mannan'). The functions of their Batin resemble those pertaining to the Malay Raja; the title of Jinang is equivalent to that of the Malay Pĕnghulu; and that of the Juru-krah to that of Mata-Mata. There is also a war chief called Pĕlima, identical with the Malay Pĕnglima."

of the Endau had engrossed the trade of the Johor portion of the Sembrong river.[1] The Benua of Benut were under a Jukrah ("Juru-krah") and a Batin. Each Batin had absolute authority within his own jurisdiction, but he referred difficult or unusual cases to a Council composed of all the Batins, excepting the Batin Anak Setia; and matters in which all the Benua were concerned appertained to the same Council. Their deliberations were said to be sometimes very prolonged, particularly in affairs of a novel character, when their knowledge of the old "'adat" did not supply them with any precedents.

Laws.

Benua-Jakun.—Offences against property or person were, from the mildness of the race, of very rare occurrence. Crimes of all kinds might be expiated by the payment of fines, the sentences being invariably imposed, not in the form of coins, of which very few reached their hands, but in coarse Chinese plates or saucers ("pinggan"). Adultery was punishable by a fine of from 10 to 20 plates according to circumstances; theft the same; murder, which, however, seems to be almost unknown, by one of 60 plates. One-half of the fine went to the Batin and the other half to the injured person. If the offender failed to deliver the plates, he became the slave of his victim. Complaints were inquired into by the Batin, who assembled a number of the elders and consulted with them. The Batin was considered to be responsible for any property that was stolen. But he could not convict the thief without confession or direct evidence of the theft. No regular

[1] So Logan, but no part of the Sembrong river is now in Pahang, and only part of the left bank of the Endau.

tax was paid to the Batins, but presents were frequently made to them.[1]

Loans were freely given, but no pledge was ever taken.[2]

Property and Succession.[3]

Benua-Jakun.—On the separation of husband and wife by mutual consent, their hitherto common property was divided into three parts, of which the husband took two and the wife one. On the husband's death, one-third of the estate went to daughters and two-thirds to sons. On the wife's death, the goods in common fell to the husband's share.

Again, if the wife happened to own a clearing ("blukar") it descended to her children, the father, however, being an usufructuary trustee during his life.

Chiefs.[4]

Johor Jakun. — Each tribe was under an elder, termed the Batin, who directed its movements and settled disputes.

Under each Batin were two subordinates, termed Jinang and Juru-krah, who assisted him in his duties.

A fourth title was that of Pawang, but it was rather a title of honour than of jurisdiction, and indicated the persons who were generally charged with fulfilling the offices of physician and teacher.

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[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 274.

Of the Benua Newbold says (ii. 394, 395): "Capital crimes such as murder are punished by drowning, by impaling, or by exposure to the sun, leaving the criminal bound to a Nipah (*i.e.* thatch-leaf palm) to perish from heat and hunger." [The penalties mentioned are all practised by the Malays, from whom their institution is probably borrowed.] Newbold adds (*ibid.*) that adultery is punished with death if the parties are taken in the act.

Cp. also Vaughan-Stevens in *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 834. [The only important point is that for theft double restitution had to be made, etc. But no localities being given, it is quite uncertain of what tribe Vaughan-Stevens is speaking.]

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 285.

[3] *Ib.* p. 274. [4] *Ib.* vol. ii. 267, 268.

The functions of the Batin resembled those appertaining to the Malay Raja. The title of Jinang was equivalent to that of the Malay Penghulu, and that of Juru-krah was applied to the inferior executive (police) officers. There was also a war chief called Penglima.[1]

After the death of a Batin (or chief of the tribe) the eldest of his sons would be presented by his nearest relation to the whole collected tribe, and would then be declared and publicly recognised as the successor of his father in the Batinship. If the people refused to declare him Batin, the second son of the late Batin would be presented; and if this second son and his other brothers were refused by the people, a stranger to the family would be elected.[2]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 267.

[2] *Ibid.* It is related by some persons that the Jakun have great influence in the respective Malay states where they are living, and chiefly in the election of Malay Penghulus in the Menangkabau states. Newbold too says the same, and confirms it by the following fact:—"A few years ago the late Penghulu of Sungei Ujong, Klana Leher, died, leaving two nephews, Kawal and Bhair. It is an ancient custom, prevalent still in the interior and, I believe, generally throughout Malayan nations, that when a chief dies his successor must be elected on the spot, and before the interment of the corpse (which is not unfrequently deferred through the observance of this usage to a considerable length of time), otherwise the election does not hold good.

"Now it happened that Kawal was absent at the time of Penghulu Leher's death. The three Sukus and one of the twelve Batins took advantage of Bhair's being on the spot, elected him, and buried the body of the deceased chief. Against this proceeding the Raja di Raja and the remainder of the elective body, the eleven Batins, protested; a war ensued, which terminated in 1828, pretty much as it began. Kawal, however, by virtue of the suffrages of the eleven out of the twelve Batins, and by the support of the Raja di Raja, is generally considered the legitimate chief. In Johol the Batins have a similar influence in the election of the Penghulu."

It appears certain that in former times the Batins exercised such an influence in the elections of the Malay chief; but we must say that they have at the present time lost a great part of it; for in Johol, Rembau, and several other places they are so few in number that such a fact would be impossible, and the contempt which the Malays have for them, as well as their own natural disposition to tranquillity and peace, scarcely permit us to believe that such is the case now even for Sungei Ujong, where they are the most numerous.—*J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 270.

Vide, however, M. Lister (*loc. cit.*) on the constitution of N. Sembilan, where this alleged influence of the Batins is confirmed.

After the death of a Jinang or a Juru-krah, the Batin would appoint the eldest son of the deceased to succeed to his office. If, on the other hand, the Batin should find the eldest son of the late dignitary unfit for the appointment, he would nominate another of the same family, and only when there was no proper person in the family itself to fill the office would he then appoint some one outside it.[1]

Laws.[2]

Jakun.—Though the Jakun were generally good, and little inclined to evil ways, they showed, notwithstanding, from time to time (though seldom) that they were in *natura lapsa*, like the rest of mankind, from whence the necessity of establishing laws amongst them; though we can say, to their praise, that their laws rather prevented disorder than punished it. Their laws were not everywhere uniform; each tribe had its customs and regulations, those here stated being those more generally received. They were not written down; but might be expressed in some such way as follows:—

Murder and Assault.[3]

If a person kill another without just cause, he shall be put to death.

If a person beat another, he shall be beaten in the same way; if he wound him, he shall be wounded in the same way.

If a person insult another, he shall pay a fine.

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 268. [2] *Ibid.* p. 267. [3] *Ibid.* p. 269.

Theft.[1]

If any person steals the property of his neighbour, he shall return it, and pay a fine to the Batin.

If a person has already stolen several times, the Batin shall confiscate all his property.

If it is recognised that a person is in the habit of stealing, he shall be killed; because it is not considered possible that a man who has given way to such a habit can ever again become an honest man.

The laws about marriage and divorce, and the disposal of children, will be dealt with more fully in the chapter on Marriage. Suffice it to say, with regard to marriage, that they are strict monogamists, the penalty for conjugal infidelity being the capital one; and that the laws concerning divorce provide for the return of the dowry by the defaulting party; and with regard to children, that they cannot be sold against their will, whatever age they may be, but must be taken care of, on the death of both parents, by the next of kin.

Inheritance.[2]

After the death of the parents the whole of their property shall be divided amongst all the children in equal parts.

To the foregoing account it may be added that if a Jakun man died in debt, his debts were paid to the extent of one half, the creditor losing the other half, even though there were property enough left to pay the whole. The balance went to the next of kin; to the widow, if there were one, in preference to

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 269. [2] *Ibid.* p. 270.

a grown-up son, but a man might leave his property to any relation he pleased.[1]

Chiefs.

Udai.—The Udai are described by Newbold as being "without either laws or any form of government,"[2] but this statement must not be taken *au pied de la lettre.*

Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.

The Orang Laut system of chiefship seems to have been the same as that of the Jakun, the titles of the tribal chiefs including those of Batin, Jinang, Jukrah, Penglima, Hulubalang, etc. Even among the tribes to be found at the present day on the island of Singapore (*e.g.* the men of Kallang), these titles are still preserved, in spite of the close proximity and influence of Singapore itself.

With this exception, however, there is scarcely a single remark extant to inform us what were the actual methods of law and government as practised by the Orang Laut, though there can be little doubt that they were practically identical with those of the Jakun. With regard to the rule of succession to property, we may infer from Logan's remark about the Sabimba[3] [that the father's property descended to the sons], that it was actually identical with the Jakun rule.

[1] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 8, p. 120. [2] Newbold, ii. 381, 382.
[3] See vol. ii. p. 116.

CHAPTER XI.

Dealings with Other Races.

The most nomadic of all the wild tribes of the Peninsula are certainly the wilder Semang, who seldom stay more than three days in any one locality, and spend their entire lives in the hunt for wild roots and game. These "cheery little hunters," as they have been well described, travel continually in the north of the Peninsula, but do not usually appear to go far southward, their journeys being generally confined to the interior of the States of Perak, Kedah, and Kelantan, the old Malay State of Patani, and a portion of Trengganu and Pahang (north of the mouth of the river Tahan).

Of the Sakai tribes of Perak Sir F. Swettenham remarks that the common idea that they wander at large all over the hills is certainly a mistake. Each particular tribe keeps exclusively to its own valley, and is frequently at feud with its neighbours on either side.[1] Their habits are migratory within their own districts, but except when compelled by the oppression of the Malays or other causes they seldom leave their own valleys.[2]

The Jakun or "savage Malayan" tribes, among

[1] This does not mean that they actually go to war.
[2] Swettenham, *op. cit.*

whom may be reckoned the Besisi (the most numerous of the Coast-Jakun tribes) are, on the other hand, in the habit of migrating to greater distances, such as, for instance, to Batu Pahat in Johor and to the Strait of Dumei (Selat Dumei), off the west coast of Sumatra.

One of the most important causes which contribute to these periodical migrations is their great love of fruit, especially that of the durian. The seasons at which this fruit ripens vary in different parts of the Peninsula, and the wild jungle-dwellers (when not forestalled by Malays), pass from one fruit-grove to another as the trees ripen. But the number of fruit-groves thus visited by any given tribe is always limited, and usually consists, I believe, of the very same series, no attempt being made to poach upon the preserves of other tribes; that is to say, the Sakai would not visit a Semang fruit-grove or *vice versa*, so that their wanderings are thus confined within certain well-defined limits.

It has often been stated by way of demonstrating the low state of their intellect that the wild tribes of the Peninsula are unable to count beyond three. This statement, however, is somewhat misleading, as although they can only count up to three in many of their dialects, higher numerals are still preserved in some localities (*e.g.* in Johor), and there is besides sufficient evidence to make it very fairly certain that the Mon-Anam numerals up to ten (and perhaps higher) must have formerly been known at least to some of the tribes in question.[1]

Many of them can to this day count up to ten in Malay, their knowledge of Malay numerals being doubtless due to their practice of bartering jungle

[1] Cp. C. O. Blagden, *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 27, p. 40.

produce with the Malays. From these latter they have learned the higher numerals, retaining only, in their own dialect, the names of the first three or four[1] of them, which are all they would commonly require for everyday use among themselves.

In the following pages will be given a few examples of the inhuman treatment that these wild tribes have suffered in the past at the hands of their Malay persecutors—a treatment of which several writers, among them Mr. Hugh Clifford—have described the results in vivid and picturesque narrative.

As an offset to these cases, complaints of being cheated by the Sakai and Jakun are not infrequently made by Malays, and some countenance is even lent to these statements by the high authority of writers like Logan. There are, however, the gravest reasons for disbelieving, or at the least for heavily discounting, all tales of this kind, which it is never safe to accept without the strictest investigation. Having investigated a good many Malay complaints of this sort, the present writer is convinced that in the majority of cases, at all events, there is as little likelihood of Malays being cheated by any of these wild races as there would be of the wolf of the fable being deceived by the lamb.[2] The Semang are perhaps an exception.

The most carefully collected government statistics do not (as has already been stated in the first part of this book) bear out the idea that the aborigines of the Malay Peninsula are destined to be killed off by the kindness of civilisation. Their actual numbers

[1] Cp. Clifford, *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 24, p. 18.

[2] A good deal more information bearing on the same subject will be found in an earlier chapter—that on "Modes of Barter."

(especially when the small but necessary allowance is made for wastage through the conversion of an increasing number to Islam) have certainly not decreased to any appreciable extent, and the position of all the tribes, as a whole, is gradually improving. The policy of reserves is obviously unsuited for a race in which the nomadic instinct is so strong; to confine a head of deer in a buffalo-pen must needs be fatal to the deer. A just and strong government has already given them what they most required, viz. protection against their most powerful and aggressive compatriots the Malays. The raids of the latter, which were once so common, have now been rigorously repressed, the result being that the relations between the aborigines and their quondam persecutors are much improved, though the necessity for constant vigilance has not by any means as yet been superseded. In spite of the devoted labours of the missionaries—more especially those of the Roman Catholic persuasion, who find in the simple hearts of this wild and untutored jungle-folk the very best possible soil for the sowing of their seed—it is perhaps most probable that the ultimate destiny of the great majority of these wild folk is absorption into the Mohammedan population. On the other hand, the fact is, and it is but scant justice to acknowledge it, that rude and uncultivated as these people are, yet in some respects they are vastly superior to the races by whom they are likely to be absorbed—more honest, more truthful, less covetous, more free in every way from crime; and on this account, as well as on others, they have a foremost claim on the consideration of the responsible Government.

I.—Semang.

Dealings with Strangers.

Semang.—The Negrito lives by his bow and blow-pipe alone, and sleeps in a temporary lean-to shed in spots where game is plentiful. The Sakai affects to look down upon the Negrito, while the latter is a happy-go-lucky, cheery little hunter who looks down on nobody.[1]

The Semang are very merry and lively, and even their women and young girls are much less wild than those of the Sakai, and assail the traveller with all kinds of extraordinary questions.[2]

Kedah Semang.—A good many years ago the Bendahara of Kedah sent two of the Kedah Semang for the inspection of some of his English friends at Penang; but shortly after leaving Kedah, one of them whose fears could not be appeased became very obstreperous, and endeavoured to upset the small boat in which they were embarked. The Malays, therefore, with their usual apathy and indifference to life, put the poor creature to death, and threw him overboard; the other arrived in safety, was kindly treated, and received many presents of cloth and money. He was taken to view the shops in the town, and purchased a variety of spades, hatchets, and other iron implements, which he appeared to prize above everything else. On his return to Ian he built himself a small hut, and began to cultivate mace, sugar-cane, and yams.[3]

Perak Semang.—In exchanging jungle produce (of the intrinsic value of which they are ignorant)

[1] Clifford, *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 24, p. 14.
[2] De Morgan, viii. 297.
[3] Anderson, p. 427.

for cloth, the Semang are generally imposed upon by the crafty Malay, but they in turn, however, frequently impose upon the superstitious Malays, when they have no products to barter and wish to procure a supply of tobacco, by presenting them with medicines which they pretend to derive from particular shrubs and trees in the woods, and which they represent as efficacious for the cure of headache and other complaints.[1]

I am told by Mr. L. Wray that the Semang of Upper Perak have large clearings in which they cultivate rice and other grains, and have quite good well-built houses. There are others who appear to live in a more nomadic way, but even these have houses to which they resort sometimes. They go at times over the mountains to Selama and to Kedah.

The tribes of Upper Perak are in the position of dependents to the Malays, and appear to have been so for a long time past. The Malays call them in and make them fell the jungle and plant up their ladangs, collect jungle produce, and do house-building, etc., for them. In exchange they give them salt, salt-fish, tobacco, knives, axes, etc.

They appear to have been hunted and enslaved less than the Sakai,[2] but on the other hand their position has apparently affected them more than some other subject races, and they are untruthful, cunning, and unreliable to a very marked degree. Mr. Wray was once for three months living amongst them, and this was the conclusion that he arrived at, much against his will. It may not apply to the wilder Negritos.

[1] Anderson, pp. 425, 426; cp. De Morgan, *L'Homme*, ii. 556,
[2] For an instance, see p. 530 *infra*.

II.—Sakai.

Dealings with Strangers.

Perak Sakai.—Clifford says,[1] that in contrast to the Negritos, who live as hunters in slight lean-to sheds, the Sakai live in houses, and plant as well as hunt; and adds further that the Sakai tribes are, for the most part, now split up into innumerable clans, each consisting of a few families living in places surrounded by the Malays, and thus cut off from communication with each other, these small clans being more advanced in civilisation, and at the same time more degenerate than their brothers the Sakai of the far interior.

De Morgan says that, thanks to their honesty, they can do without police, and that as often as he compared our feverish life in Europe with the peaceful existence (of the Sakai), the comparison always proved to the advantage of the latter.[2]

Hale, who saw a great deal of the Sakai people in Perak, invariably found them (where not demoralised by Malay intercourse) most kind and simple-hearted, and always anxious to do their best to assist any white man that happened to be in want of assistance. He found this, moreover, the general opinion amongst those who had had dealings with these tribes. As has already been stated in the case of the Semang, the Sakai in their natural state were given neither to lying or cheating, though, on the other hand, they themselves are often the victims of the most shameless imposture on the part of the Malays.[3]

[1] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 24, p. 14.
[2] De Morgan, vii. 425; cp. *L'Homme*, ii. 556-559. [3] Hale, p. 286.

Hale adds that, the Malays themselves cheated the Sakai most remorselessly. He was informed by one of his men that he could always get tin ore sufficient to smelt ten kati's [rather over 13 pounds] of tin for a jungle-knife ("parang") worth only thirty cents.[1]

They are a most peaceful race, and now at all events never make war on each other or go in for any sort of inter-tribal fighting. They are affectionate and faithful both to their family and friends, and will treasure objects which belonged to the deceased.[2] For the rest we may accept the statement that they are by no means stupid, but very much the reverse in all matters that even indirectly concern their own interests. They are incapable, however, of standing any prolonged mental strain, and their inventive faculties seem dormant rather than non-existent. When the occasion arises they are by no means wanting in resource.[3]

The Sakai of Perak (as Mr. L. Wray writes me) are quite independent except in a few places. They were, in Malay times, hunted like wild beasts, and when captured enslaved by the Malays. At the same time there seems to have been a certain amount of intercourse kept up between the two races in the shape of a traffic in jungle produce and tin ore, on the one part, and knives, axes, cooking-pots, salt, cloth, etc., on the other. A few isolated tribes are

[1] I am not quite sure, however, that some injustice is not done to the Malays in this particular respect, as Mr. Hale (p. 287), himself records instances in which articles were *offered* to him by the Sakai at a ridiculously low valuation.

[2] [3] Hale in *J. A. I.* pp. 291, 292. Cp. also Montano (quoted by De Quatrefages, pp. 226, 227): "M. Montano informs us that they never make war on each other, and that the parents watch tenderly over their children, and will even when necessary deprive themselves of food on their account."

still to be found, such as the Sakai of Blanja and those at Pulau Tiga ("Three Islands") in Batang Padang, both of which have maintained their independence though completely surrounded by Malays. The Sakai are very shy, but are truthful and honest. Those of Batang Padang have lately taken to going by the railway down to Telok Anson to sell rattans, dammar, and other jungle products at better prices than they could get from the up-country Malays. They are now beginning to show a fondness for dress, and it is no uncommon sight to see a party of Sakai women coming into the towns very much smarter and better dressed than the average of Malay women.

Mr. Wray tells me that he has known several instances of Sakai living in Malay Kampongs in Larut and Kuala Kangsar, not as slaves but as independent land- and house-holders.

Before the emancipation of the slaves in 1882-83, there were many Sakai women in the houses of the Malays, and quite a considerable number remained after that date. The children appear to be treated just the same as the wholly Malayan members of the family.

Mr. Wray adds, that the Sakai of Perak, who are in touch with the Malays, employ the Malay numerals up to quite high figures, and are sharp in money transactions. In the eighties he saw an excellent instance of this at Batu Pipis in Kinta. In paying for some things he gave some coppers to a Sakai, who picked out a Sarawak cent and gave it back, asking for a Straits cent in exchange.

The following passage by M. Maclay gives an accurate picture of the hostile relations still subsisting

in some parts between the Malays and aborigines.[1] Maclay remarks that if the "tamer" Sakai are somewhat dependent upon the Malays, the "wilder" ones remain decidedly hostile to them, and never lose an opportunity of taking revenge on these foes of theirs, who by continually laying out new plantations diminish the territory of the original inhabitants, get the produce of the jungle from them for a mere trifle, and also, whenever they can possibly do so, capture their children in order to keep them or sell them as slaves. This man-hunting, which is now very rarely practised by the Malays, was formerly practised on a larger scale, and in many districts where numerous tribes of the original inhabitants used formerly to dwell, no traces of them are now to be found. The Malays, however, in spite of their superiority in all respects to these denizens of the jungle, are nevertheless very much afraid of them, and do not venture either alone or in too small parties into those parts of the forest which the wilder aborigines are known to frequent.[2]

L. Wray has remarked that Sakai tracks, wherever possible, invariably follow the bed of some stream, and there is thus nothing to guide anybody in attempting to follow them. This, he was informed, was intentional, and in times past was a necessary measure to prevent their being followed and hunted out of their mountain homes by the Malays.[3]

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[1] Maclay in writing of the Pangan, whom he calls Sakai. *J.R.A.S., S.B.*, No. 2, pp. 212, 213. It is, however, bare justice to the Government of the British Protectorate to say that the raiding of the aborigines by Malays has been sternly repressed, whenever the opportunity has offered, within the jurisdiction of the F.M.S. For an instance in which six Malays were severely punished, see Maxwell in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 4, p. 46.

[2] Miklucho Maclay in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 2, p. 213.

[3] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 21, pp. 163, 164.

The "tamer" Sakai, on the other hand, even when exploited by the Malays, frequently stand on somewhat better terms with them. It is in this lighter vein that a French traveller in Perak (M. Brau de Saint-Pol Lias)[1] writes as follows:—

"I approach an old man with a round, good-natured face, white hair, and grey moustache and beard, and ask him his age.

"He smiles, hesitates a moment, and replies:

"'Sa-ribu!' ('a thousand').

"The Malays annoyingly break out into a great shout of laughter, whereupon I ask them:

"'Why do you laugh like fools? Perhaps he means a thousand *months*. Which of *you* can tell me how many years that makes?'

"They hold their peace.

"I return to my Sakai. I am determined to clear up the point at once, and to find out if the Sakai, as I have been told, can really only count up to three.

"'Sa-ribu! That is perhaps too much,' I say to the good-natured old man; 'it is too much. Let us see about how much it is approximately.'

"'Sa-ratus' ('a hundred'), he replies quickly.

"'That is still too much. Perhaps you mean sixty?'

"'Yes, sixty.'

"I have not settled the point yet."[1]

Selangor Sakai. — The nomadic instinct of the Sakai dies hard, even among the more settled tribes, and Letessier records the fact that many Sakai who had been enslaved and converted by the Malays have taken the advantage of the establishment of the

[1] Brau de Saint-Pol Lias, pp. 251-253.

British power in the Peninsula "and for the most part gone back to their hunting of monkeys and wild pigs."[1] Their wonderful knowledge of the jungle and instinct in finding and capturing game has been referred to elsewhere.

It cannot be denied that they are, generally speaking, dirty to an extreme as compared with the Malays, scarcely any of them bathe except when caught in the rain, and a great number of them, more especially the members of the inland tribes, suffer from some more or less advanced stage of skin disease, which is due, no doubt, entirely to their way of living. There is, however, a good deal of difference in this respect between the inland tribes and those near the coast who have come to a greater extent under Malay influences.

They are also often very lazy, and, as might be expected, improvident, both characteristics being due to the life which they lead.

In many respects the Sakai of Kuala Lumpur are far better off than their forefathers were in the days when Malay influence was predominant in the Peninsula. In those days, as Letessier says,[2] they had no fixed abode. Hunted by the Malays, who stole their children, they were forced to leave their dwellings and fly hither and thither, passing the night in caves or in huts ("pondok"), which they burnt on their departure. "In those days," they say, "we never walked in the beaten tracks lest the print of our footsteps in the mud should betray us." For wherever the Malay perceived any indication of their presence, he would build himself a small shelter, and never

[1] Letessier, p. 100. Cp. Maxwell, *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 1, pp. 112, 113.
[2] Letessier, p. 100.

leave it until he had discovered the place of retreat where they generally spent the night. Accompanied by a few accomplices, he would then repair to the spot at nightfall, and the party, concealing themselves until dark, would wait to commence their raid until the "Hill-men" were asleep. The Malays would then fire several rifle shots, spreading terror and confusion in every family, whose breaking up made them an easy prey to their assailants, who would promptly make a rush for the spot where they heard the shrieks of the women and children. The girls were, as a rule, at once knocked on the head, and the boys were carried off and sold as slaves. There is hardly a family that has not its own especial calamity to relate, the result being the profound aversion that they avowedly cherish for the Malay; no hatred, however, exists nor desire for vengeance, as such a feeling would be incompatible with the extraordinarily peaceful nature of the race.[1]

Any act of vengeance, moreover, would be fatal to them, in view of their insignificant numbers and lack of means of defence. They prefer therefore to sacrifice the part for the whole, and this is certainly the only possible course open to them, so far as regards the loss of their property. Since the arrival of the English, however, they have grown much bolder, for as the government has always befriended them whenever they have chosen to make a complaint, they are now able to hold their own in spite of the unceasing menaces of their enemy.[2]

By the Chinese, on the other hand, they are very much more kindly treated, and are consequently much

[1] Letessier, p. 101.

[2] *Ibid.*

more at home with them, and deal with them in preference to the Malays.[1]

Finally, we are told by Letessier that what chiefly distinguishes the Sakai from the Malays is the natural simplicity of their manner. They have a childlike openness of speech and are scrupulously just in their dealings. This uprightness and simplicity is so visibly expressed on their frank and smiling countenances, that even when they are attired like Malays it is almost invariably possible to recognise them when encountered on a journey. Both their food and clothing are as simple as possible ; they find all their wants supplied by the forest.

Sakai of Ulu Langat.—Campbell, in writing of the Ulu Langat Sakai, states that their manners were simple, and that they were naturally liberal, and would share anything in their house with any one, and were hurt if their offer were refused. At the same time, they were neither spiteful nor vindictive, and though many of them had guns, they were not brave enough to hunt the elephant or bison, and were not ashamed to say so.

A curious feature of their hospitality, pointed out by Campbell, is that whenever asked to do anything they would at once comply, but would not as a rule offer to do it of their own accord.

On the other hand, they would not refuse any gifts that might be offered them, and indeed in most cases, would look for presents whenever a European visited their settlements.

Their mode of trading was very simple, and they never got the best of a bargain.[2]

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[1] Letessier, p. 99.

[2] Campbell, p. 240.

III.—Jakun.

Besisi.—Like many wild races in other parts, they are reticent and shy of strangers, and will frequently hide in the jungle or up trees when a white man is visiting their settlement for the first time. This shyness, however, wears off much sooner than it does with the Malay, so long as they are well and justly treated; in fact, in many cases it soon entirely disappears.

Their ignorance not unfrequently takes a form which though natural enough in itself, appears exceedingly comical to a European.

Batin Tirus of Telok Pulai once asked Mr. G. C. Bellamy if he could take off his boots. He apparently had an idea that the white man was born with boots on. Mr. Bellamy asked him how old he was, and although he was a great-great-grandfather, his reply was "More than ten years old" ("Săpuloh tahun lĕbih"). He put the same question to the Jinang at Sa-jangkang, and received a similar reply.[1] I myself have had exactly similar experiences.

The Besisi are to a man most hospitable and liberal, and their sense of gratitude is far more developed than is the case with the Malays. Mr. Bellamy adds that they never forget a kindness, and always remember the 'Tuan' (White Man) who visited them on such and such an occasion.[2]

If treated properly, they will do almost anything to oblige. On several occasions Mr. Bellamy had to use them as guides through the jungle, and all that he had to do was to state his requirements, when, without any hesitation or bargaining for wages, they at once afforded him the assistance required.[3]

[1] Bellamy, p. 228. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

Mr. Bellamy adds that although they hold such a low position in the scale of society, yet they are perfectly happy and contented. Their earthly bliss is contained, as they themselves will tell you, in "eating, working, and sleeping," and they ask for nothing more. Meet them where you will, either in their wretched huts, in the jungle gathering fruit or honey, by the seaside fishing, or anywhere else, they are always ready with a cheery response to your salutation.[1]

It is certain that they have never possessed an alphabet of their own, though they do possess the tradition of a sacred volume ("Kitab"[2]) which is said to have been destroyed by fire many years ago.

But to describe them as children, or to assume that their brain is in a state of arrested development, is by no means an adequate statement of the case. They will work very hard and very rapidly for short intervals, even on their own account, and when "sweated" by the Malays who compel them to collect jungle produce, etc., they will often work, literally like "slaves," for a long while together. The fact that they have picked up agriculture when they might have got sufficient to supply all their wants from the forest, and had been in the habit of so doing for hundreds of years, shows that they are *not* incapable of progress. I have even known a small group of Besisi families take to the planting of Liberian coffee, whilst others have leased land from the government, have done road-work for government officers, and have even acquired such industries as that of the blacksmith. I think, in fact, that it can safely be said that the Malays can do very little that the Besisi, if taken young enough, and with equal advantages,

[1] Bellamy, p. 228. [2] *Ibid.* p. 227; and cp. 378, 391, *ante.*

could not acquire; though certainly those of them who have been spoilt either by opium-smoking or other Malay or Chinese vices, can hold their own with their teachers in a contest of misapplied wits. All these facts help to bring out what I believe to be the most salient characteristic of these tribes, viz., their unrivalled power of adaptability.

Jakun of Sungei Ujong.—The Jakun of Sungei Ujong were till recently on no better terms with the Malays than the aborigines of Selangor and Perak.[1]

At a Malay wedding-feast in Sungei Ujong, some of the Jakun guests (of whom nearly one hundred were present) informed the Rev. M. Borie (a French Roman Catholic missionary) and Mr. J. R. Logan how unhappy they were in that place, and what bad treatment they experienced from the Malays, so much so that only a few days before several of them had been killed and wounded by order of the Malay chief. They declared that they intended to escape over into the Company's territory, where they hoped to find more tranquillity and assistance; and asked the Europeans to take them with them. Two of them offered themselves as servants for ever, or rather as slaves, as they intended not to receive any pay. This was a great mark of confidence, since by so speaking they took their lives in their hands, for the mention of their design would have undoubtedly been the cause of some fresh order for killing the first authors of this resolution, which would have been called a conspiracy. These requests were not acceded to, but some advice was given to the aborigines, the Europeans of the

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 280. The S. Ujong tribes, who are no better at counting than others of their race, use the tally-stick as a mnemonic when they want to calculate, *v.* Knocker, *Journ. F. M. S. Mus.* vol. i. No. ii. pp. 60-61.

party intending to return again to the place after a short interval.[1]

Mantra.—The Mantra of Malacca have suffered like other aboriginal tribes from the raids and incursions of the neighbouring Malays, their most implacable foes being the members of a Malay tribe called Rawa. This people are natives of a country in Sumatra called Rawa, Rau, and Ara, lying immediately to the north of Menangkabau, and penetrated by the large but scarcely navigable river Rakan. They are distinguished for their trading character, and, as traders and settlers, they have for a long period, but particularly during the last twenty or thirty years, annually repaired to the Peninsula opposite, sometimes by way of the Rakan, but more generally by the river Siak. They are bold, persevering, and thrifty, qualities which have long enabled them to engross the principal internal traffic between Malacca and Pahang. They always go well armed, but the chief source of their strength is their social spirit, which leads them to make common cause against those who have injured any of their nation. They are now settled in considerable numbers in Rembau, Sungei Ujong, and the western part of Pahang, and their numbers and power yearly increase and become more formidable. Seven months before the time of Logan's (present) memoir, large bands of them, under one Bata Bidohom, who was reputed invulnerable, attacked the Mantra in several places, killing many of the men and carrying away more than a hundred of their women and girls into Pahang, where they sold them as slaves. The Rawa declared that they would hunt down the Mantra everywhere and deal with them all in the same way,

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. pp. 280, 281.

in consequence of which the greater number of Mantra left their houses and became scattered far and wide about the country.[1]

At the same time it must not be forgotten that the enmity of the Malays is often limited considerably by a superstitious fear of their victims.[2]

Amongst the Malays themselves the "tuju," or Pointing charm, and other supernatural arts are also to some extent practised, but their practitioners are considered inferior in power to those of the aborigines. The very circumstance of these tribes remaining unconverted is probably a principal cause of the belief crediting them with the possession of unhallowed powers. In no country where new creeds are received is there a total immediate abandonment of the ancient ones. So long as the existence of the old gods and demons of the land is believed in there will always be multitudes ready either to ask their aid or deprecate their wrath, in spite of the fact that they believe it sinful to do so. To this day neither Hinduism, Islamism, nor Christianity itself have totally extinguished the ancient superstitions of the countries where they prevail. And this same unreasoning fear of the aborigines has doubtless in numberless cases operated more powerfully in their defence than the best of laws could have done.[3]

Of the visit of a party of Mantra to Singapore, Logan has left a most interesting and valuable account.[4] On the occasion referred to his Malay writer (one Inche Mohammed bin Haji Abdul Fatha, whom he had sent to Malacca to collect additional materials for a comparison of the languages of the aboriginal

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 328*, 329*. [2] [3] *Ibid.* p. 328*.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 332* *seqq.*

tribes) informed him that he had brought a party of Mantra to his house in Malacca, and thought he could induce them to visit him in Singapore, so that he might be enabled to gain more thorough knowledge of their character and condition. The party in question had moved into British territory some time previously, and had settled at Rumbiah on Mr. Westerhout's land. Logan requested Mohammed to bring them to Singapore, and they arrived there on the 16th of October and remained till the 7th of November. The party consisted of a Mantra named Pawang and his wife, a second man named Parut and his wife, and a third man named Tala.

They hesitated much about undertaking the voyage, as the members of this race, like all the tribes of the interior, have a hereditary dread of the sea, and no Mantra had ever ventured upon it from time immemorial. When they came on board the "scotchy" they were at once placed below, to prevent their being frightened by the waves and the motion of the vessel. They soon became very sea-sick, and it was not till the boat was opposite Pulau Pisang that one of the men had so far recovered as to venture to rise and look round. But no sooner did the rolling waves meet his sight than he was seized with fear, and plunged below the deck again.

When they took up their residence in Logan's compound they were at first a little reserved, although they had evidently seen Europeans frequently. On the second and third days their principal employment, while their poisoned arrows lasted, was to shoot birds, and they soon discovered more species in the "kampong" than we had ever observed ourselves. On the second day they had depopulated all the trees. Amongst the

spoils which they seemed to prize most were two owls and a colony of bats. The latter they seized upon with great glee, carried at once to their house, broiled slightly, and devoured. Nothing being now left in the compound, Logan took them next evening along the Garden Road, but they did not succeed in getting any birds, and this made them think Singapore a poor country. Some clumps of jungle on the hills beyond Mr. Caldwell's villa redeemed it a little in their eyes, and they were anxious to reach them, but disliked having to cross the swamps. Logan offered to give them a small plantation if they would remain in Singapore, pointing to the sugar-canes and fine fruit-trees in the Chinese plantations on the side of the road. They said they could not live where there was so little forest, and as for plantations they could make clearings of their own in Malacca. They pointed to Said Omar's and Mr. Dyce's hill, and asked what was the value of such a house with the hill and trees around it. When told that it might sell for 3000 dollars, they expressed the liveliest astonishment. Shortly afterwards, when Pawang was describing the mountains of his country, he was asked for what price the Mantra would sell Gunong Berembun. He hesitated, looked at Mr. Dyce's hill, and at last said, "Ten godowns," *i.e.* store-houses ("sa-puloh gĕdong").

Of all the sights that they saw in Singapore, the Chinese Temple pleased them most. But after having visited the town, Telok Blanga, Seglap, and some other parts of the island, they declared that Malacca was a much finer place.[1]

The three men differed considerably in disposition. The most remarkable was Pawang, who displayed

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 332*, 333*.

much sense and firmness in his character, and a slight degree of pride and reserve in his manner. He was looked up to by his companions as a man of superior ability and knowledge, and his reputed skill in natural and supernatural medicines made him an object of much attention to the Malays in the neighbourhood, who invited him to their houses and visited him, to solicit herbs and charms. The women in particular regarded him as a magician of undoubted art, and many, on first approaching him, threw themselves at his feet. His head was decidedly intellectual in its formation.

Parut was a picture of indolence, good-nature, and contentedness. He seemed to enjoy what the passing moment brought, without any intrusion of thought or care.

Tala was also good-natured and indolent, but more lively, and not without a little humour. He was exceedingly fond of raw brandy, and, when slightly elevated, danced, sang, and played on his flute—a mere piece of bamboo with some holes in it. On the third evening he was seized with melancholy, his thoughts reverted to his absent wife, and he sat for some hours by himself drawing plaintive notes from his flute, and singing of her, by turns, while the tears coursed down his cheeks. His temperament was much more excitable than that of the others.

The women were good-natured, and one of them, Pawang's wife, was even lively. Whilst their conversation was characterised by an Old Testament simplicity and unreserve, their manners were in every respect modest.

The impression which they made upon every one who saw much of them was very favourable. In

manners they were soft, simple, candid, and, at the same time independent. Their whole conduct was marked by a tone of propriety and good sense. They showed an entire absence of obtrusiveness, greediness, deceitfulness, intolerance, or any other of the vices which so often mar the effect of the good qualities possessed by many of the races who inhabit Singapore. In a word, they were perfectly well behaved, and inspired a trustfulness and liking which are not often awakened by Asiatics in the breast of the European.[1]

Within a fortnight after Logan had wished them a safe voyage back to Malacca, and promised to visit Gunong Berembun under Pawang's guidance, a rumour reached him that the trading boat which carried them away had been wrecked and three of them drowned. This most painful intelligence was confirmed, and the satisfaction that he had anticipated when bringing these notes to a close, from the hope that some attention and sympathy might be drawn to the race, was embittered by the reflection that the resolution of his simple friends to overcome their natural dread of the sea had proved a fatal one to them. It appears that stormy weather was experienced from Pulau Pisang to Padang. When off the latter place, on the 14th, the boat being much damaged and the wind rising to a gale, the Malays made for the shore. They had nearly reached it, about nine o'clock at night, when, dreading that the boat would be dashed to pieces, the crew prepared to leap overboard, and wade to the land. Tala and Pawang's wife were afraid to do so, but his sister and Parut, her husband, consenting, Pawang fastened them to himself by their waist-bands, saying that they would

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 333*, 334*.

live or die together, and then they all plunged into the waves. They sank at once, for it was deeper than they had believed, and the bottom being a stiff mud, they never rose again. Next morning the Malays, who had succeeded in reaching the shore, saw the boat still holding together, and, on going to it, they found Tala and Pawang's wife alive in it. The survivors procured a boat and arrived at Malacca on the evening of the following day.[1]

Jakun of N. Sembilan.—In contrast to the bad treatment of these tribes is the position of the aboriginal element in Rembau, of which the late Mr. M. Lister has informed us that the "Batins" or chiefs were, according to ancient usage, closely connected with the Malay tribe from which the Penghulus of States were in nearly all cases elected. The four principal Batins were those of Ulu Klang, Sungei Ujong, Jelebu, and Johol. They had a strong voice in the election of the Mohammedan Penghulu. The cause is apparent. The Menangkabau colonists married the daughters of Batins. Their children were Mohammedans and their female children (in accordance with Menangkabau law) inherited and became the origin of the "Waris" or tribe of "Beduanda," which was declared to be the inheriting civilised tribe, whilst at they same time they still had to recognise the Batin or Jakun's powers in the mountains and forests, and preserve their position and identity in connection with the "Beduanda" tribe.[2] Hence came the custom of female inheri-

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 334*, 335*.

[2] The reason for this striking difference in the treatment of the Rembau aborigines are stated by Mr. Lister as follows :—"First and foremost it must be understood that instead of Bugis and other Malay pirates occupying a coast-line, as in the case of Selangor and Perak, driving back and taking as slaves the non-Mohammedan aborigines of the Peninsula termed 'Semang,' 'Sakai,' 'Jakun,' and 'Waris Laut,'

tance, and according to Menangkabau custom a man cannot marry in his own tribe, that is, in the tribe of his mother. Hence a Beduanda man must marry into another tribe, and his children belong to the tribe of the mother.[1]

It is often most interesting to converse with Batins and Jakun chiefs on their traditions and laws, especially in tracing the connection with the Malay Mohammedan customs. A Batin will invariably tell you that all the forest and waste lands—called by them "Gaung," "Guntong," "Bukit," "Bukau," as inclusive of everything uncultivated—belong to them. This is by origin correct; but there is at the same time no doubt that they have parted with their rights to the Mohammedan tribe of Beduanda in all cases of government, concession, and taxation. Still the Dato' of Johol pays to the Batin of Johol a proportion of the revenues derived from waste lands through his minister the Jinang of Johol, who is, so to speak, minister for the aborigines. The Batins often collect themselves where the Beduanda are remiss in doing so. For instance, in Muar (*i.e.* on the reaches of the Muar river above the Segamat boundary), Batin Gemala, who is the principal Batin of Johol, declared that he collected a fee that he called

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the people of Menangkabau who penetrated into the Negri Sembilan *viâ* Malacca or the Muar river came as settlers. They came in search of pastures new, possibly on account of troubles and disturbances in the State of Menangkabau in Sumatra, just as we did in leaving English shores for the continent of America. They were no Rajas or warriors on the look-out for conquest and plunder, but merely peaceful immigrants from Sumatra, who hoped to find fertile and rich countries in which they might quietly settle and make their home. Now it is more than probable that all these settlers came from the interior of Sumatra. They were accustomed to mountains, hilly districts where existed rich alluvial valleys, in which they knew they would find soils fertile and easy of irrigation" (*J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 22, Dec. 1890, pp. 299, 300).

[1] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 22, p. 302.

"penchong alas" from the Malays who collected jungle produce. The amount of the fee was insignificant, being one dollar per man once in three years. He declared with pride that this was the "penny-box of the man of the woods."[1] The simplicity of this form of taxation was most curious, and shows the freedom from guile of the aboriginal mind. He was attempting at the time of this meeting to collect this fee for the past three years, not in advance. Lister tried to assist him, but the attempt was vain. He was somewhat indignant at the falseness of the Malay; but for his own part, Lister was not astonished. In talking of his position with reference to the Dato' of Johol, he said that as between him and the Dato', "custom cannot be altered, agreements cannot be changed, alliances cannot be revoked."[2] This is a very beautiful expression of Malay fealty and loyalty. Sometimes a Batin or Jurukrah, who is minister to the Batin, is very indignant. He will say, "the Penghulus[3] get thousands of dollars now in selling our forests." Then it is explained to them how necessary it is this earth should be developed. They are informed that they are not able to govern or regulate such things, and that they cannot truly claim the forests as being theirs; but that what they can claim is to have all that they require for their maintenance from the forests. They will then reply that this is quite right, and that they are really perfectly happy as long as they have forests reserved to them, and that they do not know what to do with money. They are delighted with presents of tobacco, stuffs, and other trifles. If

[1] "Pĕti duit orang utan." "Alas" is an obsolete Malayan word for "jungle."
[2] "Adat tiada bĕrubah, pĕrjanjian tiada bĕralih, sĕtia tiada bĕrtukar."
[3] *I.e.* Lesser chiefs.

you give them money they generally go home to the forest and bury it, never telling any one where, so that on their death it is lost. There was one man who liked getting money, and he always came alone to Lister to ask for it. He came alone so as to be able to bury the money without difficulty. He had evidently a craving for silver, and experienced the satisfaction of a miser in knowing that he had money, though he did not make use of it.[1]

The conversation of the Jakun is full of proverbs, and they constantly quote sayings which have certainly become Malay, but which often and often are unknown to Malays of the present day. It is a usual thing for a Malay to exclaim when a Jakun is talking, "How clever he is at talking!"[2] and to look at him in admiration. The Malay, however, knows the Jakun's intense simplicity; and if he wants any advantages from him, he will get all he requires. He will also laugh at him, though in a friendly chaffing way, and it is often amusing to hear the Jakun get by far the best of the laugh.[3]

The Jakun never object to the collection of revenues by British officials. They say that the English know how to do it, and that they do it rightly, and that it should be so; but they say the Malays know nothing about it, and that when money comes into a Malay country it makes nothing but difficulties and trouble. They are lookers-on, and it is hardly necessary to say how correct their views are.[4]

A Jakun has the greatest dread of a grant for land. Nothing will persuade him to take out a grant, and if pressed (which in the Native States is

[1] [3] [4] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 22, pp. 302, 303.
[2] "Pandei s'kali chakap."

unnecessary), he will leave the country and travel away into the mountains of the interior. Anything binding, any direct taxation or registration, drives him away.[1]

The real objection of the Jakun to taking out grants for land is because of their custom that if there is a death in the house, they must leave the place and settle elsewhere, generally many miles away.[2]

The origin of the land tenure in Rembau is very curious, and probably unknown in any other State of the Malay Peninsula. When the original settlers arrived they ingratiated themselves into the good graces of the aborigines, and first of all, no doubt, got free gifts of forest land from the Batin. Later on there probably was competition for waste lands in fertile valleys, and presents were given to the Batin of the land. This resulted later in the sale of land to the Mohammedan settlers. The price was a knife or a weapon, a piece of cloth or some article valued by the Jakun; but it became an actual sale. According to Mohammedan law, land cannot be sold; it is God's land, and man cannot sell it. Thus here we have distinctly the aboriginal origin in the sales of waste lands. Later, as the Mohammedans became powerful in the country, the Mohammedan tribe of Beduanda took up the sale of waste lands and made considerable profit by it; and during the last twenty years the Beduanda chiefs have sold waste lands of, say, three or four acres in extent, for eight and ten dollars and sometimes more.[3]

As this custom was against the Mohammedan law, it was easy for the government to put a stop to an

[1] [2] [3] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 22, pp. 303, 304.

usage which caused many disputes, much trouble, and even bloodshed in the country.[1]

In an article printed in this same Journal (1889) Lister gave the dry facts in connection with the origin of their constitution. The tribes are governed by the "'Adat Perpatih," and by the customs derived from the aborigines. With the Raja family this is not the case, and the "'Adat Temenggong" governs property and inheritance.[2]

Here again is a case that has only been referred to as having created ill-feeling, but which illustrates the Batin's influence in State matters. Batin Gemala, the principal Batin of Johol, who lived some miles in the interior on the left bank of the Muar river, was induced, in consequence of a number of his people becoming Mohammedans and of other Mohammedan settlers arriving in the reaches ("rantau") of the Muar river above Segamat, to consider the advisability of bringing forward a Penghulu.[3]

The Penghulus of States having by origin been brought into office by the Batin, this was no doubt constitutionally correct. Batin Gemala brought the individual whom he had selected to the Dato' of Johol in order that the Dato' should recognise this new Penghulu-ship. The Dato' of Johol did so. He thought it would conduce to a settled population in Muar, where formerly, as on many other rivers, the people of the "reaches" had been nomadic, moving from reach to reach and never permanently settling. The Penghulu of Ladang, however, whose ancestors before him had always ruled this district under the Penghulu of Johol, was much annoyed at this new departure, and the result was quarrels and jealousies.

[1] [2] [3] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 22, pp. 304, 305.

When the Penghulu of Muar subsequently died, the Dato' of Johol would not make further experiments in accepting a Batin as Penghulu.[1]

Berembun Tribes. — The great superstition of the Berembun tribes is their best safeguard against their equally superstitious though more civilised neighbours. The Malays and Chinese of Malacca, with few exceptions, but especially the Malays of Naning, Rembau, and the other States of the interior of the Peninsula, have implicit faith in the supernatural power of the Berembun Poyangs, and believe that many lay members of the aboriginal tribes are imbued with it. Hence they are careful to avoid offending the Berembun tribes, because although the latter do not attempt, at the time, to retaliate, or even use threats, they are believed nevertheless to have taken the offence deeply to heart, with the intention of revenging themselves, sooner or later, by occult means. Moreover, the Malays, when they have the opportunity, resort to the Poyang for the cure of various diseases, with which either they themselves or their relatives are troubled. A third motive, viz., revenge, also not infrequently sends the Malays to the Poyang, whose power is invoked with the object of causing disease and misfortune, or even death, to any one by whom they have been injured.[2]

War in all its forms is quite unknown to them.[3]

Benua - Jakun. — But in order to understand thoroughly the relationship between the Benua and the Malay a further acquaintance with the Benua is necessary.

To commence with, the Benua who is not well supplied with the necessaries of life in considerable

[1] *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 22, pp. 310, 311.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 328*.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 273.

variety has nothing but his own indolence to blame. As in other communities, the condition of individuals varies much. The active and persevering do not grudge their labour to render themselves and their families comfortable. Their clearings are well stocked with vegetables. Their families are clothed. They have their fishing-hut and canoes on the river, and their durian-grove and hut in the forest, and they and all about them are cheerful and even happy. And yet they never have any other capital than their industry. Others again have not a tithe of their comforts, but are so reconciled to their own indolence and its results, that they are contented with their lot. I soon found that a large house and a sufficient supply of clothing were certain evidences that the head of the family was endowed with a superior measure of intelligence and cheerfulness. Where all are on an equality, accumulated capital wanting, and hardly anything inherited but the common right of taking the produce of the forest, personal advantages are the only ones known. He who has most intellect and activity fares the best.[1]

The good-humour and cheerfulness of the Benua are amongst their most striking characteristics. Their minds are free from thought and free from care. They are timid, but at the same time perfectly independent, and, whilst entirely exempt from all servility of manner or address, and wanting in that peculiar courtesy which distinguishes the Malay, they are thoroughly respectful. Though in address they are abrupt and open, they have the same natural softness of manner and unwillingness to offend which characterise the uncontaminated Malay.

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 266.

Their plainness and modesty of manner is accompanied by a mental candour and truthfulness which the Malay regards as barbarous simplicity, but which must attract the sympathy and good-will of the European in a strong degree, and place them in his estimation far above all the more civilised Asiatic races with whom he is familiar. Amongst the Benua he feels as if the oppressive moral atmosphere which surrounds him elsewhere, were exchanged for a pure and elastic one, in which he can once more breathe freely. The simplicity and openness of their minds, combined with their freedom from vanity, levity, and any overweening pride, communicate a tone of sense to their conversation. In their personal habits the Benua are as cleanly as the Malays. Their paucity of dress even gives them an advantage in this respect over the Malay. They scrupulously wash and clean every article of food before cooking it, and reject meat that is at all tainted. The ground below the hut, as with the Malays, is made the receptacle of all the vegetable *débris* of their cookery and repasts, but it is free from the noisome smell which surrounds the dwellings of the Jakuns. The dogs live in the hut, but are cleanly and receive their share of wholesome food. In respect of the personal appearance of the Benua, it is said that the sensual predominates over the intellectual in the expression of their countenances. In their manners they are perfectly modest, while familiar and open, and although both sexes at all ages freely associate, I did not observe anything that could have led to the supposition that there was not the strictest reserve amongst the unmarried, and fidelity amongst the married.[1]

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 267, 268.

To this imperfect sketch of the character of the Benua it should be added that although less sensitive in their feelings than the Berembun tribes, whose pride takes offence at the least appearance of a slight or assumption of control, they would probably show themselves reserved, unsocial, and even sullen if they were not treated with kindness and respect. They are less distrustful, less changeful, and more robust in their character than the Berembun tribes, who require to be humoured like children, and, if they are not so treated, easily convince themselves that they are wronged, neglected, or treated with a want of consideration. Like children, too, they are very susceptible to flattery.[1]

It is this excessive sensitiveness both to flattery and slight which seems to supply that psychological link between the aborigines and the Malays, which at the first contemplation of the great difference between them, seems to be wanting. Civilisation has deprived the Malay of the openness and simplicity of the Benua, and hardened him. But although he has substituted for a total want of manner one of the most strongly marked manners possessed by any race, his pristine sensitiveness is covered, not conquered. It is indeed the secret of much that is peculiar in his social deportment. That art of putting everything in a pleasing point of view, of softening and concealing the natural asperities of a subject under discussion, of rendering even that which in other hands might wound the self-love of the person addressed, the medium of a compliment—an art in which the well-bred Malay is unsurpassed and which the combined softness, frankness, and simple dignity of his manner so

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 267, 268.

well second,—is the growth of this very sensitiveness. He soothes and flatters others that he himself may be soothed and flattered. The command over his own passions and feelings which he has obtained renders courtesy and politeness habitual, but has veiled, not subdued, his Benua nature, and the sense of wrong, when not relieved by speedy revenge, sometimes preys upon his mind till he is goaded into fury, and moodiness becomes madness. It is another result of the inherency of the Benua disposition that many Malays, who have not the sustained animal spirits or firmness required by the civilisation and position which the race have obtained, are disposed to a degree of melancholy which sometimes becomes sullenness. Let the Benua be drawn from his seclusion into intercourse with other nations, and his character will be emboldened and hardened by the change in his habits, and unless a more powerful and spiritual religion than that of the Malays should elevate him in character as well as in civilisation, we may see him bring the kris to the aid of his spells, and substitute the "amok" for the "tuju." As yet the race sits happy in the ethnic nursery, unconscious of the progress of events which must force it from its child-like ignorance and peace, and teach it to know the corruption and the strife which nations of larger growth have found in civilisation.[1]

The Benua occasionally embrace Islamism, but although attachment to their old habits and pride in the antiquity of their race combine with their want of regard for the Malays in rendering them averse to this conversion, the Malays are persuaded that

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 269, 270.

they will ultimately be entirely amalgamated with them. This is a fate which every consideration of humanity and religion urges us to endeavour to avert. As yet the Benua preserve much of their natural openness and honesty of character, and their whole disposition is such as to give assurance that they would prove willing recipients of Christianity, were it presented to them in its purity and simplicity. Were an intelligent and kindly missionary to settle amongst them, the superiority of his character to that of the Malays would speedily gain for him the influence and authority of a father. A great improvement in their condition might be brought about by merely placing their intercourse with the Malays upon a juster footing, to accomplish which the influence of the Singapore government and the authority of the Temenggong (the Sultan of Johor) would, it may be anticipated, be readily accorded.[1]

To compare or contrast the aborigines of the south of the Peninsula with the Bataks and the Dayaks and the Malays, it need here only be remarked that the character of the first three races mentioned is essentially the same, and that it may still be recognised even in the Malay.[2]

The Benua has less development of intellect, and less corruption of the passions. Natural influences are with him greater than artificial ones. Every individual and every family lives rather in the pure and fresh presence of nature than of men. Detached in family groups in the forest, Malay corruption, which would long ago have reduced them to its own dye if it could have operated on them *en masse* in villages, has found no assailable point. The absolute-

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 291. [2] *Ibid.*

ness of the influence of the family, and of simple and solitary pursuits, has also prevented the internal growth of vices. There is no outward influence to counteract it. Society in its turn contains no institution or principle that can interrupt its harmony. Their character and habits afford no room for any disturbance of the equality that reigns throughout the whole country. Hence there is no appreciable social strife or ambition.[1]

As has been said, both the Bataks and most of the Dayaks preserve the Benua character at bottom; but, unlike the Benua, they have elaborated their superstitions and their social habits, and have acquired some vicious propensities, such as gambling, and the unnatural customs of head-hunting and cannibalism, though it is undeniable that the Bataks as a race have a greater prevalence of social virtues than most European nations, and that truth, honesty, hospitality, benevolence, chastity, absence of private crimes, are here found actually to co-exist even with cannibalism.[2]

The Benua nature, as we have already had occasion to notice, is also very recognisable in the Malays, although the pride and pretension engrafted upon it by Mohammedanism, the bold and active part which they have played in the modern history of the Archipelago, and the influence of courts formed on the Mohammedan model have obliterated much of its simplicity and all its artlessness.[3]

War is unknown to the Benua, as it is to the Berembun tribes. The Menangkabau Malays are rapidly increasing in the portion of the Peninsula occupied by them, and are even spreading over the

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 292, 293. [2 3] *Ibid.* p. 293.

interior of Pahang, and, from their Chinese-like habit of combining for mutual ends, are growing formidable to the Pahang Malays. It would appear that they deal more harshly with the aborigines than the Malays of the Peninsula, for they are recorded to have formerly attacked the Mantra and killed some of their Batins. This proceeding drove many Mantra families from the neighbourhood, and small colonies found their way into the British territory at the back of Malacca, and other places. The Mantra say that they found resistance in vain, because the Menangkabau Malays were armed with muskets, and had learnt the use of antidotes to the ipoh poison, so that the slender darts of the blowpipe inflicted but little injury upon them.[1]

Every outlet from the country of the Benua is occupied and guarded by Malays, who, by preventing the free access of strangers and working upon the ignorance and fears of the Benua, keep them imprisoned in the interior of the country. Having thus effectually locked them up in the jungles, they prey upon them in a most unscrupulous manner. It is probable that if the character of the Benua had been weaker they would have been long since reduced to direct slavery. But although timid and unwarlike, they have stubborn notions of right and wrong, and any attempt at compulsion is met with an obstinate resistance. The Malay, therefore, respects the independence and the customs ("hadat") of the Benua, adapts himself to his notions, and has recourse to craft and cajolery to attain his ends.[2] He treats his victims with a great

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 273.

[2] The following passage, explanatory of the customs of the Benua, is translated from a copy of an old Malay MS. which was forwarded by one of the Selangor chiefs, and purports to be the answer given by the four chiefs, or Neneks (*i.e.* "elders," lit. grand-

show of respect and kindness, and cheats them to their faces in the most courteous and friendly manner. Though he himself dreads the power of their Poyangs, he is well aware at the same time of the influence of his bolder and more energetic and reckless character on the Benua, and, when occasion requires it, talks of his good-will being abused, of the inadequacy and dilatoriness of the return that is being made to him for his advance, and hints that if his debtor does not prove more diligent, he will not be able to restrain his anger.[1]

Jakun of Johor.—The Jakun tribes are entirely inoffensive, having an excellent temper; they are generally kind, affable, inclined to gratitude and to beneficence. Hospitality is much practised amongst them, not only towards other Jakun but towards any stranger who reaches their habitations. All Indian nations are much inclined to begging; and anything they happen to see that pleases them they ask of the owner, when they know that there is no means to steal it, and sometimes their demands are so frequent and repeated as to appear very importunate. The Jakun, however, are not so; they differ much in this respect from other Indians; they are liberal and generous. When visited they very seldom ask for

fathers), who were summoned to the presence of Mahomed Shah, king of Johor:—

"We wish to return to our old customs, to ascend the lofty mountain, to dive into the earth's deep caverns, to traverse the boundless forest, to repose, with our head pillowed on the knotted trunk on the 'Durian' tree, and curtained by 'Rĕsam' leaves. To wear garments made from the leaves of the 'Lumbah,' or 'T'rap' tree, and a headdress of 'Bajah' leaves. Where the 'Mĕranti' trees join their lofty branches, where the 'Kĕmpas' links its knots, there we love to sojourn. Our weapons are the blow-pipe ('temiang'), and the quiver of arrows imbued in the gum of the deadly 'Telak' (*sic*). The fluid most delicious to us is the limpid water that lodges in the hollow of trees, where the branches unite with the trunk; and our food consists of the tender shoots of the fragrant 'Jemantong' and the delicate flesh of the bounding deer."—Newbold, pp. 394, 395.

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 285.

anything, and will never refuse what is asked from them; and when after asking their visitor refuses to take anything, they will press him to do so. They very seldom have quarrels among themselves, and their disputes are usually settled by their Batins or chiefs without any display of malice or fighting. Their laws allow of punishments for several sorts of crime, but the Batin seldom has occasion to apply them. Candour and honesty, qualities very rare in India, and perhaps so in all Asia, are notwithstanding found amongst the Jakun. It is remarkable that they abhor lying and thieving, not in words as the Malay, but really and in practice. They are never known to steal anything, not even the most insignificant trifle. These remarkable qualities have on more than one occasion induced persons to attempt to domesticate them, but the result has generally been the disappearance of the Jakun upon the slightest coercion. A Mr. Lewis, formerly Assistant Resident at Penang, had for some time a Jakun family in his house. They appeared at first to be very glad of their position, but having been one day employed in some servile work, they fled away and appeared no more. The reason is that the Jakun are extremely proud, and will not submit for any length of time to servile offices or to much control. This, if it was a defect, was the only one that Logan remarked in them.[1]

Europeans are known to the Jakun, as a rule, by report only, the greater number of them having never seen a European. But on account of the great number of Chinese in the Peninsula, few of them are unaware of the existence of China; they are told, too,

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. pp. 266, 267.

of Bengal, of Sumatra, and of Siam; these are the boundaries of their knowledge in geography. Their science in astronomy is yet more limited; they see the sun rise and set every day; that the moon sometimes appears, sometimes not; they use the light of the heavenly bodies when present, and sleep when it is dark, but they have never noticed or inquired about the course of the stars; they scarcely know how many days go to the duration of a moon, nor how many moons go to a year. They are not at all aware even of their own age, or of that of their children; such observations appear to them mere superfluities as being not required in their way of living.[1] Their ignorance of such matters, however, may be less surprising when we remember that those of the Malays themselves who live in the interior of the Peninsula are not aware of all these things, and that on these subjects many of them are no better informed than the Jakun. A thing in which the Jakun (especially those of the Menangkabau States) are truly skilled, is the art of using the blowpipe and poisoned arrows; as has been pointed out in speaking of their weapons. They have no knowledge of writing, nor do they make use of any symbolical signs.[2]

Both the intellectual faculties of the Jakun and the knowledge they evince are very limited; the reason of which is probably, however, not so much the defect of their intelligence itself, as the want of the necessary means to develop it. The Jakun are indeed very ignorant, but are also certainly capable of acquire-

[1] "The Jakun are entirely ignorant of the first principles of mathematics, nor do they know the simplest rules of arithmetic. The mathematical instrument which probably gave origin to the decimal calculation, the natural indigitation, is adopted by them in ordinary use."—Newbold, ii. 394.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 251.

ment; they are endowed with a sound mind, a right judgment, and a good memory. They are seldom if ever either insane or idiotical; all are more or less intelligent, and have all their intellectual faculties in a sound state, corresponding to the common and ordinary rules of nature. There can be little doubt that if they were to receive the same care that is given to European children, they would become equally intelligent, and possibly more susceptible of a good education than a great part of the natives of India.[1]

Relations between Jakun and Malays.

When these two races, whose common origin is in many respects clear, are compared, it is hard to avoid a feeling of astonishment on perceiving so remarkable a difference between them. The dissimilitude in their physical appearance is very slight when compared with that which exists in their manners, customs, and moral qualities.[2]

The Jakun and Malays, so different in many points, are notwithstanding similar in some respects; both are ignorant and consequently superstitious. In these two points they resemble each other, with this difference, that the Malays are ignorant and pretentious, whereas the Jakun are ignorant, but aware of their ignorance; and though they are proud and independent, yet they think that others know better than themselves and thus easily endure to be taught. Moreover, though both races are superstitious, the Malays are certainly more so than the Jakun; and those of the Jakun who have the least to do with the

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 248.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 274.

Malays are at the same time the least superstitious.[1]

The Jakun hates the Malay, and the Malay despises the Jakun. There is a natural and uncontrollable antipathy between the two races; but they stand in need of each other, and their mutual intercourse is indispensable. The Jakun launch out into incessant complaints against the Malays, as being bad people, cruel murderers;[2] and, what is no less

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. pp. 275, 276.

[2] Some few years back the Jakun on the Endau, that is to say, the Endau, Sembrong, and their tributaries, were in comparatively comfortable circumstances, procuring the produce of the jungle for traders, and receiving the ordinary returns in kind, or planting tapioca, sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, and plantains; they finding Johor rule comparatively quiet, rather took to the Johor side of the Endau, to the annoyance of the Pahang authorities. These latter in their jealousy issued an attractive but deceitful proclamation intended to draw back the runaway Jakun into Pahang territory, on pretence of celebrating some ancestral feast, but in reality with the intention of enslaving them; the Jakun were induced to go into Pahang, but got wind of what was likely to happen in time for some of them to get away. On another occasion some Pahang Jakuns crossed over into Johor territory; Che Ngku Da of Pianggu, who is the local chief on the Pahang side, ordered them to return, and shot one of them who did so; nor are the foregoing solitary instances of the inhuman treatment suffered by these tribes, as by similar tribes in the north of the Peninsula, at the hands of the Malays; but it is needless to multiply instances, the fact that it is systematic is already sufficiently well known and authenticated, though it has been hitherto allowed (except in Perak) to remain an unnoticed fact. What is required is that steps should be taken to make the ruling powers in Malay States aware that we can no longer view with indifference any toleration by them of misconduct by any of their subjects towards the aborigines residing in their territories, and that we shall expect severe measures to be adopted against any one offending in this way.

The Malays of Johor, though they have not imitated the brutal conduct of the Pahang Malays, have nevertheless taken advantage, though not perhaps more than is natural, of their superior position in their dealings with the Jakuns. They do not give them the fair market value in kind for the jungle produce they receive from them, and are not content with an exchange which brings them less than 100 to 200 per cent profit; by this means they keep the Jakun constantly in their debt; he has learned wants now which he has to work so hard to satisfy that he has little or no time left for the cultivation which would formerly have kept him in comfort; still more is this the case, where they are forced to work for a local Malay official, not at the ordinary rates of exchange in kind, but merely for sufficient rice to keep body and soul together, while they toil to satisfy his grasping greed. Treatment such as this elicits comment even from the apathetic Malay, especially when he is a fellow-sufferer, perhaps a constable on a station drawing a monthly salary, which he seldom if ever enjoys the sight of, though it is, no doubt,

criminal in their eyes, thieves, pilferers, and liars. Some of them made the sensible remark that the numerous "sĕmbahyangs," or prayers of the Malays, could not be of any use to them so long as they remained addicted to so many vices; but they took great care before thus expressing themselves to look about, for they knew that if any Malay should chance to overhear them, they would not remain long uninjured. But the Jakun not only hates and abhors the Malays, he fears them as well; and what makes his position yet more irksome, is the necessity he is under of being obliged to trade with them. The "dammar" and other products he finds in the forest cannot be disposed of except through the medium of Malays, and this establishes a daily intercourse between them. But what is really surprising is that in these communications they always remain on good terms, and that although the Jakun is rude and wild, he yet knows how to give the Malay *de l'eau bénite de cour*, and habitually keep great harmony and peace in his relations with them. But if the Jakun hates and fears the Malays, the Malays in return both despise and fear extremely the Jakun. The Malays consider the Jakun as infidels ("kafir"), and therefore despicable, and as being in a rank only a little higher than animals; but on the other hand the Malays themselves are superstitious in the extreme. For Malays, everything they do not understand is a mystery; everything not common must be endowed

transmitted regularly from Singapore. But this is merely by the way, an illustration of personal characteristics which do not end with the Jakun.

The Jakun cannot now get on without rice, of which the Malays have taught them the value, but which was not originally in their list of articles of food; they have gone so far as to cultivate it for the last thirty years when allowed the needful leisure.—Hervey in *J. R. A. S.*, No. 8, pp. 120-122.

with extraordinary virtue; and consequently, to a Malay, a Jakun is a supernatural being, endowed with supernatural power, and with an unlimited knowledge of the secrets of nature. He must therefore be skilled in the arts of divination, sorcery, and fascination, and able to do either good or evil according to his pleasure; his blessing will be followed by the most extraordinary success, and his curse by the most dreadful of disasters. Whenever he hates a person he turns himself towards the house, and strikes two sticks the one upon the other, and thereupon, whatever may be the distance between himself and his enemy, the latter will fall sick, and even die if the Jakun perseveres with this ceremony for a few days' duration. Moreover, to a Malay the Jakun is a man who, by his nature, must necessarily know all the properties of every plant, and consequently must be a clever physician, a belief which explains the eagerness of Malays who are sick to obtain their assistance, or at least to obtain some medicinal plants from them; and these they must obtain on any terms, because they are necessary for them to preserve their life. It is unnecessary that a physician of this sort should actually visit the patient's house, since he knows everything, he can give in his own house the proper remedies to cure the sickness. He is also gifted with the power of charming wild beasts, even the most ferocious. Such are the effects of Malay superstition; and this is the reason why though they despise the Jakun they at the same time fear them, and will in many circumstances refrain from ill-treating them.[1]

But if the Jakun hates the Malays and fears them, it is certainly not the result of any natural timidity,

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. pp. 272-274.

for they do not do so towards other nations; they do not dislike the Chinese, and they have a remarkable sympathy for Europeans, and place unlimited trust in them after a single interview. The reason is that Europeans generally show a security and frankness in their conversation which by its great contrast with the deceitfulness of the Malays at once catches the hearts of this childlike race. They love the European, and attach themselves to him as soon as they know him, and the slightest good office received from him is the source of the most unbounded gratitude.[1]

When Favre was journeying in Johor, every time a Jakun settlement was reached, and one of the houses entered, one of the women of the family would at once take a basket, disappear, and a few minutes after re-enter with some yams or other vegetables, which were cooked and offered to their guests about half an hour after their arrival. When next day a few small articles were offered them in return, they were received with some appearance of shame; so much so, that it was necessary to explain to them that they were not intended as a present, but in settlement of a debt; and that they were merely offered according to European custom, by which a traveller must always give something to the owner of the house where he happens to have slept. On the contrary, whenever a Malay house was entered, the chief of the family, persuaded that this was a lucky windfall and not to be lost, would at once commence by every imaginable means to speculate upon his guests; hence the exaggerated difficulties that would be alleged against continuing the journey, which was made to appear impossible for want of coolies, guides, etc., the significa-

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. pp. 277, 278.

tion of which was that, "*If you do not give me a substantial present, you shall not pass farther.*" The traveller may give as much as is in his power, but yet this will never be sufficient. The actions of these Malays generally show low and sordid sentiments, whereas the Jakun are naturally proud and generous.[1]

Udai.—The Udai are said to be of more savage habits than the (purer-bred) Jakun, prefer following the chase to the drudgery of agriculture, and are described as being without religion,[2] laws, or any form of government.[3]

They have no knowledge of letters, and are accused by the Jakun of devouring their dead and of cohabiting with the beasts of the forest, particularly the siamang. They go nearly naked, never wash their bodies, wear no covering for the head, and use the blowpipe, poisoned arrows, and sharpened palm-wood stakes as spears.[4]

Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.

Orang Laut Sletar.—Thomson describes the Orang Sletar and their kindred tribes as wild, ignorant, and indolent.[5] Such sweeping criticism of unknown tribes, however, is seldom of any real value, and is not infrequently very far from the truth. The following detailed description of his visit to the locality in which the Orang Sletar lived is infinitely more valuable in enabling us to form an idea of the race with which we are now dealing.

One day, when anchored close to the shore, several small boats and canoes were seen skirting the man-

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 275.
[2] *I.e.* in the popular sense of the term.
[3] Newbold, ii. 381, 382.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 346*.

groves and slowly approaching. These proved to be two families of the Sletar tribe. After careful examination it appeared that they were known to the Malays as "Orang Utan Sletar." On their first approach it was difficult to avoid being struck with the extreme squalidness of their appearance, united as it was to a dull insensibility to what was going forward, a marked contrast to the pertness of their Malay conductors, who assumed over them an air of superiority and command which is never witnessed in Malays when in the presence of Europeans alone, and which at once afforded a convenient standard for judging of the place which the Orang Sletar should hold in the ranks of civilisation. The families consisted of two men, three women, and several children of both sexes. They were at first exceedingly shy, and could with great difficulty be prevailed on to speak, but by kindness of treatment, and some trifling presents, the men were induced to throw off a considerable deal of their reserve, so much so that they daily visited the gunboat, bringing fish and a few birds for barter, and since a system of fair dealing with them was strictly maintained by the commander and his crew, they promised always in future to visit the gunboat to supply such necessaries, should she ever enter their neighbourhood again, and to tell the people of their tribe to do the same. As the result of the visit of the gunboat they were well supplied with many necessaries (luxuries to them), such as rice, tobacco, and cloth, in consequence of which they took great trouble in procuring what the gunboat's company were most in want of, viz. fresh fish, and her departure, it evidently appeared, was attended with considerable regret on their side. On better acquaintance, when

asked why they always used to run away before the gunboat, their simple reply was, that they were afraid they would be carried off to Gallang, a place noted for the fierceness of its pirates, of whom they bore a great dread.[1]

On likenesses of two of them being taken (those of a man and a woman), the man sat with great steadiness and composure, and seemed perfectly aware of the meaning of the process. When the sketch was completed and shown to him it elicited a slight smile. With the other subject, however, considerable difficulty was encountered. She at first hid her face beneath her shaggy matted locks that strayed in wild abundance over her shoulders, and would only now and then venture a glance at the operations of the pencil. No persuasions would induce her to show her face, till at last her young child was given her, when she took up a position natural to a mother, and the sketch was accordingly soon completed.[2]

Orang Laut Sabimba.—Thomson describes the Orang Sabimba as forest nomads, possessing no boats or canoes, even of the simplest construction, and as regarding the water "with a degree of terror."[3] To this he adds that they show a great detestation of the Chinese, removing always from their vicinity.

Elsewhere we are informed that their personal appearance is, to say the least, pleasing; the well-formed features of the young and the contented placidity of countenance of the old seem at once to show them to be an improvable race. Unshackled with the dogmas of Islam, and child-like in their perception

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 341*, 342*. [2] *Ibid.* p. 342*.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 347*. This statement, however, is evidently due to some misapprehension.

of the things of this world, they stood as it were on the threshold of such a faith as Christianity presents in its most humble, primitive, and purest form. Their address was open and simple, their demeanour respectful. Yet the Malays spoke of them as being little better than baboons, and treated them as a class much inferior to themselves. The Malay women of the house in which Logan was sheltered ordered about their less fortunate sisters in a manner not to be mistaken, and this was allowed as a matter of course. It afforded considerable amusement to see how the Malay women disposed the limbs, straightened the face, and directed the eyes of a female that was persuaded to allow herself to be sketched, and when she had been placed in a position pleasing to themselves, they seated themselves where they could best gratify their curiosity.[1]

Orang Laut Akik.—Of the Orang Akik it is stated that they were expert divers and fishermen, and frequently made long voyages in their fragile vessels. They built houses, erecting temporary sheds (or "bagans") along the coast whenever they had occasion to go ashore to build boats, mend nets, or collect dammar, wood-oil, etc. Otherwise they resided along with their families in their boats for months together, employed in fishing, collecting Agar-agar (the *Zostera* of Linnæus), bêche-de-mer (trepang), etc. When the season or state of the weather did not permit this, they employed themselves in collecting wood and pork-oil;[2] in making boat-awnings ("kajangs"), nets, sails, cordage, and so forth.[3]

The Orang Akik were excessively proud, looking

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 349*, 350*. [2] Probably hog's-grease. See p. 241, *n.* 2, *ante*.
[3] Newbold, ii. 413, 414.

down upon the Malays as an inferior race, and disliked the term "Rayat" (or "subject") usually applied to them. Like the (Land) Jakun, they were of a restless turn of mind, and impatient of all control, but passionately fond of music, especially that of the violin. In handicrafts they were remarkably ingenious, particularly in boat-building. They considered the (Land) Jakun as their superiors, and showed them great respect. It was said that though a Jakun could take an Akik woman to wife, the Akik were not permitted to marry with the Jakun females.[1]

The Charge of Piracy against the Orang Laut.

It has often been questioned whether the Orang Laut of the Johor coast have been rightly charged with the crime of piracy, and it certainly is very highly probable that some part of the burden of the charge is due to their being confused (as Orang Laut or "sea-gypsies,") with the Illanum and other more powerful and formidable tribes of the Archipelago. Yet it must be noted that Begbie in his table of the Maritime Tribes of the Empire of Johor (pp. 271-273 of his *Malay Peninsula*, published in 1833), specially distinguishes for their piratical propensities the tribes of Sekana, Gonwn (?), Booroo, Kondoor, Tumboosoo, Laboo, Temiang, and Gallang, of which all but three were ruled by a Batin of their own. The fact is that the Johor "sea-gypsies" formed but a limited and somewhat insignificant section of the Orang Laut, and were probably only piratical in a very small way.

[1] Newbold, ii. 413, 414.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

PART I.—RACE.

Suggested Negrito Group.

Physical Characters.	Andamanese.[1]	Philippine Negrito.[2]	Semang (or Pangan).[3]	African Pigmy.[4]
Height of men	1492 mm. (1365–1631)	1480 mm. (Montano, H. and H.), 1473 (Guillemard, quoted by Keane)	1491 mm. (5) (Skeat and Laidlaw). 1525 (23) N.A.	1452 mm. among the Bambute (Shrubsall).
Height of women	1393 mm. (1320–1511)	1430 mm. (Montano, H. and H.)	1549 (Martin) 1408 mm. (3) (Skeat and Laidlaw). 1445 (3) N.A. 1387 (Martin)	
Skull-index	Decidedly brachycephalic[5]	Decidedly brachycephalic[6]	Mesaticephalic (Skeat, Laidlaw, Martin), brachycephalic in skull mentioned by Virchow,[7] and in Grubauer's.[8] Mesaticephalic, N.A.	Brachycephalic among the Bambute, Baamba, and Banande (Shrubsall)
Hair-character	Woolly and black, amounting to "sooty" (E. H. Man)	Classed with that of the Andamanese.[9]	Woolly (in the purest type) classed with that of Andamanese and Philippine Negritos.[10] Ditto, N.A.	Woolly — described as "ordinary negro hair" (Shrubsall).
Skin-colour	Extremely black, "resembling the hue of a black-leaded stove" (E. H. Man)	Dark copper (Montano, quoted by H. and H.)	Dark-brown passing into a glossy black (Martin, Skeat, and Laidlaw). Never black, N.A.	...

[1] All the Andamanese statistics are taken from Man, *The Andaman Islands*, p. 5 *et seqq.*, except the skull-character, which is given by Virchow in *V. B. G. E.* xxviii. 153.

[2] Montano, quoted by Hovelacque and Hervé, *Précis d'Anthropologie*, p. 381; Keane's *Ethnology*, pp. 259 *et seq.*

[3] N. Annandale and H. C. Robinson, *Fasciculi Malayenses*, Longmans, Green, and Co., for University Press, Liverpool (1903).

[4] From Sir H. Johnston's *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii. pp. 478 *et seq.*

[5] *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. 153.

[6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Infr.* p. 580. A brachycephalic skull collected by Dr. Grubauer, and purchased by the Royal College of Surgeons. It was described by Mr. W. L. H. Duckworth in *Man* (March 1903, No. 18).

[9] *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. 152.

[10] *Ibid.*

Page 31. SUGGESTED DRAVIDO-AUSTRALIAN GROUP.

Physical Characters.	Vedda.[1]	Tamil.[2]	Australian.[3]	Sakai.
Height of men	1533 mm. [1460-1600]	1649 mm. (64) ? sex (Deniker)	Varies between 1710 mm. (West Coast, Dawson, H. and H.), and 1550 mm. S. and G. give ♂ 1663 ♀ 1568	1495-1548 mm. (Martin) [1422-1596, V.-St.] 1535 (62 ♂) N.A.
Height of women	1433 [1355-1500]	...	1568 (1630-1515) S. and G.	1437 (Martin) [1314-1469, V.-St.] 1397 (4 ♀) N.A.
Skull-index	Dolichocephalic	Dolichocephalic	Dolichocephalic	Dolichocephalic. Mesaticephalic, N.A.
Hair-character	Long, black, and wavy	Long, black, and wavy	Long, black, and wavy	Long, black, and wavy Variable, N.A.
Skin-colour	Very variable	Very dark brown, passing into black (?)[4]	Dark chocolate brown	Very variable (very light to dark yellowish-brown) Ditto, N.A.

[1] The Brothers Sarasin, *Reise auf Ceylon.*

[2] Deniker, *Races of Man*, p. 579.

[3] Hovelacque and Hervé, *op. cit.*; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, App. C.

[4] Cp. Virchow in *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. 152 *et seqq.* "Many Sinhalese, although of Aryan origin, are so dark that they have been called quite black."

MALAYAN GROUP. **Page 33.**

Physical Characters.	Jakun Type.[1]	Malay Type.[2]
Height of men . .	About 1527 mm. (V.-St.); 1473-1657 (Logan); 1439-1608 (Martin).	1583 mm. (Martin). 1594 (36 ♂ S. Perak, Mal.), N.A.
Height of women .	About 1378 mm. (V.-St.); 1504.5 (Logan).	1499 (Martin).
Skull-index . . .	Brachycephalic.	Brachycephalic. Ditto, N.A.
Hair-character . .	Straight or lank, somewhat coarse, often with bluish-black tint of Mongoloid hair.	Lank, somewhat coarse, and often of a bluish-black type. Ditto, N.A.
Skin-colour . . .	Dark reddish or coppery brown, of a darker shade than the Malays.	A coppery brown. Light olive, N.A

COMPARISON OF THE THREE MAIN TYPES. **Page 34** *et seqq.*

Feature.	Semang (Negrito).	Sakai (unidentified).	Jakun (Savage Malay).
1. Height of Man	1491 mm. (Skeat and Laidlaw.) 1525, N.A.	1495-1548 mm. (Martin). 1535 (62 ♂), N.A.	About 1527 mm. (V.-St.); 1657 (Logan); 1439-1608 (Martin).
2. Height of Woman	1408 mm. (Skeat and Laidlaw.)	1437 mm. (Martin).	1378 mm. [1258 (V.-St.); 1504 (Logan)].
3. Cephalic index	Brachycephalic.	Dolichocephalic.	Brachycephalic.
4. Skin-colour	Mesaticephalic, N.A. Chocolate-brown to very dark *sepia*, passing into a "shiny black."	Mesaticephalic, N.A. Varying from dark brown up to *very light brown* (much lighter than the Malays).	Dark olive-brown to dark copper (a shade darker than the Malays).

[1] Logan, *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 305, see Table, *infra*.
[2] Annandale and Robinson, *op. cit.*

COMPARISON OF THE THREE MAIN TYPES—*continued.*

Feature.	Semang (Negrito).	Sakai (unidentified).	Jakun (Savage Malay).
5. Hair . .	Woolly (short, crisp curls close to scalp), and black in colour. Ditto, N.A.	Wavy, very dark brown to black, mostly the latter sometimes with a slight reddish tinge in reflected light. Variable, N.A.	Straight or lank and bluish-black (like that of the Chinese or Malays).
6. Forehead .	Low and rounded.	Flat, and projecting greatly over the root of the nose.	Inclined to be square.
7. Nose . .	Short, very wide, and flat or spreading.	Small and often slightly tilted, with alæ set deeper than the septum, and very deep nasal notch (Martin).	"Stumpy" (thick and short, but with wide-open nostrils).
8. Cheeks .	Cheek-bones not very broad or projecting, and full cheeks.	Cheek-bones much the broadest part of the face, both forehead and chin being very narrow in proportion.	Cheek-bones high and well marked, like those of Chinese. Face as a whole *inclined to be flattish.*
9. Eyes . .	Round, wide-open, and straight (not oblique). Iris a very rich dark brown. Black to reddish-brown, N.A.	Very dark brown, small, semi-closed, horizontal. Black to reddish-brown (as in Semang), N.A.	Dark brown, of moderate size, and rarely with some slight tendency to the oblique.
10. Chin . .	"Feebly developed" (rounded off and often almost unmarked).	Long and pointed.	Strong and inclined to be square.
11. Mouth .	Mouth rather large, and lips sometimes "everted."	Mouth of small size, with lower lip full, loose, and often conspicuously projecting.	Mouth often large and broad, but lips well-formed.
12. Beard . .	None to speak of. When found, thin and straggling, or occasionally woolly.	As a rule, a few straggling frizzly chin hairs, like that of the Vedda's, but occasionally, in a few individuals who otherwise appear of pure race, well developed and almost bushy.	As a rule extremely scanty.

MEASUREMENTS OF E. SEMANG (PANGAN) OF KELANTAN BY MESSRS. SKEAT AND LAIDLAW, TABULATED BY MR. W. L. H. DUCKWORTH, AND REPRINTED FROM *J. A. I.* vol. xxxii. p. 149.

[*To face page* 577.

No. in Mr. Laidlaw's List.	Numerical Order.	Name.	Age.	Sex.	Race.	Stature.	Height at Right Shoulder.	Height at Right Elbow.	Height at Right Wrist.	Height at Right Middle Finger.	Height at Right Hip Bone.	Height at Right Knee.	Height at Right Ankle.	Height at Sternum.	Height Sitting.	Span.	Biacromial Breadth.	Head Length.	Head Breadth.	Breadth of Forehead.	Breadth of Cheek Bones.	Bigonial Breadth.	Tragus to Vertex.	Nasion to Chin.	Top of Forehead to Chin.	Nose Length.	Nose Breadth.	Interocular Breadth.	Skin Colour.	Eye Colour.	Hair Colour.	Ear Shape.	Teeth.	Cephalic Index.	Nasal Index.	
1	1	Pandak . . .	45	♂		1548	1285	970	704	510	895	440	85	1280	635	1745	365	195	144	96	140	120	134	105	170	42	45	31	Lighter than 3 (a, b) (Topinard)	Grey brown (d)	Black, woolly	Moderately large	Several incisors missing, teeth stained with betel	..	..	
2	2	Chatu . . .	20	♂		1516	1285	973	770	582	884	408	80	1252	625	1596	345	186	148	110	143	120	144	105	171	40	42	29	Darker than Pandak	Dark brown	Black, curly	Moderately large, lobe not distinct	?	..	..	
3	3	Badin . . .	about 25-27	♂		1466	1203	922	695	495	..	402	..	1220	648	1560	340	188	140	..	127	..	125	..	..	40	41	32	3 (Topinard) chocolate	Very dark brown	Very brown, curly	?	?	..	..	
5	4	Ragong . . .	about 25-27	♂	Pangan.	1472	1201	906	698	524	811	388	68	1200	730	1566	310	184	154	103	138	110	140	106	175	41.5	41.5	31.5	A little lighter than (3)	Dark brown	Closely curled	?	Much filed, white much worn, no decay	..	..	
6	5	Petai . . .	35	♂		1456	1198	925	708	564	840	402	66	1193	733	1545	315	173	145	93	140	119	126	99	170	41	38	28	Lighter than Ragong	Dark brown, pupil large	Similar to Ragong	?	6 filed, decay	..	..	Bearded; brow ridges prominent
	6	Average Male .	..	..		1491(5)	1286	939	715	535	857(4)	408	75(4)	1229	674	1602	335	185	146	100(4)	138	117(4)	134	104(4)	171(4)	41	41.5	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	78.9	101.2	
4	7	Badin . . .	14	♂		1420	1179	933	750	568	..	382	72	1152	651	1389	315	186	142	105	125	115	130	88	167	35.5	36	30	3 (Topinard) chocolate	?	?	?	?	..	..	
7	8	Ya' Bertik . .	45	♀		(?)1420	1181	896	682	524	835	389	65	..	..	1495	..	175	133	90	126	116	120	101	150	39	36	32	Darker than 3 (Topinard)	Dark brown	?	?	Hardly any left	..	..	
8	9	Moh Lek . .	35	♀		1379	1143	875	676	485	(?)795	381	64	..	600	1458	280	170	143	95	126	119	123	99	164	42	40	34	?	?	?	?	?	..	..	
10	10	Kebang . . .	about 23-25	♀	Orang Teku	1434	1166	875	692	542	842	382	78	1173	715	1186	310	181	151	100	134	116	125	91	163	36	39	31	Redder shade of No. 3 (Top.)	Very dark rich brown	Black lanky, like Malay	?	?	..	..	
	11	Average Female .	No.(3)	♀	Pangan	1408	1163	882	683	550	838	384	69	1173(1)	657(1)	1478	295	175	142	95	129	117	123	97	159	39	38	32	..	..	..	..	..	81.1	97.4	..
9	12	Kutum . . .	about 15-17	♀	..	1326	1071	832	620	444	757	297	45	1075	715	1360	280	174	142	100	121	106	120	86	153	30	34	30	Upper arm No. 5 (Top.), back of neck No. 3 (Top.)	Dark brown	Thick, short, woolly	Small	6 upper teeth filed	..	..	
11	13	Parents . . . { Nos. 3 10 } Kepar (infant)	.	♀	Pangan and Orang Teku	992	773	592	460	326	508	250	35	780	40	99	210	168	134	93	110	100	114	82	147	31	30	27	No. 3 (Top.) with more red in it	Brown, darker than parents	?	?	Teeth (milk dentition) quite regular, upper median incisors very large, laterals smaller, canines large, lower incisors small, but regular.	..	..	

N.B.—The dimensions in every case are expressed in cm. and mm.

Pages 38, 39.

RETURN SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ABORIGINES ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX IN EACH DISTRICT OF THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES IN 1901.

State.	District.	Aborigines. Males under 15.	Aborigines. Males over 15.	Aborigines. Females under 15.	Aborigines. Females over 15.	Total. M.	Total. F.	Grand Total.
Perak	Larut.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Matang.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Kuala Kangsar	139	402	107	373	541	480	1,021
	Upper Perak	73	198	78	166	271	244	515
	Kinta	257	628	229	567	885	796	1,681
	Lower Perak	41	47	47	54	88	101	189
	Batang Padang	502	1024	393	889	1526	1282	2,808
	Krian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Sĕlama	4	17	3	13	21	16	37
	New Territory	230	776	128	597	1006	725	1,731
	Total	1246	3092	985	2659	4338	3644	7,982
Sĕlangor	Kuala Lumpur	40	82	35	62	122	97	219
	Ulu Sĕlangor	66	170	98	136	236	234	470
	Klang	34	59	38	41	93	79	172
	Kuala Langat	157	290	181	271	447	452	899
	Kuala Sĕlangor	..	1	..	..	1	..	1
	Ulu Langat	14	46	14	40	60	54	114
	Total	311	648	366	550	959	916	1,875
Nĕgri Sĕmbilan	Sĕremban	32	51	26	48	83	74	157
	Coast	47	64	22	51	101	73	174
	Jĕlĕbu	9	57	20	39	66	59	125
	Kuala Pilah	122	242	111	225	364	336	700
	Tampin	44	84	29	64	128	93	221
	Total	244	498	208	427	742	635	1,377
Pahang	Ulu Pahang — Kuala Lipis	372	902	343	850	1274	1193	2,467
	Ulu Pahang — Raub	95	256	86	232	351	318	669
	Tĕmerloh	257	578	231	532	835	763	1,598
	Pĕkan	110	242	123	237	493	501	2,391*
	Kuantan	27	99	20	69	126	89	215
	Total	861	2077	803	1920	3079	2864	7,340
	Grand Total	2662	6315	2362	5556	9118	8059	18,574*

* Includes 1397 sex not given.
From the Census of the Population, Federated Malay States, 1901.

MEASUREMENTS OF E. SEMANG OF KELANTAN. **Page 43.**

1. Residence, Sungei Bumit in Aring. Formerly top teeth were filed down with sandstone in Malay fashion. Skin much scarred. Lips thick; slight straggly beard. Feet curved inwards and much splayed, little toe of left foot missing.

Non-Mohammedan, stated his age to be 2 years. Formerly married, no children.

2. Residence, Sungei Bumit. Slightly deaf. Lips thick. Feet contours normal. Head shaved with a razor given him by Penghulu of Kampong Buntal. Unmarried. Pandak's brother-in-law. Very restless.

3. Slave living near Kampong Buntal. Parents lived in jungle of Ulu Lebih. Middle finger of right hand deformed. Age stated by himself to be 70 years. Married, with two children. Colour, 3 Topinard's scale. Eyes dark rich brown. Hair short, woolly, very dark dull brown.

4. Brother of No. 3. Slave captured when very young. Religion, Mohammedan. Colour, 3 Topinard's scale. Colour vision, normal or nearly so, tendency not to distinguish between dark shades, dark purples being compared with dark reds, but rejected. The boy is very nervous and taciturn. Residence, Kuala Aring.

5. Residence, Sungei Sam. Son of No. 7. Skin a little lighter than Topinard's No. 3. Hair wiry, very closely curled. Teeth not filed, much worn, but white and undecayed. Non-Mohammedan. A slave. Parents, Pangans of Sungei Lebih. Has a moustache.

6. Petai or Pĕlima. Residence, Sungei Sam. Skin a shade lighter than No. 5, covered with skin disease of a mild type. Eyes dark brown; strongly marked superorbital ridges. Eyes very restless. Has a moustache and beard of woolly hair. Six front teeth of upper jaw filed, slightly decayed. Has a humorous expression about the mouth. Parents from Sungei Galas.

7. Slave at Sungei Sam. Skin darker than 3 (Topinard's). Feet much splayed, as in No. 1. Eyes dark brown. Skin diseased.

8. Slave at Sungei Sam.

9. Slave girl at Kampong Buntal. Unmarried, but sexually mature. Feet and hands small and delicately shaped. Hair short, thick, and woolly. Parents lived in Ulu Aring. Inclined to steatopygia.

10. Wife of No. 3. Skin rather redder than No. 3 Topinard. Hair black and lanky like a Malay's. Eyes very dark brown. Parents and grandparents Pahang Sakai living on Sungei Tahan; tribe now moved downstream. No Malay admixture admitted. Mother of No. 11. Breasts very pendulous.

11. Daughter of No. 3 and No. 10. Skin colour, No. 3 Topinard, but rather redder. Eyes dark brown, darker than in parents. Teeth, milk teeth, perfectly regular, the upper front pair of incisors very large, two next smaller, much as in English children.

Note on Messrs. Skeat and Laidlaw's Measurements of Pangans of Jarum by Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth.

In addition to the recorded measurements of Pangan Semangs (cp. Duckworth, *J. A. I.*, Jan.-June 1902), Messrs. Skeat and Laidlaw have provided measurements of three Pangans of Jarum, and have appended the following notes:—

A. Pâ'-Gĕlugor: a grandfather; name = father of Gĕlugor; age about 45-50; slightly bent owing to an injury. The skin tint is rather darker than No. 2 (Anth. Notes and Queries). Eyes dark brown; hair black and closely curled. Five teeth are filed, one broken.

B. Kĕchong: wife of Pĕdending; with three children; enceinte. Skin tint is similar to that of A; eyes dark brown; hair black, and closely cut all round head, except at the back, on which a tuft or "jambul" is worn. Teeth white and good; six are filed.

MEASUREMENTS OF E. SEMANG (PANGAN) OF JARUM BY W. W. SKEAT, TABULATED BY W. L. H. DUCKWORTH.

No. of Measurement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
PANGANS OF JARUM. Name and Sex of Individual.	Height (total stature).	Height at Right Shoulder.	Distance of Elbow from Ground.	Distance of Wrist from Ground.	Distance of tip of Middle Finger from Ground.	Distance of Hip from Ground.	Distance of Knee from Ground.	Distance of Ankle from Ground.	Distance of Sternum from Ground.	Height Sitting.	Span of Arms.	Head Length.	Head Breadth.	Interocular Breadth.	Bi-malar Breadth.	Minimal Frontal Breadth.	Bigonial Breadth.	Length of Nose.	Breadth of Nose.	Vertex to Tragus of Ear.	Vertex of Chin (Head-height).	Naso-frontal Depression to Chin.	Circumference of Head.
Pă'-Gĕlugor (aged) ♂	1284	1050	812	601	408	773	406	67	1024	588	1425	176	131	26	127	105	110	33	37	107	149	88	550
Kēchong ♀	1502	1244	921	695	503	856	407	81	1221	737	1585	186	150	32	130	121	109	45	42	139	171	109	545
Bĕrapit ♀	1472	1205	958	760	520	854	410	69	1199	717	1570	174	142	29	123	103	112	33	37	115	151	88	525

INDICES.

Character :	Cephalic Index.	Nasal Index.	Radio-humeral Index.
Pă'-Gĕlugor ♂	74.4	112.1	88.6
Kēchong ♀	80.6	93.4	70
Bĕrapit ♀	81.6	112.1	80.1
Average male	78.9	101.2	64.5
Average female	81.1	97.4	70.8

N.B.—The dimensions in the above tables are in cm. and mm.

C. Bĕrapit: a female; skin tint closely corresponding to No. 2 (Anth. Notes and Queries). Eyes dark brown; hair black and closely curled, with frizzled "jambul." Teeth blackened: six are slightly filed. Subject does not know any Malay words.

The foregoing notes afford no means of distinguishing these Pangans of Jarum from the Pangans of Kelantan already described (*J. A. I. loc. cit.*) to whom they are closely allied in respect of skin colour, eye colour, colour and characters of the hair, and in the custom of filing the front teeth. The skin colour only is very slightly different, approaching No. 2 in place of No. 3 of the types. Nor do the measurements (which are appended) justify any distinction, as they in no case remove any individual of the three to any considerable distance from the range known to obtain among the other Pangans, and in many instances they fall within the range of variation in the several characters.

To complete this account a few notes on the measurements are now given. Averages have not been computed for the Jarum Pangans, as in view of the very small number (3) it is quite possible to treat of each individual separately. The most striking feature is the very simian nature of the proportions of the upper limb in the man Pâ'-Gĕlugor.

A. With regard to the measurements of Pâ'-Gĕlugor, the stature (No. 1) is small and results from an accident (cp. descriptive notes); the following five measurements are all small and indicate great length of the arms, which is fully brought out by the relatively high figure which represents the span. Nos. 6, 7, and 8 (the dimensions of the lower limb) are not far removed from the average for Pangans (see *J. A. I. loc. cit.*: average for *men*), but No. 9 is very small and is modified in association with the stature. Similarly the sitting height is small (No. 10). The breadth index (74.4) shows a value which is low for Pangans, but is exceeded in this respect by one of the Kelantan men (Pandak 73·8). The nasal index (112.1) is very large, but is approached by the Kelantan Pandak with 107.1. Finally the radio-humeral index has a large value, indicating that the upper limb has very simian characters, but here again the figure, 88.6, is approached by the same Kelantan Pandak with an index of 84.4.

B. Kĕchong: the stature is distinctly above the average, but the proportions of the upper limb as deduced from measurements 2-5 inclusive are well within the range of variation for Kelantan women (Pangans). Further, while the heights at hip and knee are greater, that at the ankle is within the range again. The next four dimensions are all greater than the Kelantan average, but not very strikingly so, and the breadth index is not without the limits of variation referred to. The proportions expressed by the radio-humeral index are within the same range. Lastly, the nasal index must be referred to. This yields a very small figure, which points to a very narrow or proportionately long nose. On the whole, this feature, taken with the number of instances in which the measurements prove greater than the average, suggest that some admixture with another stock, most probably Malay, has produced the observed differences. At the same time it must be remembered that in other external features and in the cephalic index there is nothing remarkable about this woman.

C. Bĕrapit: in this instance we again find the occurrence of several dimensions greater than those of the four Kelantan women previously described; but the increase is in most cases very small. On the other hand, the head proportions (Bi: 81.6) are well within the range of variation, though the bi-malar breadth is below the average. The nose is shown by the nasal index (112.1) to be distinctly broader than the average of the four

women mentioned (97.4), but in this respect Bĕrapit, whose age is not given, is surpassed by a young Kelantan girl of 15 or 17 (Kutum). Lastly, the radio-humeral index being much greater (80.1) than the average (70.8) is nevertheless surpassed by that of the same Kelantan girl Kutum (8.51).

It is believed that with regard to the foregoing notes the remarks made as to the close similarity of the Pangan from Kelantan and Jarum will be seen to be justified, especially in view of the scanty material for comparison. With regard to the paper published in the journal of the Anthropological Institute (July-Dec. 1902), giving averages for twenty Semangs (six not indicated) of Upper Perak, it is to be noticed that the figures for the Jarum Pangans come within the range of variation provided by the larger number of observations.

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MEASUREMENTS OF A SEMANG SKULL COLLECTED BY GRUBAUER, AND NOW IN THE MUSEUM OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS—DESCRIBED BY W. L. H. DUCKWORTH IN *MAN*, NO. 18 (MARCH 1903).

Measurements of Skull.

CRANIAL PORTION:	mm.	FACIAL PORTION:	mm.	INDICES:	mm.
Maximum length	167	Basi-nasal length	96	Cephalic	85
Maximum breadth	132	Basi-alveolar length	96+	Altitudinal	82.6
Basi-bregmatic height	128	Nasi-alveolar length	62+	Alveolar	100
Horizontal circumference	482	Bi-zygomatic breadth	131	Facial (Kollmann's)	47.2
		Orbital height	34	Orbital	82.9
		Orbital width	41	Nasal[1]	44.8
		Nasal height	48		
		Nasal width	21-5		
		Capacity:—two determinations gave 1245 cc. and 1250 cc. respectively; 1245 cc. is the more correct figure.			

The person to whom it had belonged was a member of the tribe of Penghulu Dahabo (?), of Goyal (*i.e.* "Mount") Sapi, eight hours' walk (*Wegestunden*) from Kuala Kĕnĕring in Upper Perak. The skull was that of an old man who had been buried between three and four years.

It presents some remarkable resemblances to a cranium in the Cambridge Ethnological Museum, which I described in *Man* (1902, No. 28): the shortness of the cranium and the general rotundity are alike in each, as is also the small figure of the cranial capacity. Where the Semang skull differs from the Andamanese skull just mentioned, it resembles a skull described by Turner as that of a Sakai, and figured in a communication to the Royal Society of Edinburgh.[2] The Sakai skull agrees with the subject of the present account in the possession of prominent brow-ridges, and consequently flattened orbits, the nasal bones and aperture have similar characters in each. But Turner's "Sakai" is dolichocephalic, so that the correspondence of type is not far-reaching. No very close resemblance can be traced between the Semang here described and the skull from Pahang described by Turner, or the E. Semang ("Pangghan") described by Virchow.[3]

[1] Falsified by great development of the nasal spine.

[2] Vol. xl. Part i. No. 6.

[3] See comparisons in "Some Anthropological Results of the Skeat Expedition to the Malay Peninsula," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* vol. xxxii. 1902, p. 142.

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LIST OF MEASUREMENTS OF SKULL AND OTHER PARTS OF SKELETON OF SEMANG.

Measurements of Skull.

Description: Pangan from Malay Peninsula, collected by W. W. Skeat, M.A.

Cranial portion—	mm.
Maximum length	179
Maximum breadth	141
Basi-bregmatic height	129
Horizontal circumference	511

Cranial capacity. Each observation (2) gave 1,425 cc. = mesocephalic.

Facial portion—	
Basi-nasal length	99
Basi-alveolar length	101
Nasi-alveolar length	62
Bi-zygomatic breadth	134
Orbital height	33
Orbital width	40
Nasal height	47
Nasal width	26
Jugo-nasal arc	107
Jugo-nasal width	97

Indices—	
Cephalic	78.7
Altitudinal	72
Alveolar	102
Facial (Kollmann's)	46.2
Orbital	82.2
Nasal	55.3
Naso-malar	110.3

Measurements of Bones of the Skeleton.

Bones, etc.—	R.	L.
Humerus	308	305
Radius	?	239
Femur	426	425
Tibia	374	372
Ulna	?	253
Fibula	365	361
Radio-humeral index	?	78.3
Tibio-femoral index	87.7	87.5
Inter-membral index	?	68.2
Femero-humeral index	72.3	71.8

	Length.	Breadth.
Sacrum	93	101
Scapula-height	117	125
,, breadth	102	103
Sacral index	108.6	
Scapular index	87.1	82.4
Clavicle	119	129
Claviculo-humeral index	38.6	42.3

Lumbar vertebræ—	Anterior height of centrum.	Posterior height of centrum.
First	23	25
Second	23	25
Third	24	25
Fourth	25	23
Fifth	27	21
Index given by combined figures	97.5	

Femur, special measurements for—

	R.	L.
Platymeria—		
Transv. diameter	27	27
Anterior-posterior diameter	20	20
Platymeric index	74.7	74.7
Platycnemia—		
Transv. diameter	21	19
Antero-posterior diameter	33	29
Platycnemic index	63.6	65.5
Popliteal region—		
Transv. diameter	33	34
"M. N."	26	25
"M. P."	23	23
Popliteal index	69·6	67.6

VIRCHOW'S DESCRIPTION OF E. SEMANG (PANGAN) SKULL. **Page 46.**

The skull is that of an elderly person, apparently that of a man, and shows traces of burning. The capacity is 1370 ccm., the horizontal circumference 489, the sagittal 364 mm. ; in other words, the measurements on the whole are small. The skull is remarkably short, broad, and high, its type hypsibrachycephalic (L. Br. Ind. 81.5 ; L. H. I. 76.9) ; in this connection it may be remarked that the figure of the ear-height index (68.2) is unusually high. The occipital index (31.2) is likewise large. On the other hand, the basilar index (55.4) proves to be relatively small. In analysing the sagittal circumference it is seen that 35.1 per cent belong to the frontal bone, 35.7 per cent to the parietal bone, and only 29.1 per cent to the occipital bone.

The sutures on the vertex are simple, but behind, and at the side, much serrated. The temporal surfaces are not very high, each being bounded by a double linea semicircularis, of which the upper component passes above the parietal eminence as far as the lambdoid suture, whilst the lower runs straight over the parietal eminence.

The brow is tolerably broad (minimal frontal breadth 91 mm.), low, and somewhat sloping. The brow ridges are prominent, the glabella is less prominent. The frontal eminences are ill-defined. The transition from the brow to the vertex of the skull is gradual, the latter being flattened. The parietal eminences are large and prominent. Descent to the occiput is sudden. The upper part of the occipital bone is rounded without a distinct protuberance or superior semicircular line. The lower part of the bone is obliquely placed but nearly horizontal, and is comparatively smooth. The mastoid processes are small. The external auditory meatus is compressed in the sagittal direction. The temporal sutures are normal. The squameous portions of the temporal bones are broad and prolonged backwards. As regards the measurements of breadth, the maximum breadth is 133, the bi-auricular 107, the occipital 104, the temporal 99 mm., the intermastoid diameter is 119 mm. At the base of the skull the foramen magnum is asymmetrical, the right half being fuller than the left ; its form is almost round, 31 by 29 mm., index, 93.5, and very large. The jugular fossæ are extremely large. The basilar process is broad and flat.

The face is low and broad ; index (73.8 ?) chamæprosopic ; the zygomatic arches but little displayed ; the "tuberositas ossis inferior" reinforced by the tuberosity of the upper maxilla. The orbits are moderately large, the upper margin inclined downwards and outwards, the lower margin deeply excavated, the index 80 (chamækonchic). The nose is short, with the bridge flat and rounded, broad, the aperture asymmetrical and narrow. The index is 50, *mesorrhine*. The canine fossæ are shallow. The upper jaw is strongly prognathic, and at the same time asymmetrical, and somewhat deflected to the right ; the intermaxillary suture synostotic. The teeth are absent except the first præmolar on the right, which is worn down and brownish ; at the same time the edges of the jaw are somewhat weather-worn. In the region of the front molars there are traces of old alveolar caries. The gums are short and broad, but the index is leptostaphyline (68.6). The palate bone is wide.

The mandible is toothless, the dental alveoli being obliterated behind on the right and in the middle. The alveolar curve is broad in front. The chin not prominent, in consequence of which all the lower part of the mandible forms a continuous broad curve. The angles are somewhat splayed, the bigonial diameter is nevertheless small, only 89 mm. The rami are broad, 35 mm., set on almost at a right angle. The condylar processes are very low, 50 mm. long ; the joint surfaces flattened, the right presenting clear evidence of arthritis deformans. The coronoid processes are 58 mm. high.

So much for the formation of the skull. For many decades the Semang tribes have been regarded as the chief representatives of the lowest form of

bodily structure. When all other "lower" races had been successively stripped of their conjectured resemblance to apes, all our hopes of discovering at least some kind of a Proanthropos were directed to the obscurity of the forests of Malacca. Even these hopes, however, now appear to be futile. At least this first specimen of a Semang skull possesses (beyond its prognathy and the simple formation of its lower jaw) nothing specially pithekoid. There is present neither platy- nor katarhiny, nor a processus frontalis squamæ temporalis, nor a processus lemurianus. With its capacity of 1370 ccm., its minimal frontal width of 91 mm., its well-developed temporal region, it may be ranked with the skulls of civilised peoples, than many of which it is certainly less pithekoid.

Now it is indeed not improbable that, if Vaughan-Stevens should fulfil his promise and my hopes and send us more skulls of E. Semang (Pangan) people, a few less well-formed and perhaps much smaller specimens may be found among them. But to this kind of variation we have been long accustomed. In discussing the skulls of the Philippine Negritos (*cf.* F. Jagor, *Reisen in d. Philip.* p. 374, plate II. figs. 4-6: Berlin, 1873) I have already demonstrated this by figures. The capacity of four specially selected Negrito skulls varied between 1150 and 1310 ccm., on the other hand they were all hysibrachycephalic, like the E. Semang (Pangan) skulls.

The similarity of the two races, which has so often been conjectured, can now be looked upon as established. The most important factor which Vaughan-Stevens has brought forward as bearing on this point is the hair. Unfortunately in this respect the fates have not been auspicious to us. In the box of which he speaks there are only a few quite small remnants of single hairs left. But they are *black*, *fine*, and *spiral*. Moreover, all doubt must disappear on examining the top-knot ("Bag-i") which he took from the head of a man and sent here. It shows the same tendency to the formation of entangled spirals that is known to us in the Negrito hair, and it is diametrically opposite in character to the Sakai ("Blandas") hair which I also received from Vaughan-Stevens, and which I described in detail at an earlier meeting (*Verh.* 1891, p. 844).

This top-knot consists of an extremely elegant combination of a great number of black spirals, which when slightly relaxed and held against the light form a loose web of "screw-like" (*i.e.* spiral) hairs isolated throughout their entire length. The diameter of the spirals reaches to as much as 2 mm. [*sic*, ? 2 cm.]. Under the microscope each separate hair appears thin and of a blackish-brown colour; the pigment, however, lies so thick that the interior cannot be very clearly seen from the outside. From cross-sections it is apparent that this pigment is chiefly accumulated in the outer layers of the hair ("Haarschaft"), and is almost entirely wanting from the inner part, which sometimes occupies almost half the cross-section. The cuticle is very delicate and pale. In almost every case there is no medulla; when it appears it is discontinuous, weak, and but slightly coloured. The pigment, in thin layers, appears of a pure brown colour, one might almost say light brown. It consists of very fine brown grains, which, when not quite sharply focussed, almost give the impression of a diffused "infiltration." In reality, however, they form narrow spindle-shaped figures. The form of the cross-section is mostly an elongated oval, which is frequently flattened or laterally compressed.[1]

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NOTE ON SPECIMEN OF E. SEMANG (PANGAN) HAIR, BY W. L. H. DUCKWORTH.

Provenance, *Kelantan Province*, *Malay Peninsula*.

Native described by the collector (Mr. F. Laidlaw) as a Pangan, "father of Kepar." See Laidlaw's notes, Skeat Expedition, 1899.

The hair is in the form of a ringlet which forms curls of a diameter from 9 mm. to about 20 mm.

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxiv. (V.-St.) 442-444.

Colour black—under microscope densely pigmented—surface rough.

Sections.—Pigment seen to be uniformly distributed along length of longitudinal sections. In transverse sections it is seen in the form of fine granules aggregated chiefly about the periphery of the section and just within the well-marked cuticular border. There is also a core formed of an aggregation of the granules in the centre of the section. This core is about $\frac{1}{100}$ mm. in diameter.

In form, the sections vary from an oval or ellipse at the thicker or basal end, to almost a circle near the tip of the hair. The indices of four sections work out at 55.2, 58.9 (these are oval), 86.7, 86.9 (the latter are sections near the tip of the hair). The hair has thus negroid characters in respect of section.

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POINTS OF COMPARISON BETWEEN SEMANG, ANDAMANESE (FROM TEMPLE'S CENSUS REPORT)[1] AND PHILIPPINE NEGRITOS.

	Semang.	Andamanese.	Philippine Negritos.[2]
Height .	i. Men, 1491 mm. (W.S.); 1549 (R.M.); 1525 (N.A.).	i. 1447-1472 mm. p. 67.	1485 mm. (18) (Montano, p. 84); 1489 (Semper, *Phil.* 1869, p. 49); *ca.* 1400 (7) (Sawyer, p. 201).
	ii. Women, 1408 mm. (W.S.); 1387 (R.M.); 1445 (N.A.)	ii. 1360-1385 mm. p. 67.	1432 mm. (12) (Montano, do.); 1408 (Semper, do.); *ca.* 1350 (Sawyer, do.).[3]
Shape of head	i. Mesaticephalic. ii. Brachycephalic.	i. Ditto, p. 67. ii. Ditto, p. 67.	Marked brachycephaly (Meyer, *Negr.* p. 25).
Hair . .	i. Black and woolly.	i. Ditto, p. 56.	Black-brown, Broca 41 (Meyer, p. 27). "Spiralig, verfilzt. z. T. zu kleinen Quasten aufgerollt."
	ii. Complete shaving of the head.	ii. Ditto, p. 56. Bojigngiji completely shaved heads, p. 50.	Head shaved in Luzon (*Globus*, xliii. 378). Hair cut short (Meyer, p. 28).
	iii. Closely cropped hair.	iii. Ditto, p. 50. Onge Järawa closely cropped.	
Eyes . .	i. Rich liquid brown. ii. Round and bright.	i. Ditto, p. 56. ii. Ditto, p. 56.	
Skin . .	i. Colour (black to rich dark chocolate brown).	i. Ditto, p. 56.	Brown like Malays (Meyer, p. 34).
Food . .	i. Roots, fruit, and game.	i. Ditto, p. 50.	Fruits, roots, honey, and game (Meyer, p. 32).

[*Continuation of table and notes on pp.* 586, 587.

POINTS OF COMPARISON—*continued.*

	Semang.	Andamanese.	Philippine Negritos.
	ii. Elaborate preparation. iii. Heads of animals killed in hunting, hung up partly as trophies and partly as ornaments.	ii. Ditto, p. 50. iii. Ditto, p. 66.	
Huts	i. Leaf-shelters (especially beehive-shaped huts). ii. Communal huts.	i. Ditto, p. 50. (cp. also Martin, p. 668). ii. Ditto, p. 50.	Leaf-shelters (*Z. f. allg. Erdk.* x. 253).
Hut furniture	i. Bamboo sleeping platforms. ii. Hammer and anvil of natural stones.	i. Ditto, p. 51 (Önge Järawa only). ii. Ditto, p. 66.	
Implements—			
Stone	i. (*a*) Chips and flakes only. (*b*) No axe, arrow, or spear heads.	i. (*a*) Ditto, p. 66. (*b*) Ditto, p. 66.	
Bows	ii. Ordinary long bow of palm-wood or bamboo.	ii. Önge Järawa only, pp. 66, 67.	Bow of bamboo, 93 to 219 cm. long (Meyer, pp. 13-24).
Harpoons	iii. (*a*) Fish harpoons. (*b*) Some Semang tribes have no harpoons.	iii. (*a*) Used by Bojigngiji and Yerewas, p. 50. (*b*) Not used by Önge-Järawas.	Fish spear (Meyer, p. 17).
Tattooing	Never applied to face; practically unknown to Semang.	Not among Önge-Järawas, p. 50.	Keloids (?) at any rate cuts. Tatooing (?) (Meyer, p. 26).
Ornamentation of Utensils	i. Delicate and elaborate. ii. Rough.	i. Önge Järawa, p. 50. ii. Ditto, p. 50.	
Dancing	i. Standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees. ii. The practice called "rentak Balei" or "drumming on the floor of the tribal hall," practised by Jakun tribes mixed with Semang, and may be a survival of former Semang custom.	i. Önge Järawa, p. 64. ii. Ditto, p. 64. Bojigngiji and Järawas use a special kind of sounding board for drumming on with the feet rhythmically, with song and clapping of hands in unison.	

POINTS OF COMPARISON—*continued.*

	Semang.	Andamanese.	Philippine Negritos.
Burial .	i. Corpse buried with knees drawn up in sitting posture.	i. Ditto, p. 65.	In hollowed trunks a foot below the surface (Meyer, p. 1).
	ii. Platform burial (in trees) of chiefs.	ii. Ditto, p. 65.	
	iii. Former disinterment of bones probable in view of traditions of past customs.	iii. Ditto, p. 65.	

[1] The following instructive list of points of difference between Semang and Andamanese has been drawn up by Sir Richard Temple, and is given in the above-mentioned (Census) Report :—

Face: In the variation of the Andamanese face. *Implements:* In the blow-gun and poisoned arrows and spears. *Hunting:* In trapping game. *Feeding:* Men before women. *Quivers:* In having reed quivers : Andamanese stick their arrows in their waist-belt. *Ornamentation:* In quality and artistic merit. *Ornaments:* In personal ornaments and piercing the nose. *Huts:* In rock-shelters, cave-dwellings, tree-huts, barricaded huts. *Clothing:* Of hammered barks ; loin-cloth for men, petticoat for women. *Magic:* In its practice and in use of magical designs. *Music:* In nose-pipe and castanets. *Songs:* In their nature. *Marriage:* Based on purchase and ceremonies. *Beliefs:* In Shamanism, metamorphism into tigers of living men, in ideas as to "God." *Language:* In its mixture with Malay and Mon ; basis can be proved perhaps to be (? Önge Järawa) Andamanese, though the specimens I have seen afford very little hope of this. Also a portion of the Semangs have fixed habitations and a rude agriculture, this latter capacity being entirely absent in the Andamanese.

On the foregoing list I would remark that allowance must be made in many cases for the fact that the Semang in the Malay Peninsula have long been subjected to the predominant influence of Indo-Chinese and Malayan culture, which is quite sufficient to account for the Semang use of the blowpipe and poisoned arrows ; for some, at least, of their methods of trapping game ; for the feeding of men before women ; for the Semang use of bamboo quivers ; for their cloth of hammered tree-bark, and to some extent for their magical practices ; for their use of the nose-flute or nose-pipe, which is a well-known Indo-Chinese instrument ; for their basing of marriage on purchase and its attendant ceremonies ; for the Semang Shamanistic and Were-tiger practices ; and for the Mon-Khmer affinities of their language, as well as for their fixed habitations and rude agriculture. On the other hand, the Semang shelters and tree-huts are undoubtedly due to the presence of the larger fauna, which do not occur in the Andaman Islands, where such shelters are therefore superfluous. As to the variation of the Andamanese face, I cannot agree that it is a point of difference, as the variation in Semang features is strongly marked.—W. S.

[2] I have to thank Mr. N. W. Thomas for the facts in this column. In Folkmar's *Album of Philippine Types*, the following measurements (of three Northern and Southern Philippine Negritos) are given : height standing, 1475 mm. ; cephalic index, 80.45.

[3] Many profiles show a marked resemblance to portraits in *J. A. I.* (*v.* Meyer, Pl. ix.).

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VAUGHAN-STEVENS' SAKAI MEASUREMENTS (ed. VIRCHOW).

Height of the men from 1422 to 1596 mm. (1594 in *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. 152).

Height of the women from 1341 to 1469 mm.

The variation between the men is 172 mm., among the women 128 mm.

Between the tallest man and shortest woman, 253 mm.

Three Sakai men attained a height of between 1500 and 1600 mm.

The shortest man was a 32-year-old Sakai of 1422 mm., all the men of the other tribes measuring more than 1470 mm.

The smallest arm-stretch (1370 mm.) was that of a 22-year-old Sakai woman whose height was 1424 mm., the difference against the arm-stretch being − 54, and another whose height was 1469 mm. had an arm-stretch of 1463, a difference of − 6. On the other hand, a 42-year-old woman (1341 mm. in height) had an arm-stretch of 1375, giving a difference in favour of the arm-stretch of + 34.[1]

Page 58. SAKAI SKULL DESCRIBED BY VIRCHOW.

Let us now consider the *Skull of the Central Sakai* ("*Senoi*") *Woman*, the first of its tribe which has reached Europe. Without doubt it is the skull of an old woman, as the description will soon show. In capacity (1350 ccm.) it falls only 20 ccm. short of the E. Semang (Pangan) skull; for a woman it may be considered well-developed. Its horizontal circumference (495 mm.) is even greater than that of the E. Semang (Pangan) skull, and its vertical circumference (362 mm.) is almost equal to the latter.

Its form is *orthodolichocephalic* (L. B. I. 72.6; L. H. I. 73.2; O. H. I. 61.5). In the norma verticalis, as well as in the norma temporalis, it appears correspondingly compressed and comparatively narrow. The lack of prominence of the tubera, and the marked curvature of the upper occipital bone largely contribute. The occipital index is calculated at 31.2, the basilar index at 50.2; to the occiput belong accordingly more than one-third of the total length. The percentage components of the sagittal arc are:—

Frontal component, 34.8.
Parietal component, 35.9.
Occipital component, 29.2.

The parietal development is therefore the most marked, and in consequence the occiput has the appearance of having been driven backwards.

In spite of the age of the individual, the condition of the sutures is very good. Syntosis is entirely absent. Most of the sutures are simple, the lambdoid alone being strongly indented in its upper part. Here, however, an exception must be mentioned, inasmuch as the limbs of the suture on each side are interrupted in their upper third; here the suture runs inward almost horizontally, subsequently rising fairly steeply and forming a triangular projection at the lambda.[2]

[1] *N.B.* These measurements (of the arm-stretch) were taken by Vaughan-Stevens behind the back, instead of across the breast in the usual way (Virchow, *V.B.G.A.* xxiii. 842, 843).

[2] *V. B. G. A.* xxvi. (Virchow) 356.

The surface of the bones is uniformly smooth and yellowish in colour, on the right lighter, on the left with a strong inclination to brown; their entire aspect shows that the person had not been long buried. All muscle and sinew attachments are weak, some not developed at all. Moreover, the "plana temporalia" are but little developed; their upper edge does not reach the parietal eminences.

The brow-ridges are practically non-existent, the glabella not sunken, the tubera but feebly indicated. The middle portion of the brow, which is otherwise moderately straight and somewhat narrow, is symmetrically arched. At the glabella there is a small horizontal scar. The sagittal arc has a sharp return curve, is on the whole long, in front somewhat flattened, descending from the line of the parietal protuberance in a strongly-marked curve; the occiput, as already remarked, projects. There is no occipital protuberance, but in its place a slightly irregular rectangular depression marked by large emissary veins. The foramen magnum is roundly oval, 32 to 27 mm. in diameter, with an index of 84.3.

The temporal region is somewhat irregular; *stenokrotaphy* is marked on both sides, especially on the left; a shallow, slightly funnel-shaped groove traverses the angulus parietalis. The temporal alæ are large, with strong foramina. The sphenoparietal suture is short, 7 mm. The temporal squamæ are somewhat outwardly arched. The external auditory meatus is large and round.

The face is small and noticeably narrow. The index is *chamæprosopic* (77.7). The zygomatic arches are delicate, almost depressed. The bi-jugal diameter is only 117 mm. The orbits are very deep and high, arched inwards and above (diagonal). The index is *hypsikonchic* (86.1). The nose is broad and much flattened. The transverse diameter measures at the root 12, in the middle 11, below 18 mm. The nasal bones are quite uninjured and large. The naso-frontal suture projects upwards. The bridge is broad, flattened in the middle, and towards the middle on each side a large emissary foramen is seen. The aperture is large, but at the same time somewhat broad and low. The nasal spine is moderately developed. The index is *platyrrhine* (54.3). The upper jaw is delicate, short, slightly prognathic, but at the same time very atrophied; the incisors and the canine are absent on the left, and their alveoli are filled up. Only a few molars and præmolars remain, and these are thickly incrusted with lime, and are blackened with betel-nut juice. The palate is *leptostaphyline*.

The under jaw is very small and atrophied, all the teeth are lost and the alveoli are filled up, but in the region of the second molars there are large, open cavities, and in the region of the incisors there is a projection of the alveolar margin. The chin is small, but prominent; the rami are delicate, and the processus lemuriani feeble.[1]

With exception of the facial and palatal index, strong differences everywhere present themselves, but the face and the maxilla cannot be determined exactly on account of the great alteration which they have undergone. Meanwhile, however, I wish to submit that the calculated indices for these two parts probably give the correct relation. Some differences may be referable to the sex. Thus the difference of the orbits which, in the case of the male Semang (Pangan), are chamækonchic, in the female Sakai (Blandas) are hypsikonchic. But the contrast between the cephalic and the nasal indices is so strongly marked that a strongly marked distinction of the two races must be assumed if the two skulls now lying before us represent real tribal types. On this point little can be said. At the meeting of 21st November 1891, at which I communicated the indices of living subjects calculated from the measurements of H. Vaughan-Stevens among the ten Sakai (Senoi) measured, I could only produce one dolichocephalic and two mesaticephalic; on the other hand, seven were brachycephalic. But

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxvi. (Virchow) 356.

at that time (*ibid.* p. 838) Vaughan-Stevens was still of the opinion that the Sakai (Blandas) were half-breeds, and that all, although in variable proportions, had Malay blood. But as he maintains the purity of the blood of the Sakai (Senoi) woman whose skull he obtained in Perak, it may well be that this skull, though female, exhibits the really pure Sakai (Senoi) type. We shall have to await further material.[1]

The characteristic which removes the skull of the Sakai (Senoi) woman farthest from that of the Semang (Pangan) is the *formation of the nose.* This latter is *platyrrhine* to such an extent that one might be inclined to call it pithekoid. In my academic treatise on some characteristics of the skull of the lower human races (Berlin, 1875, p. 115), I have given a detailed comparison between the Malay nose and that of the Orang Utan, and have thus clearly demonstrated that the form called katarrhine is essentially dependent on the small size of the nasal bones. There can be no question of such katarrhiny in the case of this Sakai (Senoi) woman, because in her case the nasal bones are comparatively large. If, in spite of this, the structure of the nose, and especially the contour in profile, reminds us of the nose of the Malay, and perhaps still more of that of the Negro, this is attributable to the strongly-marked impression, or rather depression, of the bridge of the nose, which of course must be connected with a weaker development of the nasal septum. With this is connected the higher position of the fronto-nasal suture. That such a formation of the nose is usual among the Sakai (Blandas) appears to follow from the description, unfortunately not a very detailed one, which H. Vaughan-Stevens formerly transmitted to us (*Verh.* 1891, p. 840, Figs. 1 and 3). The nose of the Semang (Pangan) skull, on the other hand, is mesorrhine, and although short and broad, slightly rounded at the bridge (*Verh.* 1892, p. 442, illustr.).[2]

The chief points in which this Sakai skull differs from the former E. Semang (Pangan) skull (*Verh.* 1892, p. 438) may be conveniently seen by placing the index numbers side by side :[3]—

Indices.	E. Semang (Pangan).		Sakai (Blandas).	
Length-breadth . .	Brachycephalic	81.5	Dolichocephalic	72.6
Length-height . .	Hypsicephalic	76.9	Orthocephalic	73.2
Ear-height . . .	,,	68.2	,,	61.5
Occipital	,,	30.1	,,	31.2
Facial	Chamæprosopic	73.8?	Chamæprosopic	77.7
Orbital	Chamækonchic	80.0	Hypsikonchic	86.1
Nasal	Mesorrhine	50.0	Platyrrhine	54.3
Palatal	Leptostaphyline	68.6	Leptostaphyline	68.0?

Finally, the fact should be mentioned that this Sakai skull exhibits in addition several structural anomalies, as, for instance, bi-lateral stenokrotaphy, an unusual form of the occipital squama and the processus lemuriani. I waive the point whether these are rather individual variations or racial characteristics.

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxvi. (Virchow) 358. [2] *Ib.* p. 358. [3] *Ib.* p. 357.

VIRCHOW'S DESCRIPTION OF SAKAI HAIR-CHARACTER. **Page 58.**

All the specimens are of considerable length. The hair of the 35-year-old woman measures 59, that of the 37-year-old man 32, that of the 75-year-old man 26 cm. in length, and from all the evidence we may, I think, say that the hair of the head of the Sakai (Blandas) is at once distinguished by its extraordinary length. This is partly explained by the Sakai custom of refraining from cutting the hair of the head. Again, the pointed ends of the hairs appear very fine even to the naked eye, and the tips when seen under the microscope appear pointed, but are worn and broken or indented at the sides, presenting a jagged appearance. Again, throughout each strand of hair the cuticle is extremely thin, a fact which explains the somewhat dull (*matt*) appearance of the hair.

The colour of the hair is very dark in the coarser specimens. To the naked eye it resembles ebony, and only in reflected light is there a slightly brownish shimmer to be perceived. But in most of the specimens there is a very unequal thickness of the separate strands, and even with the naked eye the thinner specimens can be seen to possess that lighter tinge from which the "Water-hair" mentioned by Vaughan-Stevens arises. When, however, Vaughan-Stevens speaks precisely of a reddish tinge, this is a somewhat exaggerated statement to make in the case of adults, though the hair of the 2-year-old girl does, in fact, show a light reddish-brown tinge.

Seen under the microscope, the pure black hair of the Sakai looks altogether opaque and uniformly black; its tint, however, is not the black of the Negro's hair, which so often shows a bluish tinge, but a tint which distinctly shades off into brownish black in the thinner places. In the finer specimens a thin and black but frequently interrupted medulla may be distinguished. The thinnest specimens mostly show, when viewed from the side, a faint yellowish-brown colour, in which no grains are distinguishable; the colour appearing rather to be uniformly diffused through the whole of the matter. Here and there, moreover, there appear single hairs, the matter of which is uniformly dark brown with a tendency to yellow. This implies, therefore, a certain *approach to blonde hair*. Many of these thin specimens have no trace of a medulla, in others a weak central medulla is visible, which is frequently continuous, but more often interrupted in character. In the most marked case of interruption the appearance is that of long spindle-shaped depressions, with more or less grain-like contents which appear at certain intervals. In these the medulla matter is quite colourless. These characteristics appear to a special degree in the hair of the 2-year-old girl (No. 43), some few of the thinnest specimens being absolutely colourless.[1]

In cross section the formation of the finer hairs appears to be circular (*drehrunde*), the coarser sometimes approaching an oval formation. I have not seen deeper flattenings or impressions. In the coarser black hairs the pigment always has a dark brown appearance when strongly magnified, and appears to consist of grains of varying size, which frequently exhibit a somewhat "spindle-shaped," or at all events "stripy" formation. Where the smaller grains predominate there arises a somewhat yellowish tinge. The granular pigment is distributed throughout the medulla matter most densely in the outer portions, and the least so towards the centre.

The hair of the 75-year-old man (No. 40) is specially interesting. Even to the naked eye it appears of a mixed character; thin *reddish-yellow* hairs, and in some places numerous *grey or even white* ones are to be seen blended with coarse and absolutely black ones. The microscope shows, moreover, that the latter possess no medulla or *air-cells* at all, so that the cause of their turning grey can only be ascribed to the failure of the colouring matter, in other words to a kind

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. (Virchow) 845, 846.

of *Leukopathy* (Albinism). The yellowish hairs again are quite uniform in colour, and contain a narrow medulla, which is sometimes interrupted, but as a rule colourless. In a few cases only in the course of such medullæ were shorter, black-looking interruptions (*Absätze*) to be noticed.

In no case whatever, even in the case of the comparatively short hair of the children, did there appear any tendency to curl or even to the formation of spirals. On the contrary, all the specimens sent in show lanky ("gestrecktes") hair. But in all the specimens the tendency to waviness is noticeable, and in some it amounts to "twisting." The ends especially, as Vaughan-Stevens remarks, curl upwards in the form of a semicircle. For the most part this formation is carried some way up the lock, which thus acquires a curly appearance. In this respect it shows a marked divergence from the *Mongolian* and also from the *pure Malay* hair. This is apparently to a great extent owing to the much finer and thinner structure of the hair, which, moreover, as a rule is very irregularly formed.

The designation of "tufts" so repeatedly used, refers, it appears, to the peculiar tendency often shown by a large number of hairs to grow together into a species of tuft or lock, which is separated by small intervals from the adjoining hairs. This occurs mostly in the great "hair-tuft" (*Schopf*)[1] of the Benua man (No. 46), which perhaps does not represent the entire hair of the man, but only the largest part of it. Vaughan-Stevens has in this case specially emphasised the presence of "tufts." But these tufts have not the least resemblance to the "Büscheln" of the Melanesians and true Negroes which have been so long denoted by this name. Probably, too, they do not owe their existence to the growth of the hair as it were in separate groups, but to the natural tendency of long hairs to entwine themselves together or twist into strands.

Page 63-64.

For information concerning the sexual relations of the Sakai, see *Z. f. E.* xxviii. 181, 182. The most interesting part of the information there given is contained ln Vaughan-Stevens' remarks as to the employment of an apparatus resembling the "ampallang" of the Sunda Islands. Vaughan-Stevens describes it as a small cylinder of wood, horn, or tortoise-shell which had a knob at each end, and which was thrust through "a square aperture in the glans penis." As, however, Vaughan-Stevens as usual gives no localities or any other sort of information by which his statements could be checked, and as he himself adds that the custom was only prevalent among the Tembeh, and is now extinct, I am afraid it is only too probable that the whole story will prove to be one of the mare's-nests which Vaughan-Stevens has so frequently discovered. It is significant that Vaughan-Stevens obtained, on his own admission, his specimens of this apparatus from the "Senoi" (*i.e.* Central Sakai) who, as he is careful to inform us, *never employ this apparatus themselves*. And it also appears that he was only enabled to "establish the fact" by the aid of a Dayak, who knew that Vaughan-Stevens was anxious to discover this apparatus among the Sakai, and had been talking on the subject to the very Sakai man from whom Vaughan-Stevens derived his information !

Page 70. VAUGHAN-STEVENS' KENABOI MEASUREMENTS.

The height of a Kenaboi man was between 1500 and 1600 mm.
Height of a 28-year-old woman 1352 mm.

[1] It is a top-knot, not a tuft (as the term is applied to the woolly tufts of Negro hair).

Head-Index.

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Dolichocephalic . . .	1	...	1
Mesaticephalic . . .	...	1	1
Brachycephalic . . .	...	1	1
	1	2	3

The children are omitted.

VAUGHAN-STEVENS' BESISI MEASUREMENTS. **Page 73.**

Five Besisi men attained a height of between 1500 and 1600 mm.

The arm-span[1] of a 45-year old Besisi woman, whose height was 1440 mm., amounted to 1423, giving a difference of −17 against the arm-stretch.

Head-Index.

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Dolichocephalic . . .	...	...	...
Mesaticephalic . . .	2	...	2
Brachycephalic . . .	2	2	4
	4	2	6

The children are omitted.[2]

VAUGHAN-STEVENS' MANTRA MEASUREMENTS. **Page 74.**

Height.

Height (of men) from 1471 to 1638 mm.[3] Logan gives them a height of between 1484 and 1781 mm.[4] The average is put by Virchow at 1553 mm.[4]

Height (of women) from 1405 (*sic*, 1409 in *V. B. G. E.* xxviii. 152) to 1488 mm.[5]

The variation among the men amounts to 83 mm.; among the women to 167 mm.

Between the tallest man and shortest woman the variation is about 233 mm.

Two men measured 1608 and 1638 respectively, and a third man measured between 1500 and 1600 mm. The greatest arm-stretch (1755 mm.) was that of a 35-year-old Mantra man, whose height was 1538, the difference in favour of the arm-stretch being +217 mm.[6] [*Cont. on p.* 595.

[1] Measured (by V.-St.) behind the back instead of across the breast in the usual way, *vide V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 842.

[2] Virchow in *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 842-844.

[3] *Ib.* p. 842.

[4] *Ib.* xxviii. p. 152.

[5] *Ib.* xxiii. p. 842.

[6] Measured by Vaughan-Stevens behind the back instead of across the breast in the usual way (*V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 842).

Logan's Measurements of Mantra and Orang Laut.[1]

	Height. ft.	Height. in.	From highest part of anterior fontanelle of skull to orifice of ear.	From highest point of occipital protuberance to orifice of ear.	Between orifices of ear measured over eyebrows.	Between orifices of ears measured vertically across middle of parietal bones.	Circumference of the head measured round the forehead and occipital protuberance.	*Id.* round the lower jaw (chin) and highest point of occipital protuberance.	Breadth between the most projecting points of the zygomatic arches measured over face.	Straight line connecting *id.*	Breadth of brow at base.	Height of *id.*	Length of face from chin to highest part of brow.	Chin to orifice of ear.	Facial angle.	Angle of chin formed by lower jaw and line drawn from chin to glabellum.	Breadth in front between the shoulders.	Circumference below the shoulders.	*Id.* at waist.	Length of arm to wrist.	*Id.* of hand.	Breadth of pelvis in front measured between the anterior, superior spinous processes of the ilium.	Length of limbs.	*Id.* of femur from the great trochanter of femur to the external condyle of fibula.	*Id.* of foot.	Breadth across toes.
Mantra.																										
Pawang ♂ [2]	5	4	6¼	6½	12	13½	21	24	8¼	4½	4	3	7¼	5	83°	79°	16	35	28	22	7½	11	32	14	9	4
Parut ♂ [3]	4	11	6	6	11	14	19	21	8	5	4	2½	7	4½	80°	74°	14	31	28	20	6	10	27	12½	9	4
Tala ♂ [4]	4	10½	6½	6	11	12½	20	23½	8	5	4½	2½	7	4½	79°	70°	14	30½	28	20	6¼	10	29	12½	9	4
Bĕlasi ♀ [5]	4	11	..	..	..	..	19	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bachon ♀ [6]	4	11	..	..	..	..	20	23½	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Beduanda Kallang.																										
Sewng ♂ [7]	5	0	6	6	11	13	21	25½	7½	4½	5½	1⅞	6	5½	79°	62°	16	34½	26½	20	7	9½	30	13	9	4
Noneng ♂ [8]	5	4½	6¾	6½	12½	14½	21	24	8	5½	4½	2	7½	5½	67°	69°	15½	35	28	24	7½	10	30½	15	10	4
Sango ♂ [9]	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	47°	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sabimba.																										
Pah Mat ♂ [10]	11		7	6	11½	14	21	24	8	5	4½	2½	8	5¼	..	68°	13	30	27	20	7	10½	26	14	7½	4

Note.—The above table is given as of general interest in connexion with Logan's remarks in the text, but with the exception of the height measurements it has not been thought worth while to translate them into metric measurements, in view of the uncertainty of the majority of the determining points.

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 305.
[2] = 1632 mm.
[3] = 1504.5 mm.
[4] = 1473.2 mm.
[5] = 1504.5 mm.
[6] = 1504.5 mm.
[7] = 1530 mm.
[8] = 1644.75 mm.
[9] = 1657.5 mm.
[10] = 1504.5 mm.

Head-Index.

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Dolichocephalic . . .	1	3	4
Mesaticephalic . . .	3	3	6
Brachycephalic . . .	3	...	3
	7	6	13

The children are omitted.[1]

I may add that Montano describes the eye-colour of the Mantra as almost always No. 1; that of their skin as No. 37, though occasionally Nos. 21, 22, and 30 occur; and that of their hair as Nos. 34, 41.[2]

VAUGHAN-STEVENS' JAKUN MEASUREMENTS. **Page 82.**

Out of 35 adult Jakuns, 20 (6 men and 14, *i.e.* all the women) were under 1560 mm. in height.[3]

The average for 21 men was a height of 1527 mm.[4]

Three Jakun men attained a height of between 1500 and 1600 mm.[5]

The average for the 14 women was 1378 mm.[6]

The shortest man (No. 1) was 1439; the next (No. 10) was 1476, two others (Nos. 12 and 17) were 1488 mm.

The shortest woman (No. 9) was 1253; the next (No. 8) was 1311; a third (No. 14) 1322; a fourth (No. 4) 1342; a fifth (No. 3) 1365 mm.

The arm-stretch[7] of a 21-year-old Jakun woman, whose height was 1523, amounted to 1545 mm., giving a difference in favour of the arm-stretch of + 22 mm. This was the greatest arm-stretch found among the women.[8]

Head-Index.

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Dolichocephalic . . .	1	1	2
Mesaticephalic . . .	1	2	3
Brachycephalic . . .	2	...	2
	4	3	7

The children are omitted.[9]

[1] Virchow in *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 843, 844.

[2] *Arch. des Miss.* 3rd s. xi. 322. On Plate 21 is given a Mantra skull, front view and profile. On Plate 31 hair-sections of Mantra, Kenaboi, Udai, Jakun. On pp. 354, 360, skeletal and skull indices of ditto.

[3] Virchow in *Z. f. E.* xxiii. 144.

[4] *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. 151.

[5] *Ib.* xxiii. 842.

[6] *Ib.* xxviii. 151.

[7] Measured by Vaughan-Stevens behind the back, instead of across the breast. *Vid. V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 842, 843.

[8] Virchow in *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. 842.

[9] *Ib.* pp. 843, 844.

Let us now consider the three skulls,[1] which arrived from Vaughan-Stevens at the same time (as the extremity-bones of the woman).

No. 1.—The skull of the young woman is very light (452 grm.), and unquestionably *nannocephalic;* its capacity is 1032 ccm. The horizontal circumference measures 465, the sagittal circumference 342 mm. Of the latter 33.3 fall to the front of head, 35.9 to the middle, and 30.6 per cent to the back of the head.[2]

(Figs. 1 and 2.) The form is *hypsi-mesaticephalic*, or rather *hypsi-brachycephalic* (L. Br. I. 79.8; L. H. I. 76.7).

Though the skull is metopic, on the other hand the basilar suture is closed. The third molars in the upper jaw have not quite erupted; in the lower jaw they are still quite enclosed. On each side is an epipteric ossicle. The minimal frontal breadth is 92 mm., the bistephanic diameter is 101 mm., figures, that is, of considerable magnitude. On the other hand, the bi-asterionic diameter measures only 93 mm., and the entire back part of the head appears laterally compressed.

(Fig. 3.) Face index *mesoprosopic* (76.7); middle facial index *chamæprosopic* (47.4). Further, the orbital index is hypsikonchic (94.1), and the nasal index platyrrhine (57.5), a new proof that orbital and nasal indices need not necessarily be concordant. Nose very broad, bridge deeply incurved and short, nasal bones cut off below almost straight. With this position of the nose the *extreme prognathism* agrees very well, no less than with that of the teeth, which, together with the alveolar processes, project strongly, the palatal index being *leptostaphyline* (71.1). The teeth are encrusted with some black material (*Sirih*, or betel-leaf).

Lower jaw weak. Middle part low, chin flat and rounded, front teeth strongly projecting, covered at the roots with tartar, molar teeth but little worn; the second left molar and the right canine are carious. Ascending rami of mandible low, set on very obliquely, and the angle very large.

No. 2.—A heavy (750 grm.) skull of an oldish man, likewise *nannocephalic* (capacity 1190 ccm.). The horizontal circumference is greater (485 mm.), the sagittal circumference (345 mm.) but little different from that of No. 1. The several sections of the latter dimension are distributed just as in No. 1: Front of head 31.8; middle 37.3; back of head 30.7 per cent; only that the middle of the head dominates still more. The form is *ortho-mesaticephalic* (L. Br. I. 77.2; L. H. I. 74.3).[3]

The skull is that of an elderly individual; the molars are deeply worn away. Teeth strongly coloured with betel. On the right an incomplete separate epipteric ossicle; alisphenoids broad. At the asteria, especially on the left, numerous small Wormian bones. Minimal frontal breadth small (88 mm.), temporal (106), and occipital transverse diameters larger. All sutures open.

Face large and heavy. Index *mesoprosopic* (83.3); the middle facial index (47.6) *chamæprosopic*; the orbital index is likewise hypsikonchic (89.4), and the nasal index platyrrhine (52.0). Orbits very large. Moderate prognathism; alveolar processes short. Palatal index *hyperleptostaphyline* (55.7). In the upper jaw a low, but strongly projecting, somewhat injured alveolar process. Front teeth are wanting, on the right three molars only, on the left only the second molar retained, and rather worn down. Very heavy but powerful mandible with low body (22 mm.), and very broad ascending rami (35 mm.); small and slightly projecting chin. The median teeth are wanting, the lateral ones large and pretty complete, strongly coloured with betel, moderately worn.

No. 3.—According to statement, male; according to appearance, female skull without lower jaw, *eurycephalic* (1230 cm.). The horizontal circumference

[1] Either of Hill Jakuns or Orang Laut (in either case of the same Malayan stock). *Vide* Virchow in *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. 142.

[2] Virchow in *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. 146.

[3] *Ib.* pp. 146, 147.

measures 480, the sagittal circumference, however, only 363 mm. Of the latter 33.0 per cent fall to the front, 35.8 to the middle, and 31.1 to the back of the head; the relations therefore resemble in a high degree those of No. 1. On the other hand the breadth of brow (87 mm.) as well as the temporal diameter (99 mm.) is smaller. Strong parietal stenokrotaphy. Very broad basilar process. The form is *hypsi-brachycephalic* (L. Br. I. 80.3; L. H. I. 76.3) Smooth, small brow, without supra-orbital ridges, and without subglabellar depression. Flattened curve of the vault. Projecting occiput.

Middle facial index *chamæprosopic* (47.4). Cheek-bones as a whole depressed, marked tuberositas temporalis, zygomatic arches moderately prominent. Orbital index mesokonchic (84.2); nasal index platyrrhine (52.2); palatal index *leptostaphyline* (77.7). Strong prognathism; short alveolar processes, which are formed quite like a shovel. Teeth are wanting, except the much worn and tartar-covered first molar of the left side. Nose broad at root, bridge rather flattened and deeply indented, nasal bones tolerably broad, aperture wide. Fronto-nasal suture placed very deeply. External auditory meatus much constricted. Palate large. Curve of teeth almost horse-shoe-shaped; slight torus palatinus.

A comparison of these results shows us that the cerebral portion of the skull undergoes greater variations than the facial. As regards the former, of the three skulls, two indeed are nannocephalic, and the third reaches only the modest capacity of 1230 ccm., but this latter is in fact hypsi-brachycephalic, resembling, to speak more accurately, No. 1, whereas No. 2, on the other hand, is hypsi-mesaticephalic, on account of its smaller breadth. The proportions of the face are much more constant. The predominant character is platyrrhiny, combined with leptostaphyly, which is present in all the skulls. In co-relationship with this should be mentioned the lowness of the face, as expressed by the middle facial index, and the lowness of the face in general, as expressed by the total facial index, the latter being shown at least in two out of three skulls. On the other hand, the orbits show, as they frequently do, greater individual variations, since No. 1 and No. 2 have a hypsikonchic index, whereas No. 3, on the other hand, is mesokonchic. In spite of this, the racial unity of the tribe cannot be doubted; the similarities are greater and more numerous than the differences.[1]

JAKUN SKULLS DESCRIBED BY VIRCHOW. **Page 82.**

I. *Measurements.*[2]

		1 ♀	2 ♂	3 ♂
Capacity	ccm.	1032	1190	1230
Greatest horizontal length	mm.	163	171	173
,, breadth	,,	130 (pt)	132 (pt)	139 (T)
Vertical height	,,	125	127	132
Auricular height	,,	104	115	113
Horizontal circumference	,,	465	485	480
Sagittal circumference, frontal arc	,,	114	100	120
,, ,, parietal arc	,,	123	129	130
,, ,, occipital arc	,,	105	106	113
Entire sagittal circumference	,,	342	345	363
Minimal frontal breadth	,,	92	88	87
Temporal breadth	,,	101	106	99
Occipital breadth	,,	93	107	102
Auricular breadth	,,	102	111	104
Height of Face (*a*) (Nasion to "Brow")[3]	,,	89	105	
,, (*b*) (,, Prosthion)	,,	55 (Z 59)	60	56

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. (Virchow) 147, 148.
[2] *Ib.* p. 156. [3] ? Bregma.

		1 ♀	2 ♂	3 ♂
Breadth of Face (*a*)	mm.	116	126	118
,, (*b*)	,,	84	87	88
,, (*c*)	,,	82	94	
Orbital height	,,	32	34	32
,, breadth	,,	34	38	38
Nasal height	,,	40	48	44
,, breadth	,,	23	25	23
Palatal length	,,	45	52	45
,, breadth	,,	32	29	35

II. *Calculated Indices.*

		1 ♀	2 ♂	3 ♂
Length-breadth index	mm.	79.8	77.2	80.3
Length-height index	,,	76.7	74.3	76.3
Ear-height index	,,	63.3	67.3	65.3
Facial index (*a*)	,,	76.7	83.3	
Lower facial index (*b*)	,,	47.4	47.6	47.4
Orbital index	,,	94.1	89.4	84.2
Nasal index	,,	57.5	52.0	52.2
Palatal index	,,	71.1	55.7	77.7

Virchow proceeds to describe the limb-bones of the female skeleton (collected by Vaughan-Stevens).

Of the *arm-bones* of this woman the following measurements may here be added :—

1. Os humeri, left, 228 mm. long ; circumference of the diaphysis, 45 ; diameter of the head, 29.35 ; transverse diameter at the condyles, 46 mm.

2. Radius, left, 185 mm. long ; transverse diameter of the head, 15 ; of the lower end 23 mm.

3. Ulnæ, each 204 mm. long ; transverse diameter of the little head, 11 mm.[1]

The extremity-bones of the woman No. 1 sent by Vaughan-Stevens include both the ossa femoris, an os humeri, both ulnæ, and a radius.

Apparently all these bones belong to the same skeleton. They agree as to appearance, stage of development, and size. None of them shows traces of a recent injury or of a disease got over during life. They are throughout of firm composition, have smooth surfaces, sharp outlines, and are of a brownish-yellow colour, here and there somewhat spotted. They are small and delicate like children's bones. Nevertheless they come without doubt from an adult individual ; the blending of the epiphyses with the diaphyses is complete in all. Only in a few places, *e.g.* at the head of the femur and at the upper end of the ulna, is there still to be seen a shallow furrow in place of the earlier intermediary cartilage.[2]

If with Mr. Humphrey we take the average proportion of the femur-length to the stature as being $\frac{275}{1000}$, we should obtain for our Jakun woman a stature of 1229 mm. ; that is to say, 24 mm. less than that of the girl (1253 mm.) measured by Vaughan-Stevens, and estimated as being from 18 to 20 years old. In any case we can congratulate ourselves on seeing before us the most unmistakable *dwarf-bones* offered by ethnology.[3]

Before I go into further comparisons with neighbouring tribes, I should like to make a few remarks on the *colour of the skin and hair and eyes* among the Jakuns. I take these from the registers of Vaughan-Stevens of the year 1895.[4]

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. (Virchow) 144. [2] *Ib.* p. 144.
[3] *Ib.* p. 145. [4] *Ib.* p. 148.

Hair.

In my opinion the hair of all Jakuns examined belongs to the same type, and the contrast with the Sakais and Semangs is as sharp as can be imagined. This is the more important as the question of the relation of the Jakuns to the other tribes has always been a matter of dispute.[1]

The *colour of the hair* is usually not stated; only in a few cases (two men, one woman) is it expressly described as "black," yet it is doubtless to be assumed that if the hair of any of these people had not been black, the fact would have been expressly mentioned. Only once, in the case of a man forty years old, is it described as grey. It is called "straight" in the case of four men and thirteen women; in the case of one man it is stated to be "slightly wavy." One man, of twenty to twenty-five years (No. 12), is expressly singled out as an exception; his hair was curly and much matted, most of it being cut short to a length of 70 to 80 mm., but longer on the crown. Vaughan-Stevens reports that the genealogy of this man was known for five generations, and was free from crossing; it was said that he came from a stock which had never intermarried with other than Jakun families; moreover, he was the only member of his family who possessed curly hair. In the case of a larger number of other men no exact statement could be made, probably because the hair was either shaved or cut short; nevertheless it is true that in spite of cutting it still had a length of 10, perhaps 20, 80, 120, 200 mm. Often it is described as thick, sometimes at the same time matted. In the case of the women, the same expression is used throughout, viz. "long and straight."[2]

The Colour of the Eyes.

(The following table, compiled by Vaughan-Stevens, is given by Virchow.)[3]

Nos.	Men.	Women.
1-2	...	1
2	...	1
2-3	21	11
2 (29)	1	
3	...	2

As regards the colour of the iris, this was comparatively dark, usually dark brown. The deepest shade (No. 1-2) is only recorded in the case of one woman; shades Nos. 2 and 3 were the most frequent, of which No. 3 denotes a lighter shade of brown.

In the eyes of the Jakun the conjunctiva is generally more or less bloodshot, a fact which they attribute to the trying nature of their many changes between a jungle and a sea-life![4]

The teeth of the Jakuns, not the alveolar continuation, often project 12-16

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. (Virchow) 150, 151.

[2] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 178. As regards the Jakuns, and especially the older women among them, grizzled hair is frequent; the total loss of colour is not usual, and the hair merely becomes thin more often than it totally disappears. This, however, is only comparative as between the aborigines (Orang Hutan) themselves, since they retain their hair as well as the colour of it to a more advanced age than the neighbouring tribes (V.-St. in *Z. f. E.* xxix. 178).

The Jakuns have only a little hair on the face; the beard is scanty, and whiskers are scarcely ever seen among them, even if they are not intentionally pulled out (*Z. f. E.* xxix. 179).

[3] *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. (Virchow) 148, 149.

[4] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 180.

mm. in front of the incisors of the under-jaw, which are almost vertical. Caries rarely occurs among the forest-dwellers; but, on the other hand, frequently among those who live among the Malays. The lips are well-formed, thin, and the upper one well curved.

The nose is never perforated, but the ear-lobes of the women are always perforated and distended till the hole attains a diameter of 5 mm. to 5 cm.

The fore part of the head is always full and prominent (Fig. 3).

[Here is given (in the original) Fig. 3.—Profile of Chamai, a 45-year-old Besisi woman.]

The outline in Fig. 4 shows the typical form of the breast of a young 12-year-old Mantra girl named Awi immediately before her marriage. The two breasts are often unsymmetrical.[1]

[Here is given (in the original) Fig. 4.—Outline of the breast of Awi ("Owee"), a 12-year-old Mantra girl.]

Skin-Colour.

The *colour of the skin* was determined (by V.-St.) in accordance with the Parisian colour-plate. The following numbers were determined:—

Nos.	Men.	Women.
21	...	2
21-30	1	
21-37	...	1
22-29	...	1
29-30	1	
29-*34*	1	
29-37	8	1
30	1	
30-*27*	...	1
30-37	4	2
37	3	6
37-44	1	
42-43	1	
43	1	1

In two cases it is noted that the individual concerned (No. 9 ♂, No. 15 ♀) was afflicted with a skin disease called Kurap (*Korab*). In one case (No. 6) light patches are mentioned.[2]

In reviewing these statements, it appears in the first place that the *skin-colour* in general corresponds to a yellowish or greyish tint of brown. The darkest shades are the Nos. 27, 34, and 42, which, however, were only found in one individual in each case; No. 27 in a woman, Nos. 34 and 42 in men; these presented a dusky brown, approximating in Nos. 27 and 34 to the negro colour. All other individuals showed lighter shades, especially Nos. 21, 30, 44, whereas Nos. 22, 29, 37 displayed a medium brown tint.[3] In this connection we must notice that No. 37 is noted most frequently, namely, in the case of fifteen men and ten women = 68.1 per cent of the men, and 66.6 per cent of the women, or,

[*Continued on p.* 602.

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. (Virchow) 840.

[2] *Ib.* xxviii. (Virchow) 148.

[3] For a specimen (sent by V.-St.) of a Jakun woman's hair, *vide V. B. G. A.* xxviii. 150. It is described as a fine "glossy black" lock, and was 24 cm. in length.

COMPARATIVE TABLE COMPILED FROM DATA IN *Fasciculi Malayenses* BY W. L. H. DUCKWORTH.

Natives.	Skin Colour.	Hair Character.	Eye Colour.	Stature Average.	Skulls. Max.	Min.	Cephalic Index.	Max.	Min.	Cephalic Index.	Max.	Min.	Capacity.	Rhi.
Semang—														
Hămi	Chocolate	"Peppercorn"	Black to reddish-brown	1507 (3 ♂) 1476 (1 ♀)	1529	1482	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Grit	,,	"Almost woolly"	,,	1528 (20 ♂) 2 ♀ 1427-1453	1607	1372	77.7 (20 ♂)	81.1	74.5	76.2 (4)	79.8	73.6	1090 (2)	78.7 81.8
Sakai—														
Po-klo	Paler than Semang	Variable { straight / woolly }	,,	1545 (10)	1577	1477	78.1 (10)	85.2	73.7	?	?	?	?	?
Jĕhēr	,,	,,	,,	1542 (9)	1590	1439	77.6 (9)	82.4	73.8	76.1 (4)	78	71.2	1332 (♂) (1305 ♀)	79.6 (1)
Mai Darāt	Lighter than Po-klo	More variable than Po-klo	,,	1524 (34 ♂)	1638	1511	78.3 (34 ♂)	82.6	73.4	73.8 (3)	79.1	69.4	1350 (1275 ♀)	73.5 (1)
Orang Bukit	Reddish olive-brown	Straight or wavy	Always "black"	1560 (9 ♂) 1397 (4 ♀)	1690	1462	79.6 (10)	85.5	73.7	?	?	?	?	?
Trang Coast Natives—														
Samsams	Olive	Lank	Black or reddish-brown	1600 (15 ♂)	1670	1507	83.7 (15 ♂)	89.8	77.7	82.7 (2)	86.1	79.3	1655 (1)	?
Orang Laut	Red to olive	Straight	,,	1580 (4 ♂)	1624	1523	82.3 (4)	86.9	76.2	77 (8)	78.8	74.9	?	?
Malays—														
S. Perak	Variable shades of olive	Straight	,,	1594 (36 ♂)	1763	1488	82.3 (37 ♂)	90.9	76.2	..	..	..	..	..
Upper Perak	Yellower than S. Perak	Variable	Reddish-brown paler than Semang	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

NOTE ON THE ABOVE TRIBE-NAMES.—"Hami" no doubt = Semang "hĕmi'," which probably means "man," and occurs in the Semang expression "hĕmi' höp" = Mal. "Orang Utan" or "Men of the Woods." It has not, therefore, strictly speaking, any local significance. "Grit," on the other hand, is a small place in Upper Perak, these tribes frequently taking their names, for the time at all events, from the place where they happen to be living. "Po-klo" is not elsewhere recorded, but "Mai Darāt" = Mal. "O. darat," "Men of the Dry Land." Perhaps it would be safer to disregard these quasi-tribal names, as a rule, and to call the Hami merely "Semang," and the Sakai tribes merely "Sakai," with the addition of the locality in which they were found. Thus according to the above classification the "Hami" might be "Semang of Mabek" (Jalor); the "Grit," "Semang of Grit"; the "Po-klo," "Sakai Bukit of Temongoh" (N. Perak); the "Jĕhēr," "Sakai Tanjong (? Semang) of Temongoh"; the "M. Darāt," "Sakai of G. Bĕrumbun" (Perak-Pahang border); the "O. Bukit," "Sakai of K. Lumpur" (Selangor). The mixed tribes might be classified as "Semang-Sakai" or "Sakai-Semang," according to the presumed preponderance of either race in their composition.

in all, in 67.5 per cent of the individuals examined. There can therefore be no question of their being a black race.[1]

The skin-colour of the darkest of the Jakuns corresponded to No. 28 of Broca's table. The degree of admixture of Malay blood determines the colour, making it lighter where the sun does not affect it.

[This remark, however, is doubtless based upon Vaughan-Stevens's Pan-Negrito theory, the real interpretation of the facts being, no doubt, that the lighter (and more nearly Malay) colour is due to the purer (aboriginal) Malayan element.][2]

When the skin, as is especially the case among the Jakuns, is much affected by cutaneous disorders ("Kurap"), the persons of both sexes emit an unpleasant rank odour, which is still noticeable after washing.[3]

PART II.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

Pangan Dart Poison.[4] Page 295.

Ingredients of Poison.	Scientific Name.	Description of Plant.	Part used.	Remarks.
1. "Taloon" (Mal. "Blay Besar")	*Strychnos*, sp.	Strong-smelling plant	Bark and sap	*Str. pubescens*, Clarke (*Loganiaceæ*), Ridley (?)
2. "Kannet" (Mal. "B. Kechil")	*Gnetum scandens*, Roxb.	,,	Bark	*Gnetum edule*, Bl. (*Gnetaceæ*), Ridley
3. "Greear" (?)(Mal. "B. Itam")	*Strychnos*, sp. (Java)	,,	Bark and sap	*Str. tieute*, Bl. (*Loganiaceæ*), Ridley [Mal. "Ipoh akar"] = Koopur (V.-St. p. 124)
4. "Tōl" ("Tole")	*Coscinium fenestratum*, Colebr.	,,	,,	
5. "Pergu" ("Perghoo")	Unknown	,,	Bark	
6. "Bhoi" ("Boi")	? *Roucheria, Griffithii*	,,	Bark and sap	Ridley says *Roucheria Griffithiana*, Planch (*Lineæ*), [also "ipoh akar putih"]
7. "Choi-choi"	Unknown	Tree?	Bark	
8. "Kri" ("Kree")	,,	,,	,,	
9. "Lendau" ("Lendow")	,,	,,	,,	
10. "Garsung"	,,	,,	,,	
11. "Chow"	,,	,,	Fruit	
12. "Piyung" (Mal. "Kapayang")	*Pangium edule*, ? sp.	,,	,,	*P. edule*, Mig. (*Bixineæ*), Ridl.

[1] *V. B. G. A.* xxviii. (Virchow) 149.
[2] *Ib.* p. 840.
[3] *Z. f. E.* xxix. 174, 175.
[4] Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 109 *seq.*

PANGAN DART POISON—*continued.*

Ingredients of Poison.	Scientific Name.	Description of Plant.	Part used.	Remarks.
13. "Slowung"	*Miquelia caudata*, King (*Olacineæ*), Ridley	Small climber	Seed-capsules	
14. "Rengut" ("ringhut")	*Epipremnum giganteum*, Schott, *v.* Ridley	"Large creeping aroid with leathery leaves"	Fruit	
15. "Ipoh"	*Antiaris toxicaria*, Bl. (*Urticaceæ*), Ridley	Tree	Sap from bark	
16. "Rotan riong"	Unknown	Rattan or climbing cane	Sap	
17. "Rotan butong"	? = Bĕtong, a kind of bamboo (*sic*)	,,	,,	V.-St. describes it as a rattan, but no such rattan is known
18. "Rumpi"	*Bœhmeria Nivea*, Gandich; *Laportea*, gen. identified with *Bœhmeria tenacissima*, *Urtica æstivans*	Nettle	Leaves	According to Ridley, *Laportea crenulata*, Forst. (*Urticaceæ*) = "rami" (?)
19. "Jĕlatang"	*Cnesmone Javanica*	,,	,,	(Jel. Badak) *Cnesmone Javanica*, Bl. (*Euphorbiaceæ*), Ridley
20. "Bal"	*Piper*, sp.	Pepper-vine	Roots	
21. "Sidudok"	*Piper*, sp.	Pepper-vine	Roots	
22. "Begung"	*Amorphophallus*, sp. (*Aroideæ*), Ridley	Aroid	,,	
23. "Gadong"	*Dioscorea*, sp.	Yam	,,	*Diosc. Dæmonum*, Roxb. (*Dioscoreaceæ*, Ridley
24. Other substances	Scorpion, snake, and centipede poison			Any poison-snake does

Page 311. BESISI DART POISON.

Ingredients of Poison.	Identification.	Description of Plant.	Part used.
A.[1]			
1. "Ipoh akar"	*Strychnos tieute*, Bl. (*Loganiaceæ*), Ridl.	Creeper	Scrapings from root
2. "Tuba"	*Derris elliptica*, Benth. (*Leguminosæ*), Ridl.	,,	? Root
3. Pepper			
4. "Rengas"	*Melanorrhœa Wallachii*, Hook. fil., or	...	Fruit
	Excœcaria agallocha, or *Gluta rengas*, Migs.	...	Sap
5. Non-vegetable substances	Arsenic		
B.[2]			
1. "Ipoh akar" or "batang"	(As above) *Antiaris toxicaria*, Bl. (*Urticaceæ*), Ridley	Tree	Bark
2. "Malai"	*Thevetia neriifolia*, Juss. (*Cerbera Thevetia*, L.); ? *Strychnos pubescens*, Clarke (*Loganiaceæ*), Ridl.	Creeper (?)	
3. "Tĕnĕt"	? *Gnetum edule*, Bl. (*Gnetaceæ*), Ridley	,,	
4. "Jĕnū" (Mal. "tuba")	*Derris elliptica*, Benth. (*Leguminosæ*), Ridl.	,,	
5. "Kroi"	*Lophopetalum pallidum*, Laws, Ridley		
6. Non-vegetable substances	Arsenic; also snake, scorpion, and centipede poison when available		

[1] Collected by myself, but largely agreeing with a list by Bellamy (p. 229), who, however, omits "rengas" and adds "chandu" (prepared opium), which may be a mistake for "jĕnu" = "tuba."

[2] B. Collected by self.—W. S.

MANTRA DART POISON.[1] Page 319

Ingredients of Poison.	Identification.	Part used.	Remarks.
1. "Rotan kĕmanting"	(Also "R. kĕrai") *Dæmonorops geniculatus*, Mart. (*Palmæ*), Ridl.	Sap	
2. "Chantong badak"	Unknown	Bark or roots	
3. "Berar keejang" ("Birah kijang")	*Alocasia Singaporiana*, or *Singaporensis*, Lindl.	Sap	
4. "Umpas padi" (or any other Strychnos)	*Strychnos*, sp.	Bark (?)	In his list of the full-strength poison, V.-St. says "umpas" = "Blay hitam" of Pangans, *i.e. Str. tieute* (Java)
5. "Umpas pite" (? Mal. "Upas pahit")	*Strychnos*, sp.	Bark (?)	,,
6. "Mundess"	Unknown	Roots and bark	
7. "Prachek"	*Tabernæmontana malaccensis*, Hook. fil. (*Apocynaceæ*), Ridl.	,,	
8. "Koopur"	*Carapa malaccensis*, Lam.	Bark	= Newbold's "kopah"
9. "Kroie"	*Lophopetalum pallidum*, Laws. (*Celastrineæ*)	,,	= Newbold's "krohi"
10. "Lada api"	? *Chillies*	Fruit	
11. "Ipoh" (tree)	*Antiaris toxicaria*	Sap	Blandas, "ternek" Kenaboi, "kayas" ("kyass")
12. "Gadong"	*Dioscorea*, sp.	Knobs	
13. Lemon (or lime ?)	*Citrus*, sp.	Seeds	
14. "Tuba"	*Randia dumetorum*, Lam. (J. R. A. S. xvi. 1886, 414), V.-St. ii. 124, note; or *Derris elliptica*	Root	*Derris elliptica*, Benth. (*Leguminosæ*), Ridl.
15. Non-vegetable poisons	Centipedes, snakes, scorpions, arsenic		

Note.—Ridley also identifies "grow," the name of a fruit which when eaten by an animal makes its flesh poisonous for men to eat. "It ('grow') looks like a Xanthophyllum" (Ridley). "Berar keejang" (*although here included by V.-St. in the poison ingredients*) "is the aroid plant used if the man eats acid fruit after killing anything with the blowpipe" (V.-St.). "Chapaneng," the leaf used for straining the Ipoh, is *Clerodendron velutinum*. "Chooping" or "chupeng," mentioned as an antidote to "tuba," is, as Mr. Ridley personally remarked to me, "a Menispermacious plant, which I know well" (it is not, however, given in Ridley's List). "Chapaneng" (in Ridley's List) is given as *Clerodendron villosum*, Bl. (*Verbenaceæ*).

[1] V.-St. ii. 124.

Page 326.

The following description of the Peruvian blowpipe referred to is taken from the second volume of Reiss and Stübel's monumental work, *Kultur und Industrie Süd-Amerikanischer Völker.*

It was brought from the Huallaga River (Peru), and consists of two grooved and hollowed-out halves of a palm-stem, carefully fitted together, and wound round with "çipo," which is covered besides with a layer of black wax. A short bone mouthpiece is fitted into it.

The quiver consists of a bamboo arrow-receptacle with a gourd-shell bottom, and a lining of dried palm-leaves in which the small blowpipe arrows are firmly stuck.

It has a cap-shaped covering, a gourd-like receptacle containing cotton-wool, and the half-jaw of a fish called "pana," set with sharp teeth.

The arrows measure 24.5 cm. in length, and are made out of palm-leaf ribs.

Page 332. BENUA DART POISON.[1]

Ingredients of Poison.	Identification.	Part used.
1. "Ipoh"	*Antiaris toxicaria*	Bark
2. "Babuta"	*Excæcaria agallocha*, L., or *Cerbera odollam*, L. and C. *Lactaria*, Ham. (*Apocynaceæ*), Ridl.	Sap
3. "Gurah"	*Sapium indicum*, L., or *Eranthemum malvacense*, Clarke	Sap
4. Non-vegetable substances	(1) Centipede heads; (2) millipedes; (3) the stings of scorpions; (4) spines of fish, *e.g.*, the "sèmbilang," "kitang," "lĕpu," "siong," "pari," "tē-tuka," "k'li"; (5) liver of the "buntal" fish[2]	

Page 420 *et seqq.* SEMANG COMB PATTERNS.

[*Note by Editor.*—The following list was compiled from Vaughan-Stevens' manuscripts and printed in *Z.f. E* xxv. 86 *et seq.*

In the present version the original list has been condensed as far as possible; Vaughan-Stevens' faulty system of nomenclature has been eliminated, and the actual numbers of the panels themselves substituted; the result being that the description of the patterns is now much easier to follow.

The numbering is that of the original, but obvious corrections have been made in a few places; and all less important details omitted to save space.—W. S.]

[1] V.-St. ii. 107 *et seq.*

[2] Various kinds of snake-poison are added by the W. Benua, *e.g.* that of the black cobra, and a small brown snake called "Ali." The E. Benua add that of the "ular berang" and "gala."

For sketches of the central panel patterns (No. 5) of Nos. 1A to 11A, see Plate I.; Nos. 11B to 19N, Plate II.; 19O to 38, Plate III.; 39 to end, Plate IV.

1A. Disease, "Pong" or "Kingkong" = "Fever"—
Panel: (1) "Pen-ying," cp. 21B, 4A, 12C, 3A, 20G; (2) "Knel-lap," cp. 21B, 1G; (4) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Lig-teg," cp. 11A, 18E; (6) the same; (8) the same.

1B. Disease, same as 1A—
Panel: (1) "Tō-hong" = "empty," in conjunction with (2) "Tink-tonk," which is carried over the top border; (2) "Tink-tonk"; (4) "Wās"-pattern "Pasir" ("Passeer") = "sand," cp. 12A, 19N, 20J, 19A, 19H, 19B, A7, 19J, 18C (variations of the "Pasir" pattern); (6) the same; (8) the same.

1C. Disease, same as 1A—
Panel: (1) "Jēnāsik" ("Jennassik"), cp. 14B, 9A, 18E, 2A, 1D, 11A, 57, 41, 19F, 10B; (2) "'Kitteng,' 42 variations"! (4) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Lig-boig," cp. 19F, 16A (a different pattern but with the same name); (6) "Pāwēr"- pattern "ūmung" ("Oomoong"), cp. 10A, 9B, 55, 20H, and (1) of 1D, 57; (8) identical with (4).

1D. Disease, same as 1A—
Panel: (1) the same as 1C, but differing in design; (2) "Bong," cp. 2A and (?) 10B; (4) "umung," cp. (6) of 1C; with (6) cp. (4) of 1C; with (8) cp. (4).

1E. Disease, same as 1A—
Panel: (1) "ûm" ("Oom"), cp. 21A, 21F, and (2) of 21A; (2) "is" ("Ees"); (4) "Pāwer"-pattern, the same; (6) the same; (8) "Pāwēr"-pattern"; "Knel-lap," cp. 1G, 21B, and (?) 1A.

1F. Disease, same as 1A—
Panel: (1) "ûm," cp. 1E; (2) "Pāhöm" ("Paherm"), cp. 21A and (1) of 21A; (4) the same, with some variation; (6) same as (1); (8) same as (4).

1G. Disease, same as 1A—
Panel: (1) "Mantêng," with upper border; (2) "Knel-lap," cp. (8) of 1E; (4) cp. 1E; (6) cp. 1E; (8) same as (2).

2A. Disease, "Kadong," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Jēnāsik" ("Jenassik"), cp. 1C, 1D; (2) "Bong," cp. 1D; (4) as in 1D; (6) "Chis-kes," "Pāwēr"-pattern, cp. 4B, 4C; (8) as in (4).

2B. Disease, same as 2A—
Panel: (1) "Led-wod," cp. 54, 4B, 49, 17B, 16A, 8A, 4C, 18F; (2) "Sad-an-yet" ("Sad-un-yet"), identical with 19K, 45, 19J; (4) like (2) of 1A; (6) cp. (4); (8) identical with (2).

3A. Disease, "Kimbu"? ("Kimbur"), unexplained—
Panel: (1) "Pen-ying," cp. 1A, 4A, 21B, 12C, 20G; (2) "Angis," cp. 20G; (6) like (2); (8) like (1).

3B. Disease, same as 3A—
Panel: (1) "Chig-lag," cp. 3C, 20F; (2) "Kil-kel," cp. 19H and C8 (?). Panels (6) and (8) like (1).

3C. Disease, same as 3A—
Panel: (1) "Chig-lag," cp. 3B; (2) "Bakol," cp. 20F, 20J; (6) like (2); (8) like (1).

4A. Disease, "Klasau" ("Klassow"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Pen-ying," cp. 1A, 21B, 3A, 12C, 20G; (2) "Kī-būt" ("Kee-boot"), cp. 37; (4) "Wās"-pattern "Tebal-i"? ("Tebal-ī"), cp. (1) of 6A, 18A, 20H, 55; (6) and (8) like (2).

4B. Disease, same as 4A—
Panel: (1) "Led-wod," cp. 54, 49, 2B, 16A, 8A, 4C, 17B, 18F; (2) "Chis-kes," cp. 4C; (4) and (6) like (1); (8) like (2).

4C. Disease, same as 4A—
Panel: (1) "Led-wod," cp. 4B (half-size); (2) "Chis-kes," very different from that of 4B; (4) and (6) "Penalong," cp. 15A and (?) 18H; (8) like (1).

5A. Disease, "Pasar chinbeg" ("Passar-chin-beg"), unexplained, cp. "Lī-chin-beg" ("Lee-chin-beg") = "disease of the upper jaw"—
Panel: (1) "Let-seig" ("Let-saig"), cp. 35, 6C, 24, 6G, 27, 20B, 61, 59, 18H; (2) "Sil"; (4) "Wās"-pattern "Tĕbal-i," cp. 4A; (6) "Wās"-pattern "Pĕnālong," cp. 18H and (?) 15A; (8) like (4).

5B. Disease, same as 5A—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hil," cp. 25A, 50, 20A, 19L, 44, 25B, 22A, 19C; (2) "Batchai," cp. 18G; (1) "Wās"-pattern "Tĕbal-i," cp. 6A, 18A, etc.; (6) "Wās"-pattern "ĕn-let" ("N'let"), cp. 28B; (6) "Wās"-pattern "ĕn-let," varied in 28A.

6A. Disease, "Kayan challag," undefined—
Panel: (1) "Tĕbal-i," variation of 18A, 55, 20H; (2) "Makūin" ("Mukoin"), varied in 15B; (4) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Sīl," cp. 5A; (6) and (8) like (1).

6B. Disease, same as 6A—
Panel: (1) "Let-seig," cp. 6D, 15A, 18H, 59, 61, 20B, 5A, 27, 6G, 24, 6C, 35, which show every possible variation of "Let-seig" (2) "ĕnnyangil" ("N'nyangil"), varied in 6D, 38; (4) like (2); (6) and (8) "Wās"-pattern "Pĕn-hil," cp. 5B, etc.

6C Disease, same as 6A—
Panel: (1) "Let-seig," cp. 6B; (2) "Tĕbal" ("Tebal"), cp. 19A (?) and 61 (?); (4), (6), (8) like (2).

6D. Disease, same as 6A—
Panel: (1) "Let-seig"; (2) "ĕnnyangil" ("N'nyangil"), varied in 6B, 38; (4) like (1); (6) like (1); (8) like (2).

6E. Disease, same as 6A—
Panel: (1) "Pĕn-hīl," cp. 5B; (2) "entei," variation of 6G; (4), (6), "Pāwēr"-pattern "A-et"? ("Aet"); (8) like (2).

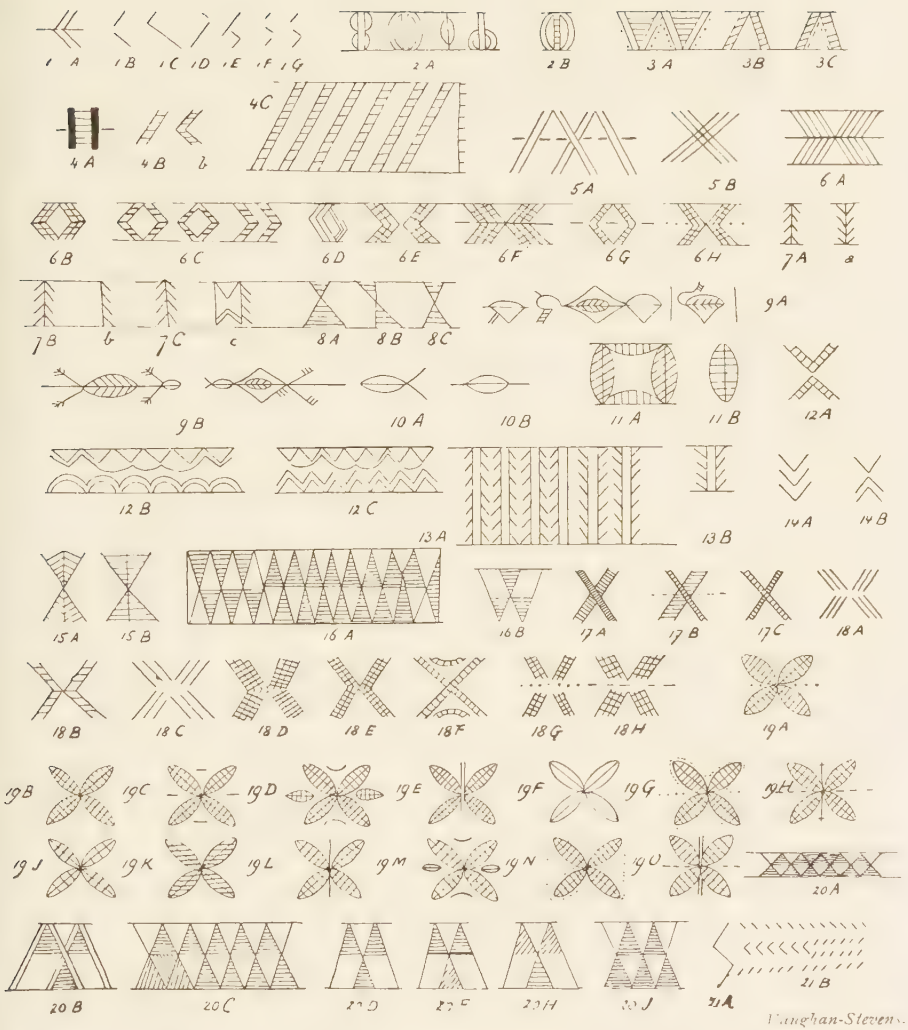
6F. Disease, same as 6A—
Panel: (1) "Pĕn-hil," cp. 5B, 6E; (2) "Al-tong," cp. 40, 19B; (4) "Wās"-pattern "Chig-lag," cp. 3B, 3C, 20F; (6) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Kil-kel," cp. 19H, 3B, 8C; (6) as (2).

6G. Disease, same as 6A—
Panel: (1) "Let-seig," cp. 6B, etc.; (2) "Entei," cp. 6E; (4) and (6) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Sī-ei-yong" ("See-i-yong"); (8) Kĕiyong, cp. 33, 58, 17C.

6H. Disease, same as 6A—
Panel: (1) "Pĕn-hil" (half-size), cp. 5B; (2) "Langut" ("Langhut"); (4) and (6) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Angis," cp. 3A, 20G; (8) like (2).

7A. Disease "Tan-eg," unexplained—
Panel: (1) "Pasir" ("Passer") = "sand," cp. 19J, 18C, 19B, 19H, 19A, 20J, 19N, 12A; (2) "Kayap" ("Kiap"); (3) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Sad-an-yet" ("Sad-un-yet"), cp. 19J; (4) like (2); (6) and (7) "Wās"-pattern "Kāsom," cp. 20C, 58, 19E, 31, 17C, 19G, 32B, 22C, 23, 22E, 36, 22D, 17A, 51, 19M, 52, 7B; (8) "Pĕnālong," cp. 18H.

7B. Disease, same as 7A—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom," cp. 7A; (2) "Kahib"; (3), (4), (6), (7) like (2); (8) like (1); (5) see p. 90, Fig. 7.



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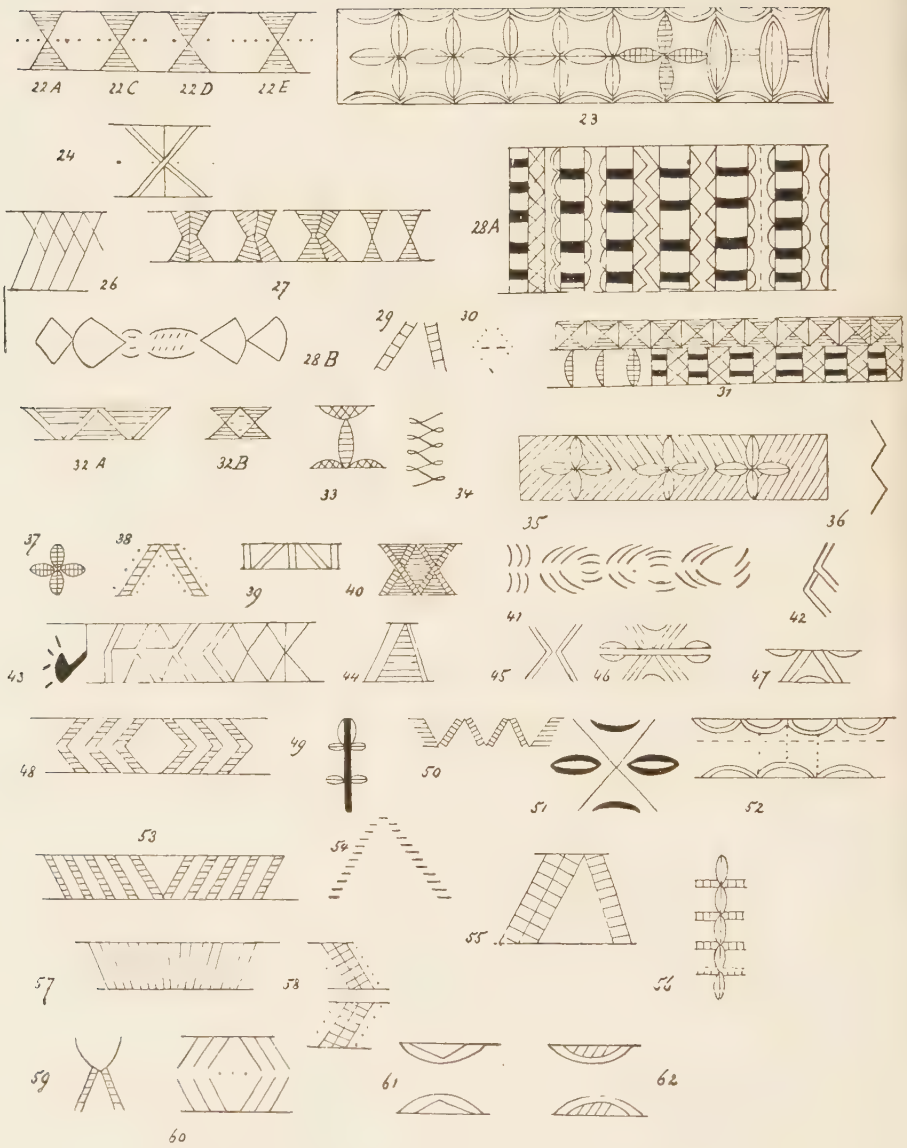
CENTRAL PANELS OF COMB PATTERNS, FIG. 7 (*Z. f. E* XXV. 90).



Vaughan-Stevens.

CENTRAL PANELS OF COMB PATTERNS, FIG. 8 (*Z. f. E.* XXV. 91).

7C. Disease, same as 7A—
Panel: (1) "Let-tod," cp. 8C, 32A, 18B, but "Wās picheg"; (2) "Kĕmit" ("Kem-meet"), cp. 26; (4) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Pēnālong," cp. 18H; (6) like (2); (8) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Boing," cp. 18F, 17B.

8A. Disease "Ber," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Led-wod," cp. 2B; (2) defective, should resemble (2) of 8A, but is not quite the same; (4), (6), and (8) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Kī-būt."

8B. Disease, same as 8A—
Panel: (1) "Lĕgīyap," with upper border; (2) "Ni-en-kā" ("Ne-an-kar"); (6), (7), (8) like (2).

8C. Disease, same as 8A—
Panel: (1) "Let-tod," cp. 18B, 32A, 7C; (2) "Kīl-kel," cp. 19H and (?) 3B; (4) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Kī-būt," cp. 37; (6) like (2); (8) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Boing," cp. 18F (?) and 17B.

9A. Disease, "Kang-keng"? ("Kung-keng"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Jēnasik," cp. 2A, etc.; (2) "Chab-lab," reverse of "Gau," cp. 57; (4), (6) like (1); (8) like (2).

9B. Disease, same as 9A—
Panel: (1) "Hĕr-saydd" ("Hersaige"), cp. 26, 43, 10A, 37, 14A; (2) "ūmūng," cp. 10; (4) "Wās"-pattern "Tĕbal-i," cp. 6A; (6) like (2); (8) like (4).

10A. Disease, "Tak-ūi" ("Tak-oye"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Hĕr-sei," cp. 9B; (2) "ūmūng," cp. 9B; (4) and (8) "Wās"-pattern "Tĕbal-i"; (6) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Chab-lab," cp. 9A.

10B. Disease, same as 10A—
Panel: (1) "Jēnasik," diminishing from left to right, cp. 2A; (2) and (6) "Bong," cp. 2A and 1D (?); (4) and (8) "Wās"-pattern "Tĕbal-i."

11A. Disease, "Pēlīg" ("Peleeg") = "Head-ache"—
Panel: (1) "Jēnasik" ($\frac{1}{2}$ size), in conjunction with (2); (2) and (8) "Lik-tek," 18E; (4) and (6) "Wās"-pattern "Chig-lag," cp. 3B, 3C, 20F.

[End of patterns given on Plate I.]

11B. Disease, same as 11A—
Panel: (1) "Pĕn-hīl," cp. 5B, 6E; (2) Pĕ-nêl-tû; (4) and (6) "Wās"-pattern "Tĕbal-i," cp. 6A, 18A, 55, 20H; (6) "Wās"-pattern "Let-seig," cp. 5A.

12A. Disease, "Chas-ai" ("Chas-eye"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Pasir," cp. 7A, 19J, 18C, 19H, 19A, 20J, 19N, 12A; (2), (4), (6), and (8) "Tabag."

12B. Disease, same as 12A—
Panel: (1) "Manau"; (2), (6), and (8) "Lid-dā," cp. 14A; (2) "Lid-dā."

12C. Disease, same as 12A—
Panel: (1) "Tĕpī" ("Border"), with "Pen-ying"; (2) "Nā-pek" ("Na-pek"); (6) and (8) like (1); (4) like (2). ["Nāpek" means "pig" in Semang.]

13A. Disease, "Ung-ag-buig," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Kan-beng," cp. 13B; (2) "Seg-kīt"; (4), (6), and (8) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Seg-kīt."

13B. Disease, same as 13A—
Panel: (1) "Kan-beng"; (2), (4), (6), (8) "Kan-beng," different from (1).

14A. Disease, "It-al-ig," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Hĕr-sayd," cp. 9B; (2) "Lid-dā"; (4), (6), (8) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Lid-dā," cp. 12B.

14B. Disease, same as 14A—
Panel: (1) "Jēnasik," cp. 2A; (2) and (6) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Būl" ("Bool"); (4) and (8) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Chab-lab," cp. 6A.

15A. Disease, "Mākau kālon" ("Mackow-Kallon")—
Panel: (1) and (6) "Let-seig"; (2) and (4) "Pĕnālong"; (8) "Pĕnālong" (varying from preceding).

15B. Disease, same as 15A—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl," cp. 6A, 6H; (2) and (8) "Makŭin" ("Makoin"); (4) and (6) "Chig-lag."

16A. Disease, "Kĕlak-sog"? ("Klik-sog")—
Panel: (1) "Led-wod," cp. 2B; (2) and (8) "Lig-boig"; (4) and (6) "Chig-lag."

16B. Disease, same as 16A—
Panel: (1) and (8) "ĕng-ah"; (2) "A-īt"; (4) and (6) "Kī-būt."

17A. Disease, "Tin-weg Lan-kā" ("Tinwag-lankar"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom," cp. 22D, 51; (2), (4), (6), and (8) "Dā-da," cp. 23, 22D; (4) "Chig-lag," cp. 3C; (7) "Sī-ei-yong."

17B. Disease, same as 17A—
Panel: (1) "Led-wod," cp. 4B; (2) and (8) "Boing"; (4) and (6) "Chig-lag," cp. 3B.

17C. Disease, same as 17A—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom," cp. 31, 19E; (2) and (6) "Kei-yong"; (4) and (8) "Chig-lag," cp. 3B.

18A. Disease, "Bakau Timun" ("Bakow-Timoon"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Tĕbal-ei"; (2) and (6) "Jenul," cp. 43 and (?) 48; (4) and (6) "Wās"-pattern Tĕbal-ei.[1]

18B. Disease, same as 18A—
Panel: (1) and (6) "Let-tod"; (2) and (8) "Bĕlē" or "Bĕlö" ("B'ler"), cp. 18C, 22A.

18C. Disease, same as 18A—
Panel: (1) "Pasir" ("Passeer" = "Sand"), cp. 19H; (2) and (8) "Bĕlē" or "Bĕlö" ("B'ler"), cp. 22A and (?) 18B; (4) and (6) "Bong," cp. 10B (?), 2A, 1D.

18D. Disease, same as 18A—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl," cp. 19D, 47, 46, 19C etc.; (2), (4), (6), (8) "Ijuēg" ("Ejooaig"), cp. 47; (3), (7) "Chig-lag."

18E. Disease, same as 18A—
Panel: (1) "Jēnasik," cp. 9A; (2) and (8) "Lik-teg," cp. 11A (?); (4) and (6) "covered with 'Goh' patterns."

18F. Disease, same as 18A—
Panel: (1) "Led-wod," cp. 8A; (2) and (8) "Boing"; (4) and (6) like (1).

18G. Disease, same as 18A—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl"; (2) and (6) "Bat-teschai"? cp. 5B (?); (4) and (6) "Ijuēg," cp. 47.

18H. Disease, same as 18A—
Panel: (1) "Let-sēig," cp. 15A, 6B, etc.; (2) and (4) "Pĕnālong," cp. 15A (?); (6) and (8) "Kāsom," cp. 32B, 7B.

19A. Disease, "Bakau timun," unidentified (but see 18A)—
Panel: (1) "Pasir," cp. 7A; (2) and (8) "Tĕbal," cp. 61 and 6C (?); (4) and (6) "Chig-lag," cp. 3C.

[1] *N.B.*—The name of this disease, "Bakau Timun," means literally (in Semang) "cucumber blossom," and probably refers to some form of skin-disease, which covers the person with small spots. "Cucumber seed" is the name given to a common Semang comb pattern; cp. 19A.

19B. Disease, same as 19A—
Panel: (1) "Pasir" (small size); (2), (4), (6) "Altong," cp. 6F, 40; (3) and (7) "Chig-lag"; (8) "Biling," cp. 19N.

19C. Disease, same as 19A—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl," cp. 5B; (2) and (8) "Yang-knil"; (4) "Chig-lag"; (6) "Sad-an-yit," cp. 19K, 19T.

19D. Disease, same as 19A—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl," cp. 5B; (2) "Yat-ūt"; (4) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Kîl-kel," cp. 8C; (6) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Chau-ei" ("Chow-ai").

19E. Disease, same as 19A—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom," cp. 20C, 58, 31, 17C, 19G, 32B; (2), (4), (6), (8) "Si-ei-yong."

19F. Disease, same as 19A—
Panel: (1) and (6) "Jĕnasik"; (2) "Lig-boig"; (4) and (6) "Hersaydd" ("Hĕr-sêi"), cp. 9B, 10A.

19G. Disease, same as 19A—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom," cp. 19E; (2) and (8) "Kĕlāpei," cp. 19M, 19L, 19C; (4) and (6) "Goh" patterns.

19H. Disease, same as 19A—
Panel: (1) "Pasir," cp. 12A; (2), (4), (6), (8) "Kil-kel"; (3) and (7) "Wās"-pattern "Chig-lag," cp. 3B.

19J. Disease, same as 19A—
Panel: (1) "Pasir," cp. 12A; (2), (4), (6) "Sad-an-yit"; (3) and (7) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Kĕlāpei," cp. 19L.

19K. Disease, same as 19A—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl," cp. 6E, 6H, 11H, etc. The remainder consists of two variants of "Sad-an-yit."

19L. Disease, same as 19A—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl," cp. 19K; (2) and (4) "Kĕlāpei," cp. 19C; (6) and (8) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Kī-būt"; (3) and (7) "Goh" pattern.

19M. Disease, same as 19A—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom"; (2), (4), (6), (8) "Kĕlāpei"; (3) and (7) "Chig-lag," cp. 3C.

19N. Disease, same as 19A—
Panel: (1) "Pasir"; (2) and (8) "Biling"; (4) and (6) "Chig-lag."
[End of patterns given on Plate II.]

19O. Disease, same as 19A—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl"; (2) "Pĕ-nel-tu," cp. 11B (?); (8) "Biling"; (4) "Goh" pattern.

20A. Disease, "Met an-tau" ("Met-un-tow"), probably a skin disease, like 18A—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl"; (4) and (1) like (2); (6) a "fancy" pattern.

20B. Disease, same as 20A—
Panel: (1) "Let-seig," cp. 27; (2) "Ta'at"; (4) and (8) "Halei," cp. 39, 50; (6) "Tink-tonk," cp. 1B.

20C. Disease, same as 20A—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom"; (2) and (4) "Keig"; (6) and (8) "Chog."

20D. Disease, same as 20A—
Panel: (1) "Boin"; (2), (4), (6), (8) "ĕr-gap."

20F.[1] Disease, same as 20A—
Panel: (1) "Chig-lag" (the "under stripes" = "picheg"); (2), (4), (6), (8) "Bakol," cp. 3C (?).

20G. Disease, same as 20A—
Panel: (1), (6), (8) "Pen-ying," with border; (2) "Angis," cp. 3A; (4) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Pen-hīl."

[1] 20E omitted in the original.

20H. Disease, same as 20A—
Panel: (1) "Tebal-ei"; (2), (6), (8) "Sob"; (4), (7) "Gau," cp. 57.

20J. Disease, same as 20A—
Panel: (1) "Pasir"; (2) "Bakel"; (3), (4), (6) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Gau"; (8) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Tink-tonk."

21A. Disease, "Au-in" ("Ow-in"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "ūm"; (2), (4), (6), (8) "Pahöm" ("Paherm"), cp. 1F.

21B. Disease, same as 21A—
Panel: (1) "Pen-ying"; (2), (4), (6), (8) "Knel-lap."

22A.[1] Disease, "Man-wok kekil," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl"; (2) and (4) "Bĕlē" or "Bĕlö"; (3) "Sad-an-yit"; (6) and (8) "Boing"; cp. 17B; (7) "Chig-lag."

22C. Disease, same as 22A—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom"; (2), (4), (6), (7), (8) "Chin-eng."

22D. Disease, same as 22A—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom," cp. 17A; (2) and (4) "Da-da," cp. 23, 17A (6), (8) "Chin-eng"; (3), (7) "Chig-lag."

22E. Disease, same as 22A—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom"; (2), (4) "Chin-eng"; (4), (6) "Chig-lag"; (7), (8) "Let-seig" (two variants).

23. Disease, "Cheb," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom"; (2) "Da-da"; (6), (7), (8) two variants of "Kāsom."

24. Disease, "Tu-eg," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Let-seig"; (2), (8) "Langūt" ("Langut"); (4) and (6) "covered with 'Goh'-pattern."

25A. Disease, "Ka-tam" ("Kattam")—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl"; (2) "Ing." The remaining designs are very peculiar: they represent forest-paths. The disease, a kind of fever, which is found in all parts of the Peninsula, attacks all parts of the body in such a way that the patient is unable to walk for some time. This design may be borrowed from the Sakai, since it is found among all four of the Sĕmang groups.
Tribe: Sĕmang of Kinta ("Kintar," Ulu Kinta being a Sakai locality), who stated that this fever ("Katam") is less fatal to them than 25C; and hence (1) and (2) are used.

25B. Disease, same as 25A—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl" ($\frac{1}{2}$ size); (2) "Yat-ūt."
Tribe: Sĕmang of Bĕlum ("Bloom"), who made a similar statement to that attributed to the Kinta Semang in 25A [Plate IV.].

25C. Disease, same as 25A—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl."
Tribe: Sĕmang of Bong, who stated that they only used (1) for reasons similar to those just given (25A, B).

25D. Disease, same as 25A—
Tribe: Sĕmang of Ken-siu ("Ken-siew") and E. Sĕmang ("Orang Panggang"), who made similar statements to the preceding.

26. Disease, "Yan-tui hi-li" ("Yan-toe hillie"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Hersaydd" ("Hĕr-sei"), same as (4), (6), (8); (2) "Kĕm-mit."

27. Disease, "Wing-jang," unidentified—

[1] 22B is wanting in the original, 22C, 22D, 22E are described as having errors in their respective patterns.

Panel: (1) "Let-seig"; (2), (4), (8) "Langūt" ("Langut"); (3) "Goh" pattern"; (6) "Pēnālong," cp. 18H; (7) "Bēlē" or "Bēlö." The illness is said to commence in the region of the nipples and spread downwards. [A, B, C, reckoning from the left side, are said to be inaccurately drawn.]

28A. Disease, "Kē-sum" ("Kay-some"), unidentified—
Panel (1) "En-let"; (2), (4), (6), (8) "Biling"; (3) "Si-ai-yong"; (7) "Chig-lag."

28B. Disease, same as 28A—
Panel: (1) "En-let"; (2) "Min-len"; (4) "Tebal-ei"; (6) and (8) "Jēnasik."

29. Disease, "Yan-tul man-ka" ("Yan-tool-mankar"), unidentified, cp. 26—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl"; (2) "Yang-knil"; (6) "Kāsom"; (8) "Langūt" ("Langut").

30. Disease, "Pĕn-al-dung" ("Pen-ul-doong"), unidentified—
Panel: (1), (6), and (8) "Boin," cp. 60; (2) "Chog"; (4) a pattern invented by the maker of the comb.

31. Disease, "Chab-ok," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom"; (2) "Keiap," cp. 51; (4) "Wās"-pattern "Tĕbal-ei," cp. 6A; (6) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Ijuēg," cp. 47; (8) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Chis-kis," cp. 4B.

32A. Disease, "Tebīl" ("Tebeel"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Picheg," "Let-tod"; (2) "Kā-wā" ("Kawar"); (8) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Boing."

32B. Disease, same as 32A—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom"; (2), (4), (7) "Chin-eng"; (3) "Chig-lag"; (6) "Kāsom" (variant); (8) "Ijuēg."

33. Disease, "Kau-i," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl," with wide border; (2), (8) "Kei-yong"; (4), (6) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Si-ei-yong."

34. Disease, "Lui," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl"; (2) and (8) "Min-len"; (4), (6) "Wās" pattern "Chig-lag."

35. Disease, "Chig-lak" (="Chig-lag"?), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Let-seig"; (2), (6) "Mūd-beg" (Mood-bag"); (4), (8) "Wās"-pattern "Cheg-lag" (="Chig-lag"?).

36. Disease, "Kong," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom"; (2), (8) "Sēlang dui"; (4), (6) "Pāwēr"-pattern "Kī-būt."

37. Disease, "Kamalij" ("Kamalege"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Hersaydd" ("Hĕr-sei"); (2), (8) "Kī-būt"; (4), (6) "Wās"-pattern "Chig-lag."

38. Disease, "Pĕnapit" ("Penappit"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Ken-beng"; (2), (8) "Enyangil"; (4), (6) "Pen-hīl."
[End of patterns given on Plate III.]

39. Disease, "Han-bē" or "Han-bö"? ("Hun-ber"), unidentified—
Panel: (1), (4), (6) "Kin-sei"; (2) "Ha-lei."

40. Disease, "Heit," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl"; (2), (4), (6), (8) "Al-tong"; (3), (7) "Chig-lag."

41. Disease, "Sĕlang-dui" ("Salangdoy"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Jēnasik"; (2) "Chog"; (4), (8) "Wās"-pattern "Tebal-ei"; (6) "Pāwĕr"-pattern "Kī-būt."

42. Disease, "Kang-wom," unidentified—
Panel: (1), (4), (6), (8) "Yē-lap-ē" ("Yeh-lap-eh)"; (2) "Kit-teng."

43. Disease, "Tang-tong" ("tung-tong"), unidentified—

Panel: (1) "Hersaydd" ("Hĕr-sei"); (2) "Jenul"; (4), (8) "Wās"-pattern "Tebal-ei"; (6) "Kī-būt."

44. Disease, "Sad-or," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl"; (2), (4), (6), (8) "U-kap."

45. Disease, "Sĕr-sayi" or "Să-sayi"? ("Ser-sayee"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl"; (2) "Sad-an-yit"; (3), (7) "Chig-lag"; (4), (6), (8) "Boing," cp. 17B.

46. Disease, "Eg-to," unidentified—
Panel: (1) and (6) "Pen-hīl"; (2) "A-bat"; (3), (7) "Sad-an-yit"; (4), (8) "Wās"-pattern "Kā-som."

47. Disease, "Kam," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl"; (2) "Ijuēg"; (3) and (4) "Let-seig."

48. Disease, "Ga-sun" ("Gassoon"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Ta-song"; (2) "Jenul"; (4), (6), (8) "Ken-beng," cp. 38.

49. Disease, "Yan-tui hi-log" ("Yan-toe hillog"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Led-wod"; (2), (4), (6), (8) "Al-teg."

50. Disease, "Kā-hīb," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Pen-hīl"; (2) "Hā-lei"; (6) "Kāsom," Mark "Gĕhab"; (8) like (1).

51. Disease, "Lang-ē" or "Lang-ö" ("Lang-er"), unidentified—
Panel; (1) and (7) "Kāsom" (two forms); (2) "Keiap"; (3) "Let-tod"; (4), (6) "Ijuēg"; (8) "Da-da."

52. Disease, "Chig-lā" ("Chig-lar"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom"; (2), (8) "Biling"; (3), (7) "Let-tod"; (4), (6) "Chig-lag."

53. Disease, "Ye-eng," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Hē-kā" or "Hö-kar" ("Her-kar"), with "W. picheg"; (2), (6), (8) "Chau-ei."

54. Disease, "Tag-an," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Led-wod"; (2), (6), (8) "Bel-ūng" ("Bel-oong").

55. Disease, "Tan-kwoi" ("Tun-kwoy"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Tebal-ei"; (2), (4), (6), (8) "Sob."

56. Disease, "Ye-lar-i" ("Yel-lar-e"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) and (2) lacking, the illness being a fatal one.

57. Disease, "Geltalung" or "Jeltalung" ("Gel-taloong") unidentified—
Panel: (1), (4), (6) "Jĕnasik" (2), (8) "Gau."

58. Disease, "Pin-ad-yod," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Kāsom"; (2) (4), (6), (8) "Kei-yong."

59. Disease, "Eng," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Let-seig"; (2) "Ta-at"; (4), (8) "Chig-lag"; (6) "Yat-ut."

60. Disease, "Ta-kor" or "Tak-or" ("Tukkor,") a kind of large tumour, carbuncle, etc. (cp. "Goh" patterns).
Panel: (1) "Boin," cp. 30; (2), (6), (8) "Tabag," cp. 12A.

61. Disease, "Mer-oh," unidentified—
Panel: (1) "Let-seig"; (2) "Tebal"; (3), (7) "Chig-lag"; (4) "Kī-būt"; (6) "Goh" pattern; (8) not designated.

62. Disease, "Klī-chā" ("Klee-char"), unidentified—
Panel: (1) and (6) "Wah"; (2) "Jung-ei" ("Joong-ei"; (8), "Goh" pattern. [Plate XII.

63. Disease, "Hĕli" ("H'lee"), unidentified—
Panel: (1), (4), (6) "Hēkā"; (2), (8) "Tabag."

64. Disease, "Chig-bĕnk" ("Chig-bnk").
65. Disease, "Kĕlau-wong" ("Klow-wong").
66. Disease, "Hajaing."

} For protection against fatal diseases, and therefore without (1) and (2).

67. Disease, "Teneng".
68. Disease, "Haïng."
69. Disease, "Awīs" ("Awees").
70. Disease, "Kĕlang-īn" ("Klung-een").

} For protection against fatal diseases, and therefore without (1) and (1).

The numbers in the following list refer to the numbers given above. The repetitions of the same pattern are not given, but only the variations.

A-bat ("Abbat") (2),[1] 46.
A-ït ("Aet") (2), 16B.
Al-teg (2), 49.
Al-tong (2), 40, 6F, 19B.
Angis (2), 3A, 20G.
Ba-chai ("Batchai") (2), G10, B5.
Bakol (2), 20F, 3C, 20T.
Bĕlē or "Bĕlö" ("B'ler") (2), 18B, 22A, 18C.
Bĕl-ūng ("Bel-oong") (2), 2B, 54.
Biling ("Bil-ling") (2), 52, 28A, 19N.
Boin (1), 60, 30.
Boing (2), 18F, 17B.
Bong (2), 2A, 10B, 1D.
Būl ("Bool") (2), 14B.
Chab-lab or Chab-leb ("Chub-lab") (2), 9A.
Chau-ai ("Chow-ai") (2), 53.
Chig-lag or Chig-leg ("Chig-lag") (1), 3B, 3C, 20F.
Ching-eng (2), 32B, 22C, 22E.
Chis-kis ("Chis-kes") (2), 4B, 4C.
Chog (2), 41, 30.
Dā-da ("Da-dar") (2), 17A, 23, 22D [? breast].
Eng-ā ("Eng-ah") (1), 16B.
En-let ("N'let" (1), 28B, 28A.
En-nyangil ("N'nyangil") (2), 6B, 6D, 38.
En-tei ("En-tai") (2), 6E, 6G.
Er-gap ("ergap" (2), 20D.
Gau ("Gow") (2), 57.
Ha-lei ("Hallai") (2), 50, 89.
Hē-kā or "Hö-kar"? ("Herkar") (1), 14.
Hersaydd, Hersayj, or "Hĕr-sei" ("Hersige") (1), 26, 43, 9B, 10A, 37, 14A; cp. "Ser-sayee," *infr.*
Ijuēg ("Ejooaig") (2), 47, 18D.
Ing (2), 25A.
Injeng (2), 20A.
Is ("ees") (2), 1E.
Jĕnasik ("Jennassik") (1), 14B, 1C, 9A, 18E, 2A, 1D, 11A, 57, 41, 19F, 19B.
Jĕnul (2), 48, 43, 18A.
Jung-ei ("Joong-ai") (2), 62.
Ka-hīb (2), 7B.
Kan-beng (1), 13A, 13B. Cf. Ken-beng.
Kā-som or Kēsom ("Kassom," "Kay-some") (1), 20C, 58, 19E, 31, 17C, 19G, 32B, 22C, 23, 22E, 36, 22D, 17A, 51, 19M, 52, 7B.
Kā-wā ("Ka-war") (2), 32A.
Kei-ap or Kayap? ("Kiap") (2), 31, 51, 7A.
Keig, Keg ("Kaig") (2), 20C.
Kei-yong or Kayong? ("Kiyong") (2), 58, 33, 17C.
Kĕlāpei or Kĕlepē ("Klappay") (2), 19M, 19L, 19C.
Kĕm-it ("Kemmeet") (2), 26, 7C.
Ken-beng (1), 38. Cp. Kanbeng.
Kī-būt ("Kee-boot") (2), 37, 4A.
Kilkel (2), 19H, 3B, 8C.
Kinsei or Kinsē ("Kinsey"), 39.
Kiteng ("Kit-teng") (2), 1C, 42.
Knel-lap (2), 1A, 21B, 1G.
Langut ("Langhut") (2), 24, 27, 6H.
Led-wod (1), 54, 4B, 49, 2B, 16A, 8A, 4C, 17B, 18F.
Lĕgiyap ("Legeeyap") (1), 8B.
Leik-teg or Likteg ("Likteg") (2), 11A, 18E.
Let-seig or Let-sēg ("Let-saig") (1), 35, 6C, 24, 6G, 27, 5A, 20B, 61, 59, 18H, 15A, 6B, 6D.
Let-tod (1), 18B, 32A, 7C, 8C.
Lid-dāh? ("Lid-dar") (2), 14A, 12B.
Lig-boig (2), 19F, 16A.
Makūin ("Mukoin") (2), 6A, 15B.
Manau ("Manow") (1), 12B.
Man-teng (1), 1G.
Min-len (2), 28B, 34.
Mūd-beg ("Mood-bag") (2), 35.
Nāpek (2), 12C [=pig].
Ni-en-ka ("Ne-an-kar" (2), 8B, cp. 8A.
Pa-hem or Pa-höm ("Pa-herm") (2), 21F, 21A.

[1] In original W. = Wās, *i.e.* first panel, here represented by (1); P. = Pāwēr, *i.e.* second panel, here represented by (2).

Pa-sir ("Passeer") (1), 12A, 19N, 20J, 19A, 19H, 19B, 7A, 19J, 18C.
Pĕnalong or Penaldung ("Penalong") (2) 15A, 18H.
Pĕ-nel-tu ("Peneltoo") (2), 190, 11B.
Pen-hīl ("Pen-heel") (1), 25A, 50, 20A, 19L, 44, 25B, 22A, 5B, 19C, 19O, 6H, 29, 11B, 6F, 19K, 19D, 18D, 40, 34, 18G, 6E, 25C, 33, 46, 47, 45, 15B.
Pen-ying (1), 1A, 21B, 4A, 12C, 3A, 20G.
Sad-an-yit ("Sad-un-yet") (2), 19K, 45, 19J.
Seg (1), 20D.
Seg-kīt ("Seg-keet") (2), 13B, 13A.
Sĕlang-dui ("Slangdoy") (2), 36.
Si-ai-yong or Si-ayong? ("See-i-yong") (2), 17E.
Sīl ("Seel") (2), 5A.
Sob (2), 55, 50H.
Ta-at (2), 20B, 59.
Ta-bag (2), 63, 12A, 60.
Ta-song ("Tassong") (1), 48.
Tebal or Tĕbal ("Tebal") (2), 19A, 6C, 61.
Tĕbal-ai or "Tĕbali"? ("Tebal-i") (1), 6A, 18A, 55, 20H.
Tink-tonk (*sic*) (2), 1B.
Tōhong ("Tohong"), (1), 1B.
Ū-kap or ū-kep ("oo-kap") (2), 44.
Ūm ("Oom") (1), 1E, 21A, 11.
Ūmung ("Oomoong") (2), 10A, 9B.
Wah (1), 62.
Yang-knil (2), 29, 19C.
Yat-ūt or Yet-ut ("Yat-oot") (2), 19D, 25B.
Yē-lap-ē or Yī-lap-ī ("Yeh-lap-eh") (1), 42.

To complete this list should be added the following, which includes all names not yet mentioned from the preceding list of comb patterns :—

Ang-ag-boig? ("Ung-ag-buig"), 13A.
Awin ("Ow-īn"), 21A.
Awis ("Awees"), 69.
Bakau Timun (1), 18A (=cucumber blossom).
Bakel (2), 20J.
Ba-teschai (?) (2) and (6), 18G. Cp. 5B (?).
Ber, 8A.
Chab-ok, 31.
Chas-ai ("Chas-eye"), 12A.
Cheb, 23.
Chig-bĕnk ("Chig-bnk"), 64.
Eg-to, 46.
Eng, 59. Cp. 25A?
Ga-sun ("gassoon"), 48.
Gel-talung or Jel-talung? ("Gel-taloong"), 57.
Haing, 68.
Hajaing, 66.
Hanbē or Hanbö? ("Hun-ber"), 39.
Hĕli ("H'lee"), 63.
It-al-ig, 14A.
Kadong, 2A.
Kam, 47.
Kamalij ("Kamalege"), 37.
Kang-keng? ("Kung-keng"), 9A.
Kang-wom, 42.
Katam, 25A.
Kau-i or Kawi, 33.
Kayan chalag ("Kayan challag"), 6A.
Kĕlik sog ("Klik-sog"), 16A.
Kelangin ("Klung-een"), 70 [? misprint for "Kelangez" = heart, or cp. "Kling-in," Quiver Y1.
Kĕlau-wong or "Kĕluwang"? ("Klow-wong"), 65 [? = bat].
Kimbu or Kimbö? ("Kimbur"), 3A.
Kinsei or Kinse? 39 (=tapioca?).
Klasau ("Klasow"), 4A.
Kli-chā ("Klee-char"), 62 (name of a flower).
Kong, 36
Lang-e or Lang-ö ("Lang-er"), 51.
Li chinbeg ("Lee chinbeg"), 5A.
Lig-teg, 1A.
Lik-teg (="Lig-teg"?), 11A.
Ma-kau ka-lon ("Mackow kallon"), 15A.
Manwok kekil, 22A.
Mer-oh, 61.
Met antau, 20A.
Pasar chinbeg ("Passar chin-beg"), 5A.
Pel-ig ("Pel-eeg"), 11A.
Pĕnāpit ("Penappīt"), 38
Picheg, 32A.
Pin-ad-yod, 58.
Pong or Kingkong = fever, 1A.
Sad-or, 44
Sersayi ("Ser-sayee"), 45
Tag-an, 54.
Ta-kor or Tak-or ("Tukkor"), 60.
Takui ("Tak-oye"), 10A.

Tan-eg, 7A.
Tang-tong ("Tung-tong"), 43. Cp. 1B?
Tan-kwoi ("Tun-kwoy"), 55.
Teneng, 67.
Tebil ("Tebeel"), 32A.
Tinweg langkāh ("Tinwag lankar,") 17A.
Tu-eg, 24.
Wing-jang, 27.
Yan-tui hīli ("Yantoe hillie"), 26
Yan-tui hilog ("Yan-toe hillog"), 49.
Yan-tul man-ka ("yan-tool-mankar"), 29. Cp. 26.
Ye-eng, 53 ("ye"? = the personal prefix).
Ye-lar-i ("Yel-lar-e"), 56.

SEMANG QUIVER AND CHARM-TUBE PATTERNS. **Page 436.**

Quiver A: "keng-uin" ("k'ng-oin"); charm against lightning. Incomplete.[1] For illustration, see p. 142.

Quiver B: "beb" ("bab"); a charm against pains in the region of the base of the spine. It appeared to Vaughan-Stevens to be a sort of liver-disease. Incomplete, p. 142.

Quiver C: same name as Quiver B; charm against pains in the vertebræ. Incomplete, p. 142.

Quiver D: "lasai" ("lassai"); charm against "nyus-en" ("neuss-en") or toothache. The name "lasai" refers to the black bands (stripes). Every Quiver and Charm-tube that shows them is called "lasai." Incomplete, p. 142.

Quiver E: same name as Quiver D; charm against "pelig" ("p'leeg") or headache. Incomplete, p. 142.

Quiver F: "hu-ju-weg" ("hoojoowag"); charm against cyclones, which "often tear a passage 10-58 m. broad through the forest. This charm is specially designed for protection against falling trees. Another Quiver with slightly different pattern is assigned to the women." Incomplete, p. 142.

Quiver G: same name as Quiver F; charm against falling trees, such as are thrown down in an ordinary storm. A companion Quiver is assigned to the women, as in the case of Quiver F. Incomplete, p. 142.

Quiver H: same name as Quiver F; charm against weak, decayed and dead branches of trees, which might during a storm be blown down upon those walking below; also against heavy fruits, like the durian fruit. For the women there is in this case no companion Quiver, since they have a comb-pattern for it. Incomplete, p. 142.

Quiver I: "ket-chau" ("kt'chow"); charm against the violent rains of the North-east Monsoon, which cause sickness in those who are exposed to them. Incomplete, p. 142.

Quiver K: same name as Quiver I; charm against the rains of the South-west Monsoon. Incomplete, p. 142.

Quiver L: "met-ches"? ("metchas"); charm against "bi-chā" ("bee-char"), the itch. Complete, p. 142.

Charm-tube M: "tin-lai"; charm against "tin-līg" ("tingleeg") = injury in consequence of lifting or carrying a heavy burden. Complete, p. 142.

Charm-tube N: "pi-as chan" ("pee-ass-chan") = "disease *of* foot"; charm against soreness of the foot (through walking, etc.). Complete, p. 142.

[1] In order to save room, only so much of the unrolled patterns is drawn as is actually necessary for the reader to follow. Hence the words "complete" or "incomplete" are always added. Again, where the same motive is constantly repeated in the band, only the beginning of the drawing is given, in order to facilitate its examination, although the whole (unrolled) circumference of the bamboo is represented.

Quiver O: "bung-kong" ("boon-kong"); charm against poisonous fruit or food. The upper half is the same as the lower reversed. Complete, p. 142.

Quiver P: same name as Quiver O; charm against poisonous or injurious drinking-water. Complete, p. 143.

Quiver Q: "ling-wen"; charm against eruptions of the skin and pustules, *e.g.* the pustules of small-pox. Complete, p. 143.

Quiver R: "pi-as kyun" ("pee-as-kyung"); charm against "tek-kor," *i.e.* large swellings, *e.g.* carbuncles. Complete, p. 143.

Charm-tube S: "pi-as kuin" ("pee-ass-kooin"); charm against influenza or catarrh. Incomplete, p. 143.

Charm-tube T: "klar-chus-an" ("klar-choos-un"); charm againt "ka-beb" or "cramp" (?); stiffness of the limbs through exposure to the atmosphere. Incomplete, p. 143.

Quiver U: "pi-as kyap" ("pee-ass-keop"); charm against constipation and suppression of urine. Complete, p. 143.

Charm-tube V: "ham-mar"; charm against "chit-tor" or coughing. Incomplete, p. 143.

Charm-tube W: "kla-duid" ("kla-dooid"); charm against "klin-chang kyok" ("klin-chang keok") or paralysis. Complete, p. 143.

Charm-tube X. Complete, p. 144.

Charm-tube Y. Complete, p. 144.

Charm-tube Z: "hil-lai" ("hilliee"); charm against injury to the foot from a thorn, sharp stone, or the like. Wounds of this kind are called "te-pi-yas" ("tepee-yass"). Incomplete, p. 144.

Quiver A1: "ba-lu" or "ba-ler" ("balloo" or "baller"); charm against many diseases or injuries of like character. Complete, p. 144.

Quiver A2: same name and charm as Quiver A1. Complete, p. 144.

Quiver A3: same name and charm as Quiver A1. Complete, p. 144.

Quiver A4: same name and charm as A1. Complete, p. 144.

Quiver B1: "chi-chīl" ("chee-cheel"); charm against inability to walk. Incomplete, p. 145.

Quiver B2: same name as Quiver B1. Charm against another form of the preceeding. Incomplete, p. 145.

Quiver C1: "tīs" ("tees"); charm against "til-buig" ("telboig"), an internal disease. Incomplete, p. 145.

Quiver C2: "sob"; charm against an internal disease. Incomplete, p. 145.

Quiver D1: "li-chin-beg" ("lee chin beg"); charm against disease of the upper jaw. Incomplete, p. 145.

Quiver D2: same name as Quiver D1; charm against disease of the lower jaw. Incomplete, p. 145.

E1: "pēnūles" ("penooless"); charm against disease of the knee. Incomplete, p. 145.[1]

E2: same name and charm as E1. Complete, p. 145.

F1: "chin-kob" ("chin-kob"); charm against stone, "it appears." Incomplete, p. 145.

F2: same name as F1; charm against redness of the urine. Incomplete, p. 145.

Quiver G1: "chīs bos" ("chees bos"); charm against stiff neck. Complete, p. 145.

Quiver G2: same name as Quiver G1; charm against scrofula, "it appears." Incomplete, p. 145.

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[1] From this point V.-Stevens frequently ceases to designate the tubes as "go'" or "ga'"; probably, however (according to his editor), "go'" is always meant.

Quiver H1 : "tig-gīb kyong" ("tig-geeb kyong"); charm against "bent arm" (?) Incomplete, p. 145.

Quiver H2 : same name as Quiver H1 ; charm against a disease of the arm, which is often dangerous when it spreads to the rest of the body. Complete, p. 145.

Quiver I1 : "hli-suin" ("h'lee-soin"); charm against a disease of the acromion. Incomplete, p. 145.

I2 : same name as Quiver I1 ; charm against disease of the shoulder. Incomplete, p. 148.

K1 : "lil-lel"; charm against disease of the loins. Incomplete, p. 148.

K2 : "lil-lel taul-yu" ("lil-lel towl-yoo"); charm against elephantiasis. Incomplete, p. 148.

L1 : "sa-kinwad"; charm against disease of the back. Incomplete, p. 148.

L2 : same name and disease as L1. Incomplete, p. 148.

M1 : "pob-bi-ob" ("pob-bee-ob"); charm against disease of the ear. Incomplete, p. 148.

M2 : same name and disease as M1. Incomplete, p. 148.

M3 : same name and disease as M1. Incomplete, p. 148.

N1 : "tuig keling" ("toig k'eling"); charm against "pan-gis" or "pan-jis"? ("pan-giss"), an internal disease under the breast-bone. Incomplete, p. 148.

N2 : same name as N1 ; charm against "Kwi-klip" ("quee-klip"), on the upper part of the breast-bone. Incomplete, p. 148.

N3 : same name as N1 ; charm against an internal disease. Incomplete, p. 148.

Quiver O1 : "līb-ob" ("leeb-ob"); charm against sickness of the head. Incomplete, p. 148.

O2 to O4 : same name as Quiver O1 ; charm probably against disease of the head. Incomplete, p. 148.

P1 : "lit-tud" ("let-tod"); charm against "empo ka-tö" ("um-po kater") or "scaly skin." "Appears to be a kind of leprosy." Complete, p. 148.

P2 ; same name as P1 ; charm against skin disease. Complete, p. 148.

Q1 : "chil chinin" ("chel chineng"); charm against "say-i kluid" ("si-ee kluid") or swollen ankle. Incomplete, p. 149.

Q2 : same name as Q1 ; apparently a charm against dislocation or spraining of the ankle. Incomplete, p. 149.

Quiver R1 : "senai yong" or "sĕnayong"? ("seni yong"); charm against a disease in the region of the os sacrum. Complete, p. 149.

R2 : same name as R1 ; charm against a disease in the posterior region. Incomplete, p. 149.

S1 : "kē-dē heb-deb" ("kayday heb-deb"); charm against disease of the testicles. Complete, p. 149.

T1 : "chis-wes" ("chiss-wess"); charm against disease in the region of the navel. Incomplete, p. 149.

T2 : same name and disease as T1. Incomplete, p. 149.

U1 : "hej-kel li-keng beng" ("hedgkel lee-keng-beng"); charm against inflammation of the eyes. Incomplete, p. 149.

V1 : "pias kui" ("peeass kooey"); charm against "huig" ("hoig"), a kind of ear-ache. This specimen is said to show one of the special marks which are made by the Sakai on their quivers "when the 'lampoi'-fruit is ripe"; and by the Semang during the durian-harvest. Incomplete, p. 149.

Quiver W1 : "chiling pāt" ("chilling part"); charm against a disease in the region of the nipples; for men and women. Incomplete (part i. complete), p. 149.

X1 : "li-kain" ("lee-kine"); charm against "chim-pīd mu" ("chim-peed mor"), which appears to be a polypus in the nose ("mu"). It was, however, said that in bad cases it caused death, if it spread upwards. Complete, p. 149.

Yi: "kling-īn" ("kling-een"); charm against disease of the eyebrows. Incomplete, p. 149.

Page 461 seqq. SEMANG BLOWPIPE PATTERNS.

1. "Malai" ("mallay"). Incomplete, p. 150.
2. "Chingīl" ("ching-eel"). Incomplete, p. 150.
3. "Nu"? ("n'or"). Complete, p. 150.
4. "Yuig" ("yoig"). Incomplete, p. 150.
5. "Cheg lā pon" ("chag lar pon"). Incomplete, p. 150.
6. "Til us kus" ("tel oos koos"). Incomplete, p. 150.
7. "Ka-chel." Incomplete, p. 150.
8. "Bi-sūt kan-ling" ("besoot kan-ling"). Incomplete, p. 150.
9. "Kejel" or "Kajal." Incomplete, p. 150.
10. "Klata." Incomplete, p. 150.
11. "Sūwen" ("soowen"). Incomplete, p. 150.
12. "Pasir" ("paser"). Incomplete, p. 150.
13. "Chib-ber" or "chīb-bö" ("chib-bur"). Complete, p. 150.
14. "Chā-chi" ("cha-chee"). Complete, p. 150.
15. "Yes" ("yess"). Incomplete, p. 150.
16. "Baim boweig" ("bime bowaig"). Incomplete, p. 150.
17. "Abeg"? ("abag"). Incomplete, p. 150.
18. "Kö-kög" or "kö-köj"? ("ker-kerg"). Complete, p. 150.
19. "Ag-eg" ("ug-egg"). Incomplete, p. 150.
20. "Yal-wig." Incomplete, p. 150.
21. "Kak-ku" ("kak-koo"). Complete, p. 150.
22. "Lig-jeg"? ("lig-jag"). Incomplete, p. 150.
23. "Sebog." Complete, p. 150.
24. "Ti-ui" ("tee oowee"). Incomplete, p. 150.
25. "Ong." Incomplete, p. 150.
26. "Pu wai" ("poo-whai"). Incomplete, p. 150.
27. "Cheg-neg"? ("chag nag"). Incomplete, p. 150.
28. "Chig-eg." Incomplete, p. 150.
29. "Wong." Incomplete, p. 150.
30. "Jĕlābo'" or "jĕlābå" ("jĕlabor"). Incomplete, p. 150.
31. "A-chan"? ("atchan"). Incomplete, p. 150.
32. "Al-teg." Incomplete, p. 151.
33. "Tā-lā" ("tallar"). Incomplete, p. 151.
34. "Baling" ("balling"). Incomplete, p. 151.
35. "Tis" ("tees"). Incomplete, p. 151.
36. "Kawe(r)" or "kawö" ("kower"). Incomplete, p. 150.
37. "Hu-hau" ("h'oo how"). Incomplete, p. 151.
38. "Eng jang." Complete, p. 151.
39. "Pelig" ("peleeg"). Incomplete, p. 151.
40. "Bem-chem." Incomplete, p. 151.
41. "Kam-aij" ("kamaije"). Incomplete, p. 151.
42. "Mel-lo" ("mellow"). Incomplete, p. 151.
43. "Lip-kap." Incomplete, p. 151.
44. "Ting-tang." Incomplete, p. 151.
45. "Kawil" ("kowil"). Complete, p. 151.
46. "Kam-tul" ("kum-tool"). Incomplete, p. 151.
47. "Kad-di-ap" ("kad-dee-ap"). Incomplete, p. 151.
48. "Yang-im." Incomplete, p. 151.
49. "Beng-kem"? ("benkam"). Incomplete, p. 151.
50. "Tē-seng"? ("tay-sang"). Incomplete, p. 151.
51. "Em-pai"? ("empi"). Incomplete, p. 151.

52. "Pung-bun" ("poong-boon"). Incomplete, p. 151.
53. "Li-hui" ("le-hoy"). Incomplete, p. 151.
54. "Jil-hel." Incomplete, p. 151.
55. "Yē-wun"? ("yeh-von"). Almost complete, p. 151.
56. "Pa-ham" or "pahöm" ("pahum"). Incomplete, p. 151.
57. "Chos pi-o" ("choss peo"). Incomplete, p. 151.
58. "Chili tui"? ("chillee tooey"). Incomplete, p. 151.
59. "Lis-nus" ("lis-noos"). Almost complete, p. 151.
60. "Chin-lai" ("chinli"). Incomplete, p. 151.
61. "Kabug" ("kaboog"). Incomplete, p. 154.
62. "Tal-ong"? ("tallong"). Incomplete, p. 154.
63. "Chailed (or "chil-ed"?) bīt"? ("chilled beet"). Complete, p. 154.
64. "Tong." Incomplete, p. 154.
65. "Hug-weg"? ("hoog-wag"). Incomplete, p. 154.
66. "Yang-un" ("yang oon"). Incomplete, p. 154.
66a. "Gem-ap" ("gemaap"). Incomplete, p. 154.
67. "Singāt" ("singart"). Incomplete, p. 154.
68. "Pajet." Complete, p. 154.
69. "Buāp" ("booarp"). Complete, p. 154.
70. "Klang-yu" ("klang-yoo"). Incomplete, p. 154.
71. "Pang-öt"? ("pang-ert"). Incomplete, p. 154.
72. "Tilkil." Complete, p. 154.
73. "Ing-yes" ("ing yess"). Incomplete, p. 154.
74. "Bu-ing" ("bo-ing"). Complete, p. 154.
75. "Lig-bui" ("lig-boi"). Complete, p. 151.
76. "Tēj" ("ta'je"). Complete, p. 151.
77. "Chimāking" ("chimarking"). Complete, p. 154.
78. "Bil-uing" ("bil-ooing"). Incomplete, p. 154.
79. "Pu-lo"? ("poo-low"). Incomplete, p. 154.
80. "Sabai yau" ("sabi yow"). Incomplete, p. 154.
81. "Is" ("ees"). Incomplete, p. 154.
82. "Maing-chā"? ("maing char"). Complete, p. 154.
83. "Hong." Incomplete, p. 154.
84. "As" ("ass"). Complete, p. 154.
85. "Sing-bep." Incomplete, p. 155.
86. "Em bos" ("em boss"). Incomplete, p. 155.
87. "Hi-u" ("hee-oo"). Incomplete, p. 155.
88. "Sā-kop"? ("sar-kop"). Incomplete, p. 155.
89. "Lig-boid." Incomplete, p. 155.
90. "Kejil." Complete, p. 155.
91. "Sudīp" ("sudeep"). Complete, p. 155.
92. "Tak-kor"? ("tuk-kor"). Incomplete, p. 155.
93. "Tut-nap"? ("toot knap"). Complete, p. 155.
94. "H'na-pah." Incomplete, p. 155.
95. "Glā-wa"? ("gl'r war"). Incomplete, p. 155.
96. "Pong." Fever. A severe form of fever which appears at a definite time of the year. Incomplete, p. 155.
97. "Pung-pang." Incomplete, p. 155.
98. "Kang-kung" ("kung-koong"). Incomplete, p. 155.
99. "Sir-i" ("ser-ee"). Complete, p. 155.
100. "Chil-dūl" ("chil dool"). Incomplete, p. 155.
101. "Tai-yor" ("ti yor"). Complete, p. 155.
102. "Tig-toig." Complete, p. 155.
103. "Ni-poi" ("nee-poy"). Incomplete, p. 155.
104. "Yamo pöpi yu"? ("yamo purpee-yoo"). Complete, p. 155.
105. "Chi-chau" ("chee-chow"). Complete, p. 155.

106. "Hak-kar" ("hukkar"). Incomplete, p. 155.
107. "Kĕnabil." Complete, p. 155.
108. "Kaltu" ("kaltoo"). Complete, p. 155.
109. "Pig-pau" ("pig pow"). Complete, p. 156.
110. "Tig-ja." Complete, p. 156.
111. "Pūk-pūg" ("pook poog"). Incomplete, p. 156.
112. "Ong." Sideways complete, p. 156.
113. "Yāp," or "yŏp"? ("earp"). Complete, except for the middle part, p. 156.
114. "Gihar"? ("ge har"). Complete up to space 2. P. 156.
115. "Wor," or "wå" ("wor"). Complete, p. 156.
116. "Ham-mīng" ("hum meeng"). Complete, p. 156.
117. "Senai tĕpīs" ("seni tepees"). Complete, p. 156.
118. "Pap-lif." Complete, p. 156.
119. "Las," or "lēs"? ("las"). Incomplete, p. 156.
120. "Nes-os" ("ness os"). Complete, p. 156.
121. "Ta-sai" ("tassai"). Complete, p. 156.
122 "Ni-chip-pīp" ("nee-chip peep"). Complete, p. 156.
123. "Chu-hūt" ("choo hoot"). Sideways complete, p. 156.
124. "Piches" ("pichess"). Incomplete, p. 156.
125. "Betungking" ("betoonking"). Complete, p. 156.
126. "Iyor"? ("eeor"). Charm against disease of the ear. Complete, p. 156.
127. "Tet-per" ("tet-pur"). Charm against disease of the nose (cf. No. 126). Complete, p. 156.
128. "Ing-heng"? ("ing hang"). Sideways complete, p. 156.

[*N.B.*—In *Globus* lxxv., Nos. 22, 23, and also in *Z. f. E.* xxxi. etc., will be found papers commenting on the foregoing lists of patterns, but as to a great extent they are written under the influence of the untenable flower-theory, their most valuable part consists in their frank criticism of the weak spots in that theory itself. Another point is that the classification of the patterns is greatly over-elaborated, and that the essential irregularity of the patterns themselves is frequently disregarded. The first and most important task is to find out the meaning of the Semang names, and it is to this alone that we may look to get results of permanent value.—W.S.]

Critical Summary of Paper by Dr. Preuss in *Z. f. E.* xxxi. 180.

This paper of Dr. Preuss commences with a discussion of the emblems said by Vaughan-Stevens to be employed for representing various parts of the body, as to which we have to remark that very few indeed of them appear to be actually used in patterns from the names of which the seat of the disease can be localised, and further that, as is indeed quite rightly pointed out by Dr. Preuss himself, many of these special emblems do not occur in any form in any of the patterns at all; and that, in addition to these difficulties, many of the variations in the patterns are absolutely and entirely without significance.

A glaring instance of an entirely unacceptable explanation given by Vaughan-Stevens is that the cross-lines of the "tin-weg" (comb pattern) represent forest-paths, "probably because it is from these paths that a particular disease is spread over the Peninsula"—a statement which, apart from its own grotesquely far-fetched character, directly conflicts with Vaughan-Stevens' own explanation of similar cross-lines in another place, viz. that they represent a "larger swelling" or "hill." We are further asked by Vaughan-Stevens to believe (1) that many flowers and other objects though bearing quite different names, are nevertheless, as a rule, identical; (2) that the very same (or quite similar) flowers are—also as a rule—not identical. Whence it follows, as the result of (1), and (2) that special signs or marks had to be introduced to distinguish the latter.

These patterns, then (according to Vaughan-Stevens), represent ideographs drawn direct from nature (in the first instance at all events), but complicated by the addition of distinguishing marks, which cannot be separated from the patterns themselves. The Semang theory of the evolution of these patterns, which they are declared to illustrate by a number of series proceeding from the simplest to the most complicated forms, may or may not have been [in Dr. Preuss's opinion; in ours most certainly must have been] due to injudicious "leading" questions put by Vaughan-Stevens—at all events it is described very properly by Dr. Preuss as a perfectly valueless exercise, such as might occupy an ethnologist at his study-table. The same general remarks apply to the "somewhat incomprehensible" grouping of the patterns on the quivers and charm-bamboos, for which we are similarly given a number of sets, in this case too proceeding from the simplest (representing the mildest diseases) to the most complicated (representing the worst), although [as Vaughan-Stevens here quite rightly objects] it is certain that the patterns for the most serious diseases would naturally have been developed before those for the milder ones.

The classification of the comb patterns is next discussed by Dr. Preuss, and certain conclusions drawn therefrom, but as both classification and conclusions are based on the untenable "flower"-theory, which we have elsewhere exposed, no more need be said on the subject here.

Finally, the markings on the pandanus leaves ("buyu") are considered as possibly taken from nature, though the alleged connection between the triple ring-lines and the three kinds of lightning is somewhat mildly described as obscure. [We may add that in our own view there is no proof whatever of the former, and that the latter statement is utterly absurd.]

The comparative rarity, if not the complete absence, of any identity of pattern as between the various panels of the 140 different comb-designs is then touched on, and the possible cause of those divergences considered, the use of the alleged special signs or marks ("gehab," "edziat," "ob," and "kos") being considered in this connection, and the superfluous character of the "tēpi"-line [for the real explanation of which see our text] is pointed out.

The classification of the so-called "wās"- and "pāwēr"-patterns is then discussed, as to which the same comments may be made as have been above applied to the theory of the comb patterns. Dr. Preuss himself very justly points out many inconsistencies and difficulties. We ourselves have explained in the text the real signification of many of the terms, notably "kabu salag," "kabu padi," "neing," "behai," and (as mentioned above) "tēpi," and it is therefore unnecessary to recur to the question here. Turning to the patterns on the charm-tubes, quivers, and blowpipes, Dr. Preuss observes that "on account of their greater lack of system they appear to be older than the combs," although, of course, according to the Vaughan-Stevens' theory, it was the comb patterns that were developed first. Nevertheless the combs are treated first in order, and the legend of their introduction is related in detail. The comb patterns are then analysed and shown to consist, generally speaking, of a broad band in the centre called "tin-weg," with two narrow bands at the top, which (according to Vaughan-Stevens) are called "wās" and "pāwēr," and two lower bands alleged to be of no special importance. [We have in the text already exposed the baseless character of this imaginary system.]

We are next asked to believe that the different parts of the same comb pattern are supposed to act independently of and successively to each other; if the "wās" does not act, the "pāwēr" will, and if that fails, the "tin-weg." No reasons are given for this remarkable hypothesis, the accuracy of which must be challenged when we find that certain of the combs, whose patterns are designed to protect the wearer against *deadly* illnesses, have nothing but a "tin-weg," and that the "wās" and "pāwēr" are in themselves of no utility whatever. Dr. Preuss himself "receives the impression" that the flower-patterns ("wās" and

"pāwēr") are "in part borrowed" from the disease-patterns, even though they are seldom combined in one comb. Yet it is absolutely essential to suppose that the flower-patterns (*if they really represent flowers*) were taken direct from nature and not in any case borrowed from the "tin-weg." The simplest and, so far as the writer can see, the *only* way out of the whole coil, is to suppose that Vaughan-Stevens was ignorant of the fact that the word "bunga," as used not only by the Malays but among these tribes, signifies a decorative emblem, border, or pattern, as well as a flower, without any necessary correlation between its usual signification and the object (or objects) represented. It can hardly be doubted that in the (rare) cases in which the flower- and disease-patterns in the same comb resemble each other, it is the disease part of the pattern that takes after the flower part of the pattern, and not *vice versa*, whilst in other cases the disease part of the pattern may be taken from other objects besides flowers. At all events it is tenable to suppose, as is here done by Vaughan-Stevens' editor, that "the object of healing has always been the chief thing," and the working of a charm an accretion of secondary importance, as among these tribes at all events the two ideas are indistinguishable. A yet further difficulty (in the way of the acceptance of the comb-theory) lies in the existence of an alternative theory, also promulgated by Vaughan-Stevens, to the effect that all patterns originated from the charcoal marks on wood which were employed by the Puttos for the prevention, expulsion, and conjuration of diseases.

Other narrow bands or panels on the combs are supposed by Vaughan-Stevens to represent such flowers as are *next best in point of efficacy* (!), and these are said to imitate the "wās" and "pāwēr" pattern of other combs, or their special signs! Of these all one can say is that an explanation of this kind (as to the employment of "second-best" (!) patterns) is totally at variance with the practical character of the race to which the practice is attributed; and that it is quite inacceptable! Dr. Preuss himself sees that these bands are too narrow to represent anything effectively, and that their "purport" [if any!] "would be exceedingly insignificant"!

Here follows a statement in detail of the flower-theory, which we have shown in the text to be utterly untenable—a mere house of cards that falls with a crash when the lowest card has been removed. The conclusive arguments against it are too numerous to be repeated here, but we may perhaps be permitted to ask a few pertinent questions. Why should a "tēpi"-line represent both pistil and stamens of a flower, especially when the word is nothing more than the Malay word "tēpi"=edge or border, and neither pistil nor stamens can by any flight of imagination be nominally regarded as the edge of a flower? To what race, either of savages or civilised men, would it occur to represent the *smell* as part of a flower, and as requiring visible illustration? What race of savages on an equally low plane of culture is able to distinguish between the pistil, stamens, and sepals at all, terms which have simply been invented for the purposes of botanical analysis? Why again are the petals, which we might fairly expect to rank as the most important part of a flower in the eyes of a native, and the only part of a flower, in fact, that is recognised by the Malays (a race immeasurably in advance of the Semang as regards culture), entirely omitted and disregarded?

The Charm-hieroglyphics (*sic*) of the Negritos in Malacca.

In vol. lxxv. (No. 23) of *Globus* there is given an account of Vaughan-Stevens' combs, with especial reference to the signs said to be used for various parts of the body (see vol. i. pp. 434, 435 of text). The "one hundred and forty combs are divided into seventy pairs, each of which is directed against a disease whose name is usually given, but not explained," nor is there, as a rule, the smallest clue to any of the sicknesses given. As regards the signs for parts of the body, only one or two of these could (as Dr. Preuss points out) be identified without

assistance. Many of these alleged "hieroglyphs" (!) are composed of the very simplest geometrical signs, crosses, circles, and ovals, chevrons (with the points arranged either vertically or horizontally), parallel straight lines, and the the like; for instance, Nos. 16, 17, and 19 are merely subdivisions of the same "hieroglyph" as No. 2, with which, in a sense, they have absolutely nothing to do; No. 19 being vertical instead of horizontal. So too Nos. 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, and 21 are all reducible to the chevron, which in one or two cases has been drawn at the side of a straight line. Considering this and considering also the extraordinarily over-elaborate and unnatural character of these so-called body-signs—those for the foot, for instance, the arms, and the side are quite incredibly complicated—I can only say that to me they fail to carry any sort of conviction, and that they suggest, as in the case of the flower-theory, the presence of the European investigator, with his (in this case anthropological) text-book and his stupefying succession of injudicious leading questions, fired off with the rapidity and persistence of a machine-gun! Even Dr. Preuss himself, who has certainly shown a considerable amount of penetration and acumen in detecting flaws in the material he was given to work upon, has doubts as to whether the emblem alleged to signify "breast"—a mere cross—is to be interpreted as such wherever it occurs. Moreover, many of the alleged body-symbols do not occur at all in Vaughan-Stevens' collection, either on combs or blowpipes. The statement that follows, to the effect that the cross-hatching of certain combs represents forest-paths, "probably because one catches on them the disease, a kind of fever," is so ludicrous as to require no comment whatever. The "wās" and "pāwēr" patterns are next described. They are collected into groups, under unexplained (disease)-names, and their grouping which here follows: (1) as panels with single design, (2) as panels with repeated (regular) designs, (3) as repeated designs showing certain irregularities or special signs, does not appear to be of any particular value, as no conclusions of any weight are drawn therefrom.

It is a sufficient and significant comment on the general wrong-headedness of Vaughan-Stevens' *modus operandi*, that his editor should have to point out that Vaughan-Stevens has introduced "parallel lines" into some of the "corrected" (*sic*) drawings which do not exist in the originals, and that he has done this without drawing any sort of attention to the fact. Finally, Vaughan-Stevens' own statement as to the use of the special signs (to distinguish similar patterns in certain circumstances) cannot, in the opinion of his editor, be in any way substantiated. Similar signs are used for different things and *vice versa*.

Sakai Head-band Patterns. **Page 472.**

The head-bands of the men are on the average 57 cm. long and 6 cm. broad. Patterns 1, 3, 7 runs through the length of the band, 2 is repeated eight times, 4, seven times; 5, six times; 6, eight times; 8, five times.

The patterns of the head-bands of the women, which are called "Rīb" ("Reeb") are given on Plate X. Figs. 9-20.

The Batin and his substitutes, the petty chiefs, are said to have had each a special head-band with patterns, which are now forgotten.

On ordinary occasions the Sakai ("Blandas") are said to have formerly worn the usual unpainted head-band instead of that painted with the "Dream-name," but it only served to bind their hair.

At Fig. 5 is given a name-design which represents the Argus pheasant ("Kuang.") The name is said to be derived from the fact that the child's motions appeared in the dream to recall those of the bird at pairing-time. The illustration represents the breast plumage of the bird. The length of the original is 18 cm.

This specimen is rare, since it was not formerly the custom to incise names,

but only to paint them on the head-bands. Now, however, names of members of the Kenaboi tribe are incised on the mouth-piece of the blowpipe.

The patterns (of head-bands) represented are collected on Plate X. Nos. 1-8

1. Clearing with felled trees lying cross-wise, shortly before a "burn."
2. Roots of trees and creepers with fibres and side-roots.
3. Creepers, vines, and the like, which creep undulating over the earth.

The triangular figures are said to represent the creepers as seen from above, according to the old Sakai ("Blandas") method, the teeth represent roots and root-fibres penetrating the earth.

4. Star-shaped forest flower.
5. Interlaced "rattan-tendrils."
6. Under-side of a large tree-leaf; the side-strokes represent the veins branching out from the mid-rib.
7. Liana, with rattan wound round it. Only used by magicians. A black line replaces the usual dots.
8. Young, budding palm-leaves (deeply furrowed on the open side).

Fig. 9. The pattern of the midwife's head-band. It arose not from a dream, but from the patterns of the children's face-paint; it is in fact a combination of the pattern of the boy | (lower half) and that of the girl ∧ (upper half), see Plate IX. Figs. 10-11. As already mentioned, not only the magicians but the midwives of the Senoi, Besisi, and Kenaboi tribes only wore a pattern on their head-bands on festival occasions. Yet the midwife had the right to wear the pattern of her dream-name, though the magician might never do this.

Length of the band 99 cm. Breadth 5 cm.

Fig. 10. This pattern shews the conventional form of the padi-knife, with which the women reap the padi.

Length of the band 66 cm. Breadth 4 cm.

Fig. 11. Tracks of wild pig in soft ground. The vertical figure at A and B is only intended to complete the design.

Length of band 64 cm. Breadth 3 cm.

In the reproduction the pattern is abridged.

Fig. 12. This pattern, called "Sĕmut" ("Smut"), or the "Ant"-pattern, represents the section of a nest of white ants or "termites."

Length of band 114 cm. Breadth 5 cm.

Fig. 13. Side-walls of a house.

Length of band 91 cm. Breadth 7 cm.

Fig. 14. Upright posts or pillars of the house.

Length of the band 120 cm. Breadth $5\frac{1}{2}$ cm.

Fig. 15. Extremities of a frog.

Length of the band 120 cm. Breadth 5 cm. Like Figs. 13, 14.

Fig. 16. Tracks of a tiger on soft soil.

Length of the band 137 cm. Breadth 6 cm.

Fig. 17. Drawing on a tiger's skin.

Length of the band 96 cm. Breadth 7 cm.

Fig. 18. Six kinds of butterflies.

Length of the band 93 cm. Breadth $5\frac{1}{2}$ cm.

Fig. 19. One half of a house-roof or gable: the slope of the timbers from the roof-ridge to the eaves.

Length of the band 94 cm. Breadth 6 cm.

Fig. 20. The forked posts which at each corner of the house are driven into the earth in order to support the horizontal roof-beams.

Length of the band 94 cm. Breadth 4 cm.

PART IV.

TEXT OF SEMANG SONGS COLLECTED IN KEDAH AND PATANI BY W. W. SKEAT.[1]

Fruit Song.

Tángkē bắh sí-ajoí.	The fruit-cluster turns [2] in the wind.
Tángkē bắh engláng rengál.	The fruit-cluster at the end [3] of the spray.
Tángkē báh sí-ajoí.	The fruit-cluster turns in the wind.
Tángkē bắh ó chinbónn.	The fruit-cluster we climb for (?).
Tángkē bắh engláng rengál	The fruit-cluster at the end of the spray.
Tángkē bắh sí-ajoí.	The fruit-cluster turns in the wind.
Tángkē bắh ó-iyoí.	The fruit cluster waves to and fro.
Tángkē bắh ség masám.	The fruit-cluster whose fruit is acid.
Tángkē bắh ó kenyám.	The fruit-cluster sways to and fro (?).
Tángkē bắh sí-ajoí.	The fruit-cluster turns in the wind.
Tángkē bắh télelwíl.	The fruit-cluster spins round and round.

Fruit Song.

Bĕ́kĕmbŏ́ng kĕbŏ́k yĕ́ 'láng rengál.	Our fruit grows plump at the end of the spray.
Ó tingléng ó tangkŏ́s 'láng rengál.	We climb along and cut it from the end of the spray.
Bĕ́kĕmbŏ́ng chĭ́nātól 'láng rengál.	Plump, too, is the bird (?) at the end of the spray.
Bĕ́kĕmbŏ́ng kĕ́jöh chĕ́reh 'láng rengál.	And plump the young squirrel at the end of the spray.

Fruit Song.

Télelpúl wóng bắkaú.	They swell and swell, the fruit-buds.
Ó-iyoí wóng bắkaú.	To and fro wave the fruit-buds.
Ó-tĕpös wóng bắkaú.	Blown-about are the fruit-buds.
Ká-angín wóng bắkaú.	In the wind, the fruit-buds.
Ángin mérgel [4] wóng bắkaú.	In the light wind, the fruit-buds.
Pérelsél wóng bắkaú.	They turn round and round, the fruit-buds.
Sí-ajoí wóng bắkaú.	And rock to and fro, the fruit-buds.

Song of the Tĕ́pus (*Wild Ginger*).

Tĕ́lentór bátang téměnyusún.	The stem bends as the leaves shoot up.
Tápag tĕ́lentór-gáyor.	The leaf-stems sway to and fro.
Tĕ́lentór másing-gáyor.	To and fro they sway in divers ways.
O-gersóydd tĕ́lĕmóyn.	We rub them and they lose their stiffness.
Góyal Hínas ó tĕpŏ́s.	On Mount Inas they are blown about.
Tĕ́mpat yĕ́ góyal Hínas.	On Mount Inas which is our home.
Ó tĕpós ángin mérgel.	Blown about by the light breeze.

[1] These are the texts of the songs given in vol. ii. of this work (chap. v.), under the heading of Music, Songs, and Feasts, and referred to in Part iv. (Language). They are inserted here for the greater convenience of those who may wish to compare the two. These songs were recorded on a phonograph, and the accents here given represent the verse-rhythm as recorded by the instrument.

[2] Or dangles?

[3] *Lit.* along the branch.

[4] Or "melgel" (*v.l.*).

Tĕpös ngáss, tĕpös yémyem.	Blown about is the fog (?). Blown about is the haze.
Ó tĕpŏs chíangúl.	Blown about are the young shoots.
Ó tĕpŏs yémyem jélmol.	Blown about is the haze of the hills.
Ó tĕpŏs ángin mérgel.	Blown about by the light breeze.
Ó ngeg-ngóg ká-jelmól.	It multiplies (or nods ?) upon the hills.
Ó ngeg-ngóg ka-jélmol Hínas.	It multiplies (or nods ?) upon the Hills of Inas.
Jélmol Bĕching, Jélmol Síong.	Hills of Beching, Hills of Siong,
Jélmol Málau, Jélmol Kúwi.	Hills of Malau, Hills of Kuwi.
Jélmol Mántan, Jélmol Lúmu'.	Hills of Mantan. Hills of Lumu'.
Tĕmpat yĕ sá-gĕnap gúnong.	Upon every mountain is our home.

Lagu Krā.	*Monkey Song.*
Ó ting- túng Krā.	He runs along the branches, Krā.
Ó iyói Krā.	Carries (fruit) with him, Krā.
Ó chip-chŏp Krā.	He goes to and fro, Krā.
Bálo'ng ngúku Krā.	Over the knotted "sĕraya," Krā.
Bálo'ng tángoi Krā.	Over the knotted "rambutan," Krā.
Pĕdérr sĕmĕ Krā.	Over the live bamboos, Kra.
Pĕdérr hamáling Krā.	Over the dead bamboos, Krā.
Haú-úrr Krā.	Over the big bamboos, Krā.
Ó jinjŏn Krā.	He hangs downwards, Krā.
Ó tingtúng Krā.	He runs along the branches, Krā.
Tíngtung tĕcháwog Krā.	Running along the branches he hoots, Krā.
Ó yob-yób Krā.	He peers forward, Krā.
Wóng-wong tángoi Krā.	Among the young Rambutans, Krā.
Tĕkĕlachóyn Krā.	And shows his grinning teeth, Krā.
Sá-gĕnap péngwong Krā.	From every sapling, Krā.
Ó yob-yób Krā.	He peers forward, Krā.
Téladhúd Krā,	Dressed for the dance, Krā.
(Tĕ)kĕladéng Krā.	With the porcupine's quill through his nose, Krā.

The phonetic transcription made by Mr. R. J. Lloyd from the phonograph records, and expressed in the symbols of the Association Phonétique Internationale, is subjoined, as it contains a few variants from the above spelling and perhaps helps to define the nature of the sounds used more accurately in some respects. For the value of the vowel and consonant symbols used here see the remarks on the phonology of these dialects in the chapter on Language in vol. ii. of this work. The double dot (:) after a sound has the effect of making the sound long. The single dot (·) has the same effect as in music: it makes the sound half as long again. Accent is marked with the usual sign, but it is placed in its logical position, *before* the syllable to be accented.

'tʌŋke : 'bɔ·h 'si· a'dʒɔi
'tʌŋke : 'bɔ·h ɛŋ'lʌŋ rɛ'ŋʌl :
'tʌŋke : 'bɔ·h 'si· a'dʒɔi
'tʌŋke : 'bɔ·h 'o-tʃin 'bɔn :
'tʌŋke : 'bɔ·h ɛŋ'lʌŋ rɛ'ŋʌl :
'tʌŋke : 'bɔ·h 'si· a'dʒɔi
'tʌŋke : 'bɔ·h 'o· ij'u·i
'tʌŋke : 'bɔ·h 'sɛg mʌ'sʌm :
'tʌŋke : 'bɔ·h 'o· kɛŋ'ja:m
'tʌŋke : 'bɔ·h 'si a'dʒɔi
'tʌŋke : 'bɔ·h 'tɛlɛl'wi:l

ˈbʌkʌmˈbøŋ kʌˈbøk ˈjɛ̃ ˈlʌŋ rʌˈŋʌlː
ˈoˑ tiˑŋˈlɛˑŋ ˈoˑ tʌŋˈkøs ˈlʌŋ rʌˈŋʌlː
ˈbʌkʌmˈbøŋ ˈtʃiˑnaːtɔl ˈlʌŋ rʌˈŋʌlː
ˈbʌkʌmˈbøŋ ˈkʌdʒøh ˈtʃʌrɛh ˈlʌŋ rʌˈŋʌlː

ˈtɛlɛlˈpuːlː ˈwɔgŋ bʌˈkau
ˈoː iˈjuˑiˑ ˈwɔgŋ bʌˈkau
ˈoː tɛˈpøs ˈwɔgŋ bʌˈkau
ˈkʌˑ ʌˈŋiːn ˈwɔgŋ bʌˈkau
ˈʌˑŋiˑn ˈmɛrgɛl ˈwɔgŋ bʌˈkau
ˈpɛrɛlˈsɛl ˈwɔgŋ bʌˈkau
ˈsiː ʌˈdʒɔˑi ˈwɔgŋ bʌˈkau

ˈtɛlenˈtɔr ˈbʌtʌŋ ˈtɛmɛŋjuˈsuˑn
ˈtʌˑpʌg ˈtɛlɛnˈtɔr ˈgaˑjɔr
ˈtɛlɛnˈtɔr ˈmʌˑsiŋ ˈgaˑjɔr
ˈoˑ gɛrˈsɔjdː ˈtɛlɛˈmɔjn
ˈgɔjʌl ˈhinʌs ˈoˑ tɛˈpøs
ˈtʌmpʌt ˈjɛ̃ ˈgɔjʌl ˈhinʌs
ˈoˑ tɛˈpøs ˈʌŋin ˈmɛrːgɛlː
ˈtɛpøs ˈŋɔːs ˈtɛpøs ˈjɛmjɛm
ˈoˑ tɛˈpøs ˈtʃiʌˈŋulː
ˈoˑ tɛˈpøs ˈjɛmjɛm ˈdʒɛlmɔlː
ˈoˑ tɛˈpøs ˈʌŋin ˈmɛrːgɛlː
ˈoˑ ŋɛgˈŋɔg ˈkʌˑ dʒɛlˈmɔl
ˈoˑ ŋɛgˈŋɔg kʌ ˈdʒɛlmɔlˑ ˈhinʌs
ˈdʒɛlmɔl ˈbɛtʃiŋ ˈdʒɛlmɔl ˈsjɔŋ
ˈdʒɛlmɔl ˈmʌlau ˈdʒɛlmɔl ˈkuˑwi
ˈdʒɛlmɔl ˈmʌntʌn ˈdʒɛlmɔl ˈluˑmu
ˈtʌmpʌt ˈjɛ̃ ˈsʌgʌnʌp ˈguːnɔŋ

ˈoˑ tiŋˈtuŋ kraː
ˈoˑ iˈjuˑi kraː
ˈoˑ tʃipˈtʃøp kraː
ˈbʌˑlɔgŋ ˈŋuˑku kraː
ˈbʌˑlɔŋ ˈtʌŋɔi kraː
pʌˈdeːr: sʌˈmeː kraː
pʌˈdeːr: hʌˈmʌˑliŋ kraː
ˈhauˈuˑr: kraː
ˈoˑ dʒinˈdʒøn kraː
ˈoˑ tiŋˈtuŋ kraː
ˈtiŋtuŋ tʌˈtʃaːwɔg kraː
ˈoˑ jɔbˈjɔb kraː
ˈwɔgŋwɔgŋ ˈtʌŋɔi kraː
ˈtɛkɛlaˈtʃɔjn kraː
ˈsʌgɛnʌp ˈpɛŋwɔŋ kraː
ˈoˑ jɔbˈjɔb kraː
ˈtɛlʌdˈhud kraː
ˈtʌkʌlʌˈdɛŋ kraː

James Low's "Sakai Song."[1]

Pirdu salen kinnang ingat sampei
Yari mola asal nyite gyijen

[1] It is stated that no satisfactory translation could be obtained: and no attempt is made by Low to supply this want. I can make no sense of this speci-

Ayer ambun umbun moli
Kiri baju layang mayep singi.

. . . remember until
Day first-beginning . . .
Water *of*-dew *from*-stone (?) begin,
Send (?) jacket-*for*-flying *to*-soar *on*-high.

"Kiri" = "kirim" (Mal.), and "singi" is probably a misprint for "tingi."

FRAGMENT OF A SAKAI SONG (IN THE KORBU DIALECT) RECORDED BY BRAU DE ST. POL LIAS.[1]

Mâno	Fowl !
Béï-mado	Come here !
Ago-tchip	Don't go away !
Tcha-djaroï	Eat rice,
Ka itou	Do not fear.
Chouo	Dog !
Tchip matouï	Go away !

Or in our spelling :—

Māno, bei mado, ago chip, cha jaroi, ka itu, chuo, chip matui.

Each line is first sung as a solo by the leader and then repeated by the other singers in chorus, without a break between the solo and the response.

HALE'S SPECIMEN OF A SAKAI SONG (FROM THE ULU KINTA REGION).[2]

jerlemoi [=jelmol]	mountain
jerreboo	hill
tra-ap	to descend
cherook	road
alour	stream
moug-alas [? mĕngalas]	hillock
Yung-bĕlah [Yong bĕlah]	Mount Riam
Gass-ahr [? Gasā]	Mount Ungus [? Angus or Hangus]
Yer-rail [Yĕrēl]	Mount Chabbong [Chabang]
Mah-wah [? Mawah]	mountain in Ulu Burong
Youg-yup [Yong Yup]	do.
Guss-aal [? Gĕsāl]	mountain in Ulu Kerlon [*sic*, *qu.* Ulu Korbu]
Cheu-goat [? Chĕgōt]	mountain in Ulu Burong
Laut-urrh [? Lâtŏh]	mountain "two months' journey from Kinta"
Jel-li [Jĕlai]	
Yeu-yeel [? Yĕyīl]	
Ber-rok [? Bĕrok]	mountain at Sungei Perrang [*i.e.* Pĕrang]
Lan-noh	mountain at Ulu Sungei Riah [*i.e.* Raya]
Bĕrrap-pit [Bĕrapit]	do.

men, the words of which are apparently for the most part Malay, but quite unconnected with one another. If there is any Sakai in it, it escapes my notice.

—*J. I. A.* (1850), vol. iv. p. 431.

[1] *Pérak et les Orangs-Sakeys*, pp. 270, 271.

[2] *J. A. I.* (1886), vol. xv. p. 296.

Ed-joah [? Ejō]	mountain at Kinta
Jah-goo [? Jagu]	do.
Bē-nah	mountain near Tambou [? Tambun]
Bakāh	mountain near Kinta
Tad-dah	do.
Cheb-bĕarih	do.
Tam-boon [? Tambun]	Tambou [? Tambun]
Bēt-eham	name of a Malay village
Chab-bārh	River Chōh [1]

DE MORGAN'S SPECIMENS.

Sakai Song (De Morgan's Spelling).

Djelmoul, batou, töpassé, allour, trab, löghop, hoñ, slá djéhoup, tchanteign, djéhouk, *tchabañ*, *tchem*pok, rañkeinz, slá, *kö*bcuk, kérop, tchèp-tchîp, tchimmaré, tchimoté, tchimatouï, tchimatro, mördjak-pao, bók, kökouâh-lö, mañintchol, dîk, toughnoun, rended-pagho, nisch, bara, bók, tchérâk, knaroul, *Sön*oï.

His translation is:—

Montagne, pierre, village, ———·——, colline, race, eau, feuille, branche, liane, bâton, fourche, branche de broussaille, branche d'arbre, feuille, graine, atape, chemin, ———— , en haut du pays, ———— par-ci, par-là, montagne élevée, attacher, ————, ————, ————. grande poutre de faîte, palissade, plancher, murs des maisons, attacher, ————, ————, ————.

The above is apparently in the Kĕrbu (or Korbu) dialect of Sakai, and is a mere string of names of natural objects, with a few verbs interspersed.

In our spelling it would be as follows:—

Jelmul	batu	tĕpase	alur	trab	lĕgop	hong
mountain	stone	village	river-bed	to descend (?)	valley (?)	water
sla	jehúp	chanteᵍng	jehúk	chăbáng	chempók	rangkéng (?)
leaf (of)	tree	root (?) (of)	tree	branch		
sla	kĕbúk	keróp	chăpchîp	chim-ma-re	chi(p)-mo-té	
leaf	seed (fruit)	thatch	to-go	to-go-downstream	to-go-upstream	
chi(p)-ma-túi		chi(p)-ma-tro		möjak (?)-pao	bok	kĕkuāh-lö (?)
to-go-over there (?)		to-go-	(?)	peak-of-hill	to bind	
manginchól (?)		dîk	tugnún(g)	rended-pagå (?)	nish	bará
		house (?)	beam	fence	mat	wall
bok	cherāk	knarúl	Sĕnói			
to bind			men (?).			

Specimens of Dialects as translated from a Page of De Morgan's Diary.[2]

The French original is as follows:—

Le soir nous arrivons au sommet du Gounong Riam que je croyais le plus élevé de tout le pays, mais je reconnais mon erreur ; nous avons devant nous une

[1] Hale states that the proper names of which the greater part of this "song" consists are all (except the mountain Laut-urrh) of places between lats. 4° 30′ and 5°, and in the Kinta watershed.

The spelling is the old-fashioned "English" spelling evidently, and as the names are proper names and can only be conjecturally transliterated, I have not meddled with it except by giving the suggested interpretations in square brackets.

[2] Of these specimens the Sakai of

montagne immense dont la pointe couverte de nuages nous est invisible. Voyant qu'il fallait encore monter longtemps, je donne l'ordre de tout préparer pour la nuit. Nos hommes ont apporté de l'eau, les feux sont allumés et bientôt le riz cuit dans les marmites. Sakayes et Malais se pressent autour des feux car ils ont froid, ils sont peu couverts. L'obscurité se lève un peu, j'interroge le panghoulou d'Oulou Sougni Kinta sur le nom des montagnes qui nous environnent. "Le grand pic que vous voyez là-bas," me dit-il, "est le Gounong Kerbou, c'est de ses flancs que part le Sougni Kerbou; nous ne serons pas au sommet demain avant le milieu du jour; plus loin à droite est le Gounong Djelignam, un peu plus élevé que le Gounong Kerbou; sur ces montagnes il n'y a pas d'eau."

The Malay version, in De Morgan's spelling, is :—

Pötañ kitâ tibâ poutchou Gounoñ Riam, sa*hay*â pikir löbi tinghi dalam négri ini, tetapi sa*hay*â silâp lain satou gounoñ löbi bessar poutchou dalâm aouân bantiñ depan kitâ, laghi djao na sampé. Sa*hay*à baghi oukoum brenti siap façel hari malâm. Ada orañ baouâ ayôr, api soudâ passañ laghi sikit nassi soudâ massâ dalam blañña, orañ darat samâ orañ malayou brimpoun dekat api, diâ orañ adâ soudjou; sikit kain katop diâ pouñâ badân; tchöra sikit sa*hay*â taña dökat panghoulou Souñi Kintâ apâ namâ gounoñ koulüliñ kitâ. "Itou gounoñ bessâr, nâmpâ sâmâ,[1] gounoñ Kerbou, déri diâ pouñà roussô touroun Souñi Kerbou, kitâ tâ sampé diâ pouñâ poutchô esô doulou stéñâ hârî; löbi djao söblâ kanân, Gounoñ Djéliñâm löbi sikit tinghî deri Gounoñ Kerbou; atâs somouâ ini gounoñ tadâ ayôr."

"Sömañ" Version in Original Spelling.

Ayé top tibâ depå, ghié djelmol Riam, isch nano ghié på, å, tömpad no könlep, å på tich-keï ñoñ hoï dömod yis, pönanak döda **dâ yé** mad yîs; laghi djé migh hoï ischk hogh biad**ou** ni kâ**lî** simpak mad yis. hoïgh *öñ***ol** djelmol; sömañ oui oueï hoñ tchöm ôch, lagi esen nassi hoigh in tchén kloukôm blañña soma bji yob gop tchât**ou** begh **ôch** tökat dia *iss*îk essen ouegh ta *tchu***koup** *ess*î mad yis amig **pégn** beiñ pañghoulou you *kön***tâ** la könmâ på klilik ik. "Hoch på tchike**ï** edak yör**no** djelmol kouï kerbou, eh yikn yok på kerbou, to eh-hoï labok tchiamo steiña ayi tîbâ lio yo houel djelmol Djéliñam, löbî dié yok på kouï kerbou, no på to bo hoñ."

Sömañ Version (Revised Spelling with Tentative Interlinear Equivalents).

Aye	top	tibā	dĕpå	gie	jelmol	Riam	ish	nano	gie
We	*in-the* evening	arrived			Mt.	Riam			
på	å tĕmpad no	kĕnlep	å	på	chikei (?)	ngong (?)	hoi		
hill		*was*-mistaken		hill	big				
dĕmod	yis pĕnanak	dĕda	dā	ye	mad	yīs	lagi	je	mig
		before (?)	us			more	far	I	
hoi	ish (?) hog	biadú	ni	kali	simpak	mad	yīs,	hoig	
		to halt (?)							
ĕngol (?)	jelmol;	sĕmang	wi-wei	hong	chöm	ōsh,	lagi		
	mountain;	*the* men	brought	water	kindled	fire,	more		
esen	nasi hoig	inchen	klukōm	blanga	sĕma (?)	byi (??)			
a little[2]	rice	was-cooking	in	*the*-pot	men?	*of the* forest (?)			

S. Raya is the best, and the "Sömañ" (*i.e.* dialect of mixed tribes of the Sungei Piah neighbourhood called Semang by their neighbours of the Plus and Kĕrbu valleys) is the most corrupt. Though called Semang, and spoken by a race of partly Negrito origin, it is in the main a Sakai dialect.

[1] Misprint for sânâ, as the literal version shows.

[2] *I.e.* presently.

yob gop chātú beg ōsh tēkat dia ĭsĭk esen
strangers together near *the*-fire cold they bodies little
weg ta chükúp esī mad yis amig peñ (?) beng[1]
clothes not cover bodies *At* sun-*rise* (?) I inquire of
panghulu yu kĕnta la kĕnmâ på klilik ik hosh
the-chief Kinta what name hills around us this (?)
på chikei ĕdak (?) yĕrnó jelmol kui Kĕrbu eh yikng
hill big mountain Kĕrbu
yok på Kĕrbu to eh-hoi labok chiano (?) sătenga ayi
Kĕrbu before (?) half *a* day
tībā lio yo huel jelmol Jelingam (?) lĕbī je (?) yok
arrive far left *is the* Mt. Jelingam (?) more high
på kui Kĕrbu no på to bo hong
Kĕrbu hills not is (?) water.

Sakai of Sungei "Kerbou" (Kĕrbu or Korbu) in Original Spelling.

*At*âp yé *ich*uol tchauok djelmol Riam Ayé *hî*mat *bi*gâ *di*élo tè *a*dô *ich*ouol yé *ou*ol, *sö*noï moï djelmol bigàt *mö*nou tchaouâk ékŏloï tsiou*eh* dadâ yé tî djörô tibâ ayé oundjo oukoum *é*yè siap *men*sat layèk mou señhoï en hok' goï hôch tî meñheñ tshanâ soudâ *tché*tchèp *enkö*loï blañña señhoï djelmol ramei ghop hemyèyô beg hôch rî señhoï mâ dekat meñheñ abât *mö*nouh rî señhoï yé ikôl mahiâ meñheñ. Ayé sömâñ bèk *pañgho*ulou *gönt*chôl Göntâ lömo lô djelmol rendèk yé. "Ná djelmol *mon*ouh touh *nah*-touh' djelmol Kerbou *dé*rî yê pouña *tchö*rous rik téouh' Kerbou yé *bö*tâ loï yé pouña djálók iakâl meñmeñ djouñ hîs, löbî djérô mápá tiñ moun djelmol Djeliñâm djérô tè bahlî d'érik djelmol Kerbou empák *kem*bou*eh* ana djelmol hoñ *hé* hoñ."

Sakai of S. Kĕrbu in Revised Spelling with Interlinear Translation.

Atāp ye ishúol chawok jelmól Riam. Aye hīmát
In the evening we arrived *on the* top *of* Mt. Riam. I thought (?)
bigā jeló tā adō ishúol ye wol sĕnoi moi jelmól bigát
more high *of* country this arriving I turned (?) other (?) mountain more
mĕnú chawāk ekĕloi tsiúeh dadā ye tī jĕrō tibā aye unjo ukum eyā
big point in *the* clouds before us more (?) far to-reach I give order
siap mĕnsát layăk mu sĕnghoi en hokh goi hōsh tī
ready because (?) night *there* were men brought water kindled fire more (?)
menghéng chanā́ sudā́ chechăp ĕngkĕloi blanga sĕnghoi jelmól
a-little rice was cooking in *the*-pot *the* men *of the* mountains
ramei gop hĕmyäyo beg hōsh rī sĕnghoi
all-together-*with the*-strangers assembled near *the*-fire *the*-bodies (?) *of the* men
mā dekát menghéng abāt mĕnuh rī sĕnghoi ye
were cold little *was the* clothing big *were the* bodies (?) *of* men our (?)
ikōl mahiā menghéng aye sĕmāñ bāk[2] panghulú gĕnchól
next-morning *when it was* daylight a-little I inquired of *the*-chief
Gĕntā lĕmo lō jelmól rendăk ye na jelmól mŏnúh tuh nah-túh
of Kinta name what mountains around us that mountain big there that *is*
jelmól Kĕrbú derī yē-punya chĕrús rik téuh Kĕrbú ye bĕtā
Mt. Kĕrbu from its flank descends *the* water *of* Kĕrbu we cannot (?)

[1] *Lit.* near? Cf. "beg," *supra*, and the "dökat" of the Malay version, from which these translations were evidently made.

[2] See the corresponding passage in the "Sömañ" version, and the note thereon.

loi ye-punya jalók iakāl mengmeng jung (?) hīs, lĕbī jero ma' pa' ascend its summit to-morrow before (?) mid (?) day, more far towards ting mun jelmól Jelingam (?) jerŏ tä bahlĭ dherik jelmól Kĕrbú empak hand right *is* Mt. Jelingam high more (?) again (?) than Mt. Kĕrbú on kĕmbúĕh ana jelmol hong he hong.
all (?) these mountains there-is (?) no (?) water.

Sakai of Sungei Raya in Original Spelling.[1]

Dou tibâ loun Riam, an pékér[2] löbi[3] tchöroñ katö nögrî[4] adö, kötapi an silap ghè lain nanö loun löbé ntouï poutchô katö aouân, bandiñ[5] ntö kitâ laghî ña lâï[6] an ock oukoum pon siap idjî söñoui ; mañ loumom an toueh osch tölâsh passañ, laghî ghâghé[7] tchianâ[8] tchièhêm katou likömoñ señhoï sama gop bösatou rou osch,[9] ada loumâm mâñ söñèt,[10] ghè abân katop[11] isî. Tchörâ ghè eñtaña nanou[12] poulou[13] tö[14] Göntâ ayo[15] imô loun klilĭñ[16] kitâ. "Adjâ loun ntôï[17] bakou[18] sana loun Kerbou ; derî beñ tchölô tö Kerbou ;[19] kitâ tâ[20] lâï dia pouñâ[21] poutchô houpoul[22] tchâno kölighi,[23] löbi ña lön köntâm loun Djéliñâm,[24] lobî[25] ghè tsörañ derî loun Kerbou ;[26] atas somouâ ini loun tè ta[27] toueh."[28]

Sakai of Sungei Raya in Revised Spelling with Interlinear Translation.

Du[29] tibâ lun Riam an pekér lĕbi chĕrong[30] katö
In the evening *we* arrive *on* Mt. Riam I thought *it was* more high in
nĕgrī adö kĕtapi an silap[31] gä[32] lain nanö lun lĕbé 'ntui
country this but I was-mistaken a-little another one mountain more big
puchō katö awān banding 'ntö kitâ lagī nya lāi an ok ukum
its-peak in *the* clouds rears-up (?) before us still far to-reach I gave order
pon[33] siap ijī[34] sĕngui mang lúmom
to-halt *and* make-ready *because* day *was-turning-into* night there-were men (?)
an[35] túeh osh tĕlāsh[36] pasang lagī gāgé chanā chāhém katú likĕmong
brought water fire was kindled more a-little rice was-cooking in *the* pot
sĕnghoi sama gop bĕsatú rú osh ada[37] lumâm māng sĕngât
men with strangers assembled near *the*-fire they-were men (?) were cold
gä abân katop isî. Chĕrā[38] gä eng tanya
little clothing covered *their* bodies. *When it was* daylight (?) a-little I asked
nanu[39] pulu tö Gèntā ayo imo lun klilíng[40] kita.
one chief *of* country *of* Kinta what *is the* name *of the* mountains around us.
"Ajâ lun ntōi bakú[41] sana lun Kĕrbú derī beng[42] chĕlō[43]
That mountain big *that you* see there *is* Mt. Kĕrbu ; from near *it* descends (?)

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[1] In the original this version is given twice, the second time with French equivalents, word for word. When the second version differs from the first, the variant is given in these notes. The French equivalents, except where they seem to require correction, are not noticed here.

[2] pékêr. [3] löbî. [4] nögrî. [5] bandiñ. [6] lâï. [7] ghâghè. [8] tchianâ. [9] ôsch. [10] siñet, söñèt. [11] kâtop. [12] manou. [13] póhoulou. [14] tö. [15] àyo. [16] klilĭñ. [17] ntou*eh*. [18] bakou. [19] Kerbou. [20] (to) tâ. [21] pouña. [22] houpoul. [23] (köligh-hîs) kölighi. [24] Djeliñâm. [25] löbî. [26] Kerbou. [27] tè tâ (tèh-to, tèh-ta). [28] tou*eh*.

[29] De Morgan gives "we" as the equivalent, which is clearly wrong.

[30] *I.e.* "the highest."

[31] De Morgan, "to see, to distinguish." [32] *Ibid.* "lofty, high."

[33] *Ibid.* "for, in order to."

[34] *Ibid.* "for." [35] *Ibid.* "I."

[36] *Ibid.* "to carry." [37] Qu. "these"?

[38] De Morgan, "again." [39] *Ibid.* "of."

[40] *Ibid.* "to see." [41] "lofty."

[42] *Ibid.* "its" [43] *Ibid.* "flank."

tŏ Kĕrbú kitá tâ lâï dia-punyá puchō hupul chāno
the water (?) *of* Kĕrbu we *can* not reach its summit to-morrow before
kĕlig-i, lĕbi nya lŏn kĕntám lun Jelingam (?), lĕbī gä[1] chĕrang[2]
midday, more far towards *the* right *is* Mt. Jelingam (?), more a-little high
derī[3] lun Kĕrbú; atas somúā ini lun tä ta tueh.
than Mt. Kĕrbu; on all these mountains *there is* no water.

BESISI SONGS COLLECTED IN THE KUALA LANGAT DISTRICT OF SELANGOR BY W. W. SKEAT.[4]

Gajah (*Merat*). *The Elephant.*[5]

Chong Pĕralong bunyi' gajah,
At the Hill *of* Peralong trumpet*s* (lit. *is* noise *of*) *the* Elephant,

Gajah kawan gajah tungal.
Elephant *of the* herd *to the* Elephant solitary.

Gajah tuhah jet-leh kawan.
The Elephant old *that* follow*s*-indeed *the* herd.

Gajah kramat gajah tengkis.
The Elephant sacred, *the* Elephant shrunk-foot.[6]

Gajah puakā' dari Johor.
The Elephant *of* magic *that comes* from Johor.

Gajah nakeh chĕlui ha-bawau.
Elephant *that* descend*s* to-*the*-sea.

Gajah mayin di-pante pasir.
The Elephant *that* play*s* on-*the*-shore *of*-sand.

Gajah mayin di-tanah pasir.
The-Elephant *that*-play*s* in-ground *of*-sand.

Gajah yut-leh ka-hulu Langat,
The Elephant return*s* to-*the*-Upper (lit. to-head-*of*) Langat,

Yal-leh ha-chong di-tanah kramat.
And climb*s*-then to-*the*-hill in-*the*-land sacred.

Atam chong, chong dah bĕdök.
Trample*s*-on *the* hill, *and the* hill has fall*en*.

Atam d'long d'long dah tĕgöt.
Trample*s*-on *a* tree, *and the* tree has snapp*ed*.

Karā' ti'il karā' tapang.
There-remain *his*-track*s*, *there*-remain *his*-footstep*s*.

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[1] De Morgan, "lofty."

[2] *Ibid.* "than."

[3] *Ibid.* "of."

[4] For translations of these songs see vol. ii. p. 147 *et seq.* I may add that in setting them a full stop has inadvertently been placed at the end of each line, and it has not been thought worth while to correct this throughout. Note: that all Besisi final vowels are pronounced long, and are followed by the Malay click (') ; final "a" (which in Malay is short) is marked long to help the reader.

[5] The common Malay elephant is a variety of *Elephas indicus*.

[6] A shrunken foot is regarded as the sign of a sacred animal, whether elephant or tiger. The former is also indicated by stunted tusks. An elephant with these marks was killed at Klang in Selangor a few years ago. Its death (at the hands of a European) was regarded as the cause of the failure of the coffee-land boom then at its height. It used to range through the Langat District, and was probably the one mentioned in this song.

Döyt-dah teh luchar-luchar.[1]
Done-for-is *the* land, *it is* muddy-muddy.

Kom-dah chok ka-nabian.
Got-has *by* walk*ing* to-*the* Prophet's-shrine.

Ödö kapong gajah kramat.
Do-not kill *the*-Elephant sacred.

Kalau kapong he mati tulah.
If *you* kill *him*, you *will* die presumptuous.

Gul miyan tuht-leh kaul-he.
Take incense (benzoin) *and* burn vows-your.

Kramat hayang ha-kinchu-hi,[2]
The sacred-one *is* fond of-grandchildren-his.

Kagar ngot nachar lĕbā'.
And desires not *to*-eat *their* plantations.

Kagar ngot nachar niyu.
Desires not *to*-feed-on *their* coconuts.

Chok-leh gajah ka-bukit bukau.
Roam*ed*-then *has the*-Elephant to-hill *and* foot-hill.

Chok-leh gajah ka-gaung guntong.
Roam*ed*-then *has the*-Elephant to-*the*-cavern *and* tarn.

Chok-leh dah ka-hulu Langat.
Roam*ed*-then *has he* to-*the*-Upper Langat.

Gajah trek-leh mah hĕnom.
The Elephant *is*-drawn-then *by*-people many.

Gajah trek ha-teh löp-löp.
The-Elephant *is* drawn to-*a*-country far-far.

Chok-leh gajah ka-laut tawar.
Roam*ed*-then *has the*-Elephant to-*the*-sea *of*-fresh-water.[3]

Gajah kĕbus ka-laut tawar.
The-Elephant dies at-*the*-sea *of*-fresh-water.

Badak (*Agap*). *The Rhinoceros.*[4]

Impit-impit bunyī' badak.
'Impit-impit,' *is the* cry *of-the*-rhinoceros.

Badak kawan, badak tunggal.
Rhinoceros *of-the*-herd, rhinoceros *that is* solitary.

Tĕmong kawan tĕlong nachar.
It calls *its* comrade *to* seek-for food.

[1] Cp. "luchar" (of fruit) in the song about the "Kledang" fruit.

[2] "Hi" seems to be the form which corresponds to Mal. "dia" (= he, she, it), whilst "he" seems to mean "you." In case of inadvertence in italicising it may be noted that the difference between singular and plural is not expressed in the original text of these songs.

[3] Probably a placename.

[4] It is not yet certainly known whether the two-horned rhinoceros exists in the Peninsula, though more than one kind is suspected to exist. Malays describe a special kind of rhinoceros which they call "Badak Api," the "Fiery Rhinoceros," which is supposed to be redder and more fiery than the ordinary kind. Nothing certain is known about it.

Badak chok yal ha-chong.
The-Rhinoceros *that* walk*s and* ascend*s* to the-hill*s*.

Badak chok di-ampa' jĕmu.[1]
The Rhinoceros *that* walk*s* at "out-crop dry."

Nama akal lawan badak?
What device *have I to* resist *the*-Rhinoceros?

Tĕmong kawan, kawan hāp.
I call *my* comrade*s*, *my* comrade*s are* lacking.

Mah gli, yal ha-long,
A man[2] frightened, *I* climb-up *a* tree,

Badak dudui di-tĕkâh d'long.
But the-Rhinoceros wait*s at-the* base *of-the* tree.

Tĕgöt rhâk kawin ha-teh.
I break *a* branch *and* throw *it* to-ground.

Kageng badak, badak brâ't.
Bite*s it the*-rhinoceros, *and the*-rhinoceros pass*es*.

Öyn chĕlui klö, duh-leh ha-dong,
I descend too, *and* run then homewards,

Yal ha-dong jet-leh badak.
And climb into *the* house, *but* follow*s*-then *the*-rhinoceros.

Gul snapang tembak badak.
I take *my*-gun *and* shoot *the*-rhinoceros.

Kom puru dah, badak dah bĕdök.
Hit *him the*-bullet done, *the*-rhinoceros done fall.

Dah layu bantē-leh badak.
Done scorch *him* quarter then *the* Rhinoceros.

Jön nachar muntĕt mulih.
Give *to*-eat *a*-little *to* each one.

Chumbu jual[3] jĕbâh Chinā'.
The-horn sell *to*-foreigners *of*-China.

A'a. The Tiger.

Ā'ā' ru' di-chen tanjong.
The Tiger roar*s* at *the* end *of the* point.

Nama kagar? kagar nachar.
What *does he* want? *he* wants to eat.

Nachar dĕnā' nachar kĕtur.
To eat wild-fowl, eat wild-pig.

Nachar rusā' nachar kanchel.
To eat sambhur-deer, eat kanchil.

Ā'ā' blang sĕbrang bawau.
The Tiger striped *that* crosses *the* sea.

Ödö yong dalam bilang.
Do-not forget *this* in *the* telling.

Koi-leh teh nakeh teh ā'ā'.
The head*s*-indeed *of the* land they *are the* land *of the* Tiger.

[1] = Mal. [batu] ampar jĕmor? *v.* p. 642, *n.* 2, *infra.*
[2] *I.e.* I am.
[3] Better "jūwāl."

Ā'ā' dah humpah hangke.
The tiger has sworn-an-oath against—Somebody.[1]

Ā'ā' hamūr limā' dĕpā'.
The Tiger leaps five fathom.

Ēlak ā'ā' lompāt kanan.
Dodge *the* Tiger ; leap *to the* right.

Ā'ā' chok batang jĕlŏng.
The Tiger walks *along a* trunk lengthy.

Ā'ā' kayi' chong dah tingi.
The Tiger sees *the* hill is lofty.

Ā'ā' jĕtek pĕdī' arē'.
The Tiger sleeps *at* noonday.

Lek-leh ā'ā' chok mĕri.
Rise up, O Tiger, *to* walk the forest.

Ā'ā' tĕlong bĕnatang rīs.
The Tiger looks for beasts *that are* living.

Ā'ā' chok ha-gunong Ledang.
The Tiger walks to Mount Ophir.

Nakeh tĕmpat asal ā'ā'.
That *is the* place *of*-origin *of-the* Tiger.

Takeh Jinang, takeh Datoh.
There *is his* Jinang, there *is his* Dato'.

Takeh Jukrah, takeh Batin.
There *is his* Jukrah, there *is his* Batin.

Takeh karā' Batin ā'ā'.
There dwells *the*-great-chief *of*-Tigers.

(Di)dong Batin kĕbus-leh ā'ā'.
At *the* house *of his* Great-chief dies-then *the*-Tiger.

Bruang. The Bear.

Wah wah wah bunyī' bruang.
'Wah-wah-wah,' *is the*-cry *of-the* bear.

Bruang pangong, bruang hijak.[2]
The-bear "panggong," *the* bear "hijak."

Bruang nachar maroyt shuht.[3]
The Bear *that* feeds *by* tearing-out wild-bees.

Yal sialang'[4] gul ha-tĕböl.
That climbs *the* bee-tree, *and* seizes bees.

Chok de'-gunong chĕlui hă-bawau.
That walks from *the* crags *and* descends to-*the*-sea.

Kagar nachar döyt hă-tĕböl.
That wants *to*-feed utterly on-bees.

[1] *Lit.* against "him," or "that man."

[2] Ridley says the presence of a second kind of bear (probably the Indian) is reported. "Butler heard of it at Pekan. It lives in sandy open country."

[3] "Shuht" = "kĕlulut." "Maroyt" = "di-tĕbok" or "tĕr-kopak."

[4] "Sialang" = Bes. "long salang."

Yal bakau, bakau maroyt.
That climbs *the* mangrove-*trees, and the* mangrove-trees tear-open.

Yal kĕmpas, kĕmpas maroyt.
That climbs *the*-kĕmpas-*trees, and the* kĕmpas *trees* tear open.

Chōhh neneh lĕmoyn bruang.
Sharp indeed *is-the* tooth *of the* bear.

Chōhh bagai biong bajā'.
Sharp as *a*-hatchet of-steel.

Mamat Solong, gul hau-parang.
Mamat *the* Firstborn take *your* chopping-knife.

Chĕlui-leh bruang, chĕlui mĕngintē.
Descends-then *the* Bear, descends looking-around-*him.*

Dah ming hă-teh, bĕdŏk-leh [1] bruang.
He near to-ground *is, he* drops then, *the* Bear.

Chinchang-leh, Mamat Solong.
Chop-at-*him*-then, Mamat *the* Firstborn.

Bruang lek, tĕkam pulā'.
The Bear rises, *and* attacks *you* in-turn.

Ēlak bruang Mamat Solong.
Dodge *the*-bear, Mamat-*the* Firstborn.

Dah chinchang [2] Mamat Solong.
You have chopped-at-him, Mamat *the* Firstborn.

Kĕbus-leh, ai, bruang 'dah kĕbus.
Dead then *is he.* Oho! *the* Bear is dead.

Gul 'pĕdū' ubat mah bĕdŏk.
Take *you his* spleen *to* cure men *who* fall.

Rusā'. The Sambhur.

Keng bĕrdengkeng bunyī' rusā'.
'Keng bĕrdengkeng,' *is the* cry *of the* Sambhur-deer.

Namā' puoi di-tĕngah pĕmatang.
What *are you* doing *in the* middle *of the* rise?

Kitā' kaye' ka-lĕbā'-mah.
We *are* look*ing* at *the* plantation *of* somebody.

Döyt-dah lĕbā' nachar rusā'.
Done-with-is *the* plantation, eat*en*-up-*by the* deer.

Karā' ti'il bĕkas rusā'.
There remains *the* slot *that is* mark *of the* stag.

Jong rusā' tujah-tujah.
The hooves *of the* stag *are* pointed-pointed.

Kampong-kampong iku rusā'.
Tufted-tufted *is* the tail *of the* stag.

Töng rusā' triang-triang.
The ears *of the* stag *are* pricked-up-pricked-up.

[1] = "Groyn," to fall.

[2] "Kĕtöng" or "chĕtöng."

Tandok rusā' jĕrokā'-jĕrokih.
The horns *of the* stag branch-branch.

Lengā'-lengā' leher rusā'.
And slender-slender *the* neck *of the* stag.

Rusā' nakeh, rusā' puākā'.
A stag *like* that, *is a* stag *of* magic.

Mah pĕkong döyt dah tuhah.
A man *with an* ulcer, *who* done is aged.

Nakeh jadi rusā' krāmāt.
That *is what* became *a* stag sacred.

Rusā' rangas, rusā' mĕnuang.[1]
A stag *of many* tines, *a* stag bull.

Rusā' hijok, rusā' sabut.
A stag *of* gomuto-twigs, *a* stag of coconut husk.

Rusā' umbut, rusā' ubi'.
A stag *of* palm-shoots, *a* stag of tubers.

Rusā' nachar lembong klora'.
A stag *that* eats *the* shoots *of the* kĕlorak.

Rusā' nachar lembong kachang.[2]
A stag *that* eats *the* shoots *of the* cow-itch.

Nachar kachang koi dah gatal.[3]
That eats *the* cow-itch, *till his* head is irritable.

Koi gatal asah tandok!
His head *is* irritable *and he* rubs[4] *his* horns.

Asah tandok, tandok bĕdök.
He rubs *his* horns, *and his* horns fall.

Rusā' amas, rusā' puakā'.
The stag *of* gold, *the* stag *of* magic.

Chok-dah döyt paming jaring.
Wandered-done *he*, quite near *the* toils.

Bongkar halau bĕr-dengkeng rusā'-hă̆.
Rouse *and* drive *him* bellowing stag this.

Rusā' chok dalam sĕrsap.
A stag wanders among *the* fallen-leaves.

Rusā' jĕtek dalam sĕrsap.
A stag *that* sleeps among *the* fallen-leaves.

Rusā' tĕrkĕjut chĕrut ha' jaring.
The stag starts up, *and is* strangled in *the* toils.

Oi mah pawang chōhh-leh rusā'.
Ho! Mr. *Deer*-wizard, spear *the* stag.

[1] = Mal. "bĕnuang," used of big old bull animals—*e.g.* of the buffalo, stag, and I *think* others.

[2] His eating of "kachang babi" (? cow-itch) might cause actual irritation; it grows commonly near plantations, but even then the idea (that he had been eating it) might also arise from his being seen in the act of rubbing his head when he loses his horns annually.—Ridley.

[3] "Gatal" = Bes. "kakaht" or "kakaɣt."

[4] Or sharpens.

Dah chohh buang badi'.
When you have stabbed *him*, cast-out *the* mischief.

Oi, mah pawang bante rusā'.
Ho ! Mr. *Deer*-wizard, quarter *this* stag.

Etc., etc.

Kijang. The Roe-deer.

Ĕmpēp, ĕmpēp bunyī' kijang.
'Ĕmpēp, ĕmpēp,' *is the* cry *of the* roe-deer.

Kijang chok di-ujong pĕmatang.[1]
The Roe-deer *that* wanders at *the* end *of the* rising.

Kijang yut ka-pangkal pĕmatang.
The Roe-deer *that* returns to *the* landward-end *of the* rising.

Diam di-gunong Ulu Langat.
That dwells on *the* crags *of the* upper Langat.

Kijang nachar lembong pĕrenchun.[2]
The Roe-deer that feeds-on *the* shoots of wild cinnamon.

Yek, ai,[3] Mamat Solong.
O brother, Mamat *the* Firstborn.

Yek, ai,[3] gul-leh tohok.
O brother, take then *your* spear.

Gul tohok tikam kijang.
Take *your* spear *and* stab *the* roe-deer.

Chĕliau lem-lem, duh-dah kijang-hã̄.
Look very-carefully, running is Roe-deer this.

Klek-leh, ai ! kijang dah bĕdŏk.
Ho ! then, carry *him*, *the* Roe-deer has fallen.

Ka'an ha-dong machin-leh kijang.
Carry *him* homewards *and* cook then *the* Roe-deer.

Dah machin bentē kijang.
When *you've* done cooking, quarter then *the* Roe-deer.

Jön nachar muntēt mulih.
Give *to* eat a-little *to* each-one.

Mai ohok adik kakak.
Come *ye* hither, sisters-young *and* sisters-old.

Nachar daging kijang nahã̄.
To eat *the* flesh *of* Roe-deer this.

Bihih dah u'ut hē.
When gorged is belly your.

Lek-leh ai ! Mamat Solong.
Rise then, ho ! Mamat *the* Firstborn.

Main jo'oh[4] dalam balē.
For the feast *of* drinking within *the* tribal-hall.

[1] "Pĕmatang" (Mal.) = Bes. "umbai."
[2] "Pĕrenchun" = "kayu pĕdas" ("lada") ? wild cinnamon.—Ridley.
[3] *V.l.* "Lek, oi," "rise up, ho."
[4] Or "jâ'âh"?

Balē panjang, balē bĕsar.
The Hall *that is* long, *the* Hall *that is* broad.

'Nari kijang hadat mah nyom.
To-dance *the* Roe-deer *is the* custom *of* people young.

Hukah lĕmol hukah kĕdol.
To please *the* men *and to* please *the* women.[1]

Mah nyom hĕnom di-balē.
People *that are* young *are* many in *the* Hall.

Eso' jĕmah tahun jadi.
To-morrow and for ever (?) *be* years of-plenty.

Jadi pleh, jadi padi.
Plenteous *be* fruit, plenteous *be* rice.

Pleh . . . Pleh, Pleh, Pleh, oi.
Fruit . . . Fruit, Fruit, Fruit, oho.

Kanchel. The Chevrotain.

Nyau-ganyau bunyī' kanchel.
'Nyau-ganyau,' *is the*-cry *of-the*-kanchil.

Kanchel tĕlong pleh d'long-mĕri.
The-kanchil *that* seeks *the*-fruit *of* trees *of-the*-forest.

Pleh kĕpau tĕlong kanchel.
Fruit *of the* kĕpau seeks *the*-kanchil.

Kanchel nachar di-ampā' jĕmu.[2]
The-kanchil *that* feeds at bed-rock dry.

Kanchel nachar daun ludai.
The-kanchil *that* eats *the*-leaves *of-the*-ludai.

Kanchel nachar daun hila'.
The-kanchil *that* eats *the*-leaves *of-the*-sweet-potato.

Kanchel nachar daun yet.
The-kanchil *that* eats *the*-leaf *of-the*-yam.

Kanchel gli gĕntah[3] bĕdŏk.
The kanchil *that* fears *the*-thunderbolt*s* fall.

Kanchel gli binatang tĕkam.
The-kanchil *that* fears wild-beasts *will* attack *him*.

Kanchel gli katop[4] tijau.
The-kanchil *that* fears *the*-bite *of-the*-snake.

Kanchel chok-leh chohoi dŏi.
The-kanchil *that* walks-then by-day *and* night.

[1] *Lit.* "be-pleased male, be-pleased female."

[2] = "Ampar jĕmur" (?) I do not feel sure about the interpretation of "ampa'," but "jĕmu" is surely "jĕmor," and the whole phrase certainly means, as I was told, "in the early morning." Possibly "ampa'" = "civet-cat," *i.e.* "when the civet-cat basks (in the sun)," a phrase analogous to the Malay "kĕrbau bĕrĕndam" ("when the buffaloes go down to the water," *i.e.* about 5 p.m.), etc. Still, the best translation seems, "when the bed-rock (or outcrop) dries (in the sun)," cp. Mal. "kring ambun" = "at dew-dry."

[3] "Gentah." *N.B.* "Arē' aler" ("rā'") = to lighten ["rā'" = "sĕhaja"] "arē' garŏng," thunder.

[4] "Katop" or "kathop" = Mal. "pagut" ("ular").

Kanchel jĕtek pĕdī' arē'.
The-kanchil *that* sleeps at-noon of-day.

Kanchel jĕtek dalam lĕmāt.[1]
The-kanchil *that* sleeps among *the*-brushwood.

Kanchel jĕtek ha-bangko' mok.
The-kanchil *that* sleeps among-leaf-cases *of* nibong-*palms*.

Kanchel jĕtek di-lumbun rumput.[2]
The-kanchil *that* sleeps *in-the*-tangle of grass.

Mai-leh he tĕlong kanchel.
Hither then you, seek *the* kanchil.

Ningket[3]-leh jĕrat kanchel.
Set then *the* noose *for the* kanchil.

Plēs[3]-dah, ai ! kom dah jĕrat.
Released is *it*, hurrah ! got *him* has *the*-noose.

Dah higap ka'an ha-dong.
The noose has caught *him ;* carry *him* homewards,

Dah hadong he layu.[4]
" Done " homewards *do* you scorch *him.*

Dah layu he bentē.
Done scorch *him ; do* you quarter *him.*

Dah bentē he gulē.
Done quarter *him ; do* you *make* cooked-meat.

Jön nachar muntēt mulih.
Give *to* eat *a*-little *to* each-one.

Pĕlandok (*Pandok*). *The Mouse-deer.*

Krusau-krusau[5] rū' pandok.
' Krusau-krausau,' *is the* cry *of the* mouse-deer.

Pandok nachar lembong ludai.[6]
The mouse-deer *that* eats *the* shoots *of the* ludai.

Pandok nachar pleh klēdang.
The mouse-deer *that* eats *the*-fruit *of the*-klēdang.

Pandok nachar pleh kĕpau.[7]
The mouse-deer *that* eats *the*-fruit *of the* kĕpau.

Pandok nachar pleh mangis.
The mouse-deer *that* eats *the*-fruit *of the*-mangostin.

Pandok nachar pleh diyan.
The mouse-deer *that* eats the-fruit *of the* durian.

Kom bau pandok jöl-leh chau.
When he gets *the*-scent *of-the* mouse-deer, barks-then *the* dog.

Kom bau pandok putih.
He-has got *the*-scent *of-a*-mouse-deer white.[8]

---

[1] Bes. " lĕmāt " = secondary growth.

[2] *V.l.* " Rambun rumput."

[3] Plēs = Mal. " tĕrbingkas," to become released (of the catch) ; " ningket " = " pasang."

[4] Or " singe " ? " Layu " = Bes. " holoi."

[5] *V.l.* " kuh, kuh ! "

[6] Mal. " ludai " = Bes. " long mayā'."

[7] " Kĕpau " = *Pholidocarpus macrocarpus. V.l.* " Sĕrdang " = *Livistona cochinchinensis.*

[8] White is the mark of a " sacred " animal.

Jet-leh bau pandok putih.
Follow-then *the*-scent *of the* mouse-deer white.

Pandok putih chĕlui ha-dŏŏh.
The-mouse-deer white descends to-*the*-water.

Dalam dŏŏh kom-leh dah.
In *the*-water got-then has.[1]

Dah kĕbus pandok putih.
Is dead *the*-mouse-deer white.

Klek-leh ha-dong pandok putih-hã̃.
Carry-then homewards *the* mouse-deer white this.

Bentē-leh pandok putih.
Quarter-then *the* mouse-deer white.

Jŏn nachar muntĕt mulih.
Give *to* eat a-little *to* each-one.

Kĕtur. The Wild Boar.

Dret, dret, dret, bunyī' kĕtur.
'Dret, dret, dret,' *is the* cry *of the* wild-pig.

Kĕnon kĕtur nachar ha-bois.
The young *of the* wild-pig *that* feed-on sugarcane.

Nachar yet, nachar hilā'.
Feed-on yams, feed-on sweet-potatoes.

Döyt dah nachar lĕbā'-hē.
Utterly is eaten-up *this* clearing *of* yours.

Jong kĕtur tujah-tujah.
The feet *of the* Boar *are* pointed-pointed.

Tih kĕtur soroi-soroi.[2]
The fore-legs *of the* Boar *are* sloping-sloping.

Bulū' kĕtur gĕrchas-gĕrchas,
The bristles *of the* Boar are stubborn-stubborn (? bristling).

Met kĕtur pĕlāt-pĕlāt.[3]
The eyes *of the* Boar *are* squinting-squinting.

Töng kĕtur chanchang-chanchang.
The ears *of the* Boar *are* pricked-up pricked-up.

Sĕmuk-leh pipi kĕtur.
Fat indeed *are the* chaps *of the* Boar.

Iku kĕtur gewet-gewet.
And the tail *of the* Boar *is* crisp and curly (?).[4]

Chĕlui kĕtur nachar ha-bē.
There descends *the* Boar *to* feed upon *your* rice.

Gul ding blau klau bungā'.
Take *your* bamboo blowpipe scored *with* patterns.

[1] *I.e.* the dog has got it.

[2] *V.l.* "choroi-choroi."

[3] "Pĕrlat-pĕrlat," or "pĕlāt-pĕlāt" = cross-eyed or squinting (?) (Mal. "tĕrbliak").

[4] Exact sense doubtful: from the explanation given me it = "curl-curl," *i.e.* "inclined to be curly," but is not the wild pig's tail supposed to be straight (?). Ridley suggests "goes flip-flap, from the way it flaps when he is running." I prefer, however, the former sense.

Huat-pĕchit bēgum-bēgam.[1]
Whiz *and it* sticks ! *the Boar goes* grunt-grunt.

Chĕliau bĕr-lem-lem kĕtur kĕdim duh.
Look carefully, *the* Boar *is* now running.

Etc., etc.

Kok (*? Kâk*).[2] *The Coconut-monkey.*

Kok, kok, kok gantang,
'Kok, kok,' *is the cry of the* monkey "gantang,"

Kok gantang, kok rangkā',[3]
Of the monkey "gantang," and *the* monkey "rangkā',

Kok buku sĕrling-sĕrling.[4]
And the monkey "buku" *that* peers-peers.

Muh kok-keh rimai-rimai.
The muzzle *of* monkey yon *is* dimpled-dimpled.

Tih kok-keh rimpang-rimpang.[5]
The fingers *of* monkey yon *are* crooked-crooked.

Paho kok pako'-pako'.[6]
The haunches *of the* monkey *are* bowed-bowed.

Iku kok-keh d'long prau-prau.[7]
The tail *of* monkey-yon *is a* tree waving.

Nachar pleh pleh diyan.
Eat*ing* fruit, fruit *of the* durian.

Hindik [8] kok lek-leh klö.[9]
Shakes (?) *the* monkey, rise-then again.

Yek, ai ![10] Mamat Solong.
Ho, brother ! Mamat *the* Firstborn.

Yek, ai ! gul-leh ding blau.
Ho, brother ! take-then bamboo-tube.

Benchop sĕloloyn, chĕliau bĕr-lem-lem.
Stalk *it* craftily, look very carefully.

Huĕt lĕchīp,[11] kom domok 'dah.
Whiz *and it* stick*s*, hit *him the* dart has.

Duh-dah kok tengong-prengong.
Run-off-has *the* monkey, helter-skelter.

Kuak-kuak kok kĕdim bĕdök.
Vomiting *the* monkey now falls.

Denting-denting bĕdök kok-keh.
With thud-thud falls monkey yon.

---

1 "Bēgum-bēgam" = "bunyi amboi," explained as meaning "he cries 'Oh!' when he is struck"!

2 = Mal. "Bro'."

3 The "kok gantang," "rangkak," and "buku" appear to be three kinds of "Bro'," or coconut monkey.

4 = Mal. "kĕrling."

5 Explained as = Mal. "kangkang-kujap" or "kangkang koyak."

6 "Pākō'-pākō'" = Mal. "changkō'-changkō'."

7 = Mal. "gunchang."

8 = Mal. "gègar" (?).

9 = Mal. "pula."

10 *V.l.* "lek, ai" = "rise up, ho!"

11 = Mal. "lĕkat."

Klek-leh, ai ! Mamat Solong.
Pick-it-up, ho ! Mamat *the* Firstborn,

Ka'an ha-dong rongko'-royon.
And bear *it* homewards *though* bent and bowed.

Ka'an ha-dong champak pĕkil.
Bear *it* homewards *and* throw *it* downwards.

Inak Solong, layu-leh kok-keh.
Aunt Eldest-born, scorch monkey-yon.

Mamat Solong, bentē-leh kok-keh.
And you, Mamat *the* Elder-born, quarter-then monkey-yon.

Jön nachar muntĕt mulih.
Give *to*-eat *a*-little *to* each-one.

U'ut he dah bihi-leh,
When that belly *of* yours is gorge*d*-then,

Lek-leh, ai, Mamat Solong.
Rise then, ho ! Mamat *the* Firstborn,

Lek jo'oh dalam balē.
Rise *up and* drink within *the* Hall.

Balē panjang balē bĕsar.
The Hall *that is* long, *the* Hall *that is* broad.

Esok jĕmah tahun jadi.
To-morrow *and* afterwards *shall be a* year plenteous.

Bilang kok, pleh jadi.
Tell *of the* monkey, *and* fruits *shall be* plenteous.

Pleh . . . pleh, pleh, pleh, pleh.
Fruit . . . fruit, fruit, fruit, fruit.

The Siamang. The Gibbon.

Mong, mong, mong,[1] bunyi' Siamang.
'Mong, mong, mong,' *is the* cry *of-the*-Siamang.

Siamang bĕrtembong[2] di-ampā' jĕmu.[3]
The Siamang *that* hoots at-outcrop dry.

Siamang mĕnenteng di-sendoh[4] Kalih,[5]
The Siamang *that* chatters on-the upper Kalih.

Nimul-leh Siamang di-sendoh Luar.
Appears-then *the* Siamang on-*the* upper Luar.

Lompāt prau[6] di-lembong b'ranti.
Leaps *and* rustles in *the* branches *of the* mĕranti.

Champak prau di-lembong ludan.
Hurtles *and* rustles in-*the* branches of *the* ludan.

Bĕrdak-bĕrdong[7] nachar Siamang.
Fallen-fruit-husks eats *the* Siamang.

[1] Onomat. *v.* next line.
[2] Onomat. word, connected with "mong."
[3] When (the dew on) the outcrop (granite) dries. *V.* p. 642 *ante* (n.).
[4] From "sen (or "chen") dōōh" = "upper end of water." = Mal. "ulu."
[5] *V.* "Bangkong" song and others.
[6] = Mal. "bĕrdrau."
[7] = Mal. "lĕpok-lĕpak" = "fallen fruit-husks."

Benchop[1] sĕloloyn[2] chĕliau[3] bĕr-lem-lem.
Stalk *him* warily, look very carefully.

Mamat Solong, Mamat Alang.
Mamat Solong *and* Mamat Alang.

Yek,[4] ai ! Siamang kĕdim duh.
Elder-brother, oho ! *the* Siamang now run*s*.

Yek, ai ! gul-leh ding blau.
Elder-brother, oho ! take-then *the* bamboo blowpipe.

Gul blau ding klau bungā'.[5]
Take *the* blowpipe *of the* bamboo scored *with* patterns.

Hē subai cheh[6] kaköm.
Do you try upas-poison *to*-implant.

He subai[7] cheh bĕnam.
Do you try upas-poison *to* insert.

Lö lĕkuis, kom domok dah.
Shoot *and it* stick*s*, got *him the* dart has.

Yek, ai, chĕliau Siamang-nong.
Elder-brother, oho ! watch Siamang-just.

Kă-kuă',[8] kuh-dah Siamang.
Cough-cough vomited-has *the* Siamang.

Chĕliau Siamang prŏm[9] perteng.[10]
Watch *the* Siamang fall *with a* clatter.

Yek, ai ! Siamang dah bĕdök.
Elder-brother, oho ! *the* Siamang has fallen.

Klek-leh, ai ! rongko-royon.[11]
Carry *him*-then, oho ? bent-*and*-bowed.

Klek[12]-leh, ai ! Siamang hã̃-ö.
Carry-then, oho ! Siamang this-indeed.

Tĕlong-tĕlong rangas ludan.
Seek, seek branches *of the* ludan.

Tĕlong-tĕlong rangas changan.
Seek, seek branches *of the* changgan.

Tĕlong angeng hē layu[13] Siamang.
Seek firelogs you *to* scorch *the* Siamang.

Tĕlong-tĕlong pĕdas chanchang.
Seek-seek *for* seasoning *of* chanchang.

---

[1] "Benchop" = "endap," to stalk.

[2] = "P'lahan-plahan," probably reduplicated from "să-loyn-loyn."

[3] "Cheliau," not "chelui," appears to be the correct reading.

[4] "Yek" is a variant reading for "lek," here and elsewhere.

[5] This passage depends on the meaning of the phrases "ding klau bungā'," and "ding klampĕnai," which may be kinds of bamboo, or "decorated" and the reverse. *V.* p. 648, n. 10.

[6] "Cheh," or "ches" (Bes. for Mal. "ipoh").

[7] = Mal. "choba."

[8] = Mal. "bato' luāk."

[9] = Mal. "rĕbah."

[10] = Mal. "bĕrdĕbum"; or to fling oneself with a crashing noise through branches.

[11] = Mal. "tĕrbongko'-bongkō'."

[12] = Mal. "dokong."

[13] "Soloi" (or "holoi") = Mal. "layu," to singe (?) or scorch.

Tĕlong-tĕlong pĕdas jintan.
Seek-seek, *for* seasoning *of* jintan.

Kriō'-kriā',[1] haro-galö.[2]
Crackle-crackle, mix *and* mingle *it*.

Dah layu,[3] bentē-leh[4] Siamang.
When it is scorched, cut-up *the* Siamang.

He jön muntĕt mulih.
Do you give a-little *to* everybody.

Biar chukop dageng Siamang,
Let *it* suffice, *yon* flesh *of the* Siamang,

Chukop-leh nachar kadui[5] hedĕt.
Sufficient for-eating *both* great *and* small.

Ungkā'[6] (*Tembo'* or *Tehmok*). *A Kind of Ape.*

Wong wong wong bunyī' ungkā'.
'Wong, wong, wong,' *is the* cry *of the* wawa.

Ungkā' bĕrmain di lembong kĕpong.
The wa'wa' *that* plays among *the* sprays *of the* kĕpong.

Ungkā' bĕrmain di lembong sĕrayā'.
The wa'wa' *that* plays among *the* sprays *of the* sĕraya'.

Ungkā' bĕrmain di lembong jĕlotong.
The wa'wa' *that* plays among *the* sprays *of the* jĕlotong.

Bĕrdak-bĕrdong nachar ungkā'.
Crunching *and* crunching feeds *the* wa'wa'.

Pleh angong nachar ungkā'.
The fruit *of the* anggong *is the* food *of the* wa'wa'.

Pleh rambai nachar ungkā'.
The fruit *of the* rambai *is the* food *of the* wa'wa'.

Bulu' ungkā' putih kapas.
The fur *of the* wa'wa' *is* white *as* cotton.

Bulu' ungkā' sutrā' hitam.
The fur *of the* wa'wa' *is* silk *that is* black.[7]

Kĕning ungkā' bagei andam.
The brow *of the* wa'wa' *is* as-it-were trimmed.

Iku[8] ungkā' tombat-tombat.
The stern *of the* wa'wa' is flat-and-hard (*lit.* solid-solid).[9]

Gul ding blau klampĕnai.[10]
Take *your* bamboo blowpipe "klampĕnai."

---

[1] Onomat. prob. from the crackling of the firelogs, or rather the noise of the tubers frying in the pot—"bunyi goreng ubi di-kuali."

[2] = Mal. "kachau-kachau-kan."

[3] "Soloi" (or "holoi"). See note 13 to preceding page.

[4] = Mal. "topah" (or "bantei"?)

[5] Or "kadoi."

[6] "Ungka" is the Jav. (Malayan?) for "wa'wa'," acc. to Ridley.

[7] These lines may refer either to two different varieties of "wa'wa'," or else to the fact that the face and hands are white, whilst the body is black (and silky).

[8] Here = stern or rump, the "wa'wa'" having no tail.

[9] = Mal. "tumpat" (?).

[10] "Bl. klampĕnai"; explained to me as = "ding Brunei" or "Borneo bamboo," possibly referring to the wooden

Benchop sĕloloyn chĕliau bĕr-lem-lem.
Stalk it warily, look very carefully.

Tih ungkā' kantau-kantau.
The arms *of the* wa'wa' *are* long *and* slender (?).

Jong ungkā' buai-bĕr-buai.
The legs *of the* wa'wa' *are* sway*ing* together.

Yek, ai! chĕliau bĕr-lem-lem.
Ho, brother! look very carefully.

(*Rest same as Siamang.*)

Bayā'. The Crocodile.

Wa'-wa'-wa' nakeh bayā'.
Wa'-wa'-wa', *that is the* crocodile.

Bayā' tĕlok bayā' rantau.
The crocodile *of the* bay, *the* crocodile *of the* reaches.

Koi bayā' tungku-tungku.
The head *of the* crocodile *is* covered with lumps.

Iku bayā' bagē pĕdang.
The tail *of the* crocodile *is* like a sword.

Lĕmoyn bayā' kanching-kanching.
The teeth of the crocodile are clenched together.

Manī' lubok karā' bayā'.
Wherever *is a* river-pool dwells *the* crocodile.

Bayā' garang bayā' ganas.
The crocodile *that is* fierce, the crocodile *that is* savage.

Yal jĕmor atas tĕbing,
That climbs up *to* bask upon *the* river bank,

Chĕlui ha-dōōh tĕlong nachar.
And descends *to-the* river *to* look for food.

Bayang mah kayi'-leh bayā'.
The reflection *of a* man sees-then *the* crocodile.

Koi hāp, kom-leh nachar.
If the head *is* lack*ing*, *he* gets-then food.

Koi dah, kom nachar ngot.
If the head is *there*, *he* gets food not.

Nakeh krā' atas d'long.
That *is a* monkey upon *the* timber.

Kapet bayā', bĕdōk ha-dōōh.
It is struck *by the* crocodile, *and* falls into *the* water.

Bayā' bĕnam dalam lubok.
And *the* crocodile smothers *it* in *the* mud.

(Kuantan) type of blowpipe, which is (necessarily) undecorated, as distinct from "ding klau bungā'," or the "blowpipe scored with patterns" (the indigenous variety). ["Klau" prob. = Mal. "kĕlar" cp. "sĕlar," etc.] If this is right, "ding" (bamboo) is applied to the rare wooden type in spite of its material, otherwise it must be a special kind of bamboo.

Dah kĕbus ka'an ha-teh.
Done dead *he* bears *it* ashore.

Lempeh ha-d'long biar kĕbus nenē'.
And batters *it* on-timber *to* let *it* die thoroughly.

Kĕbus nenē' nachar bulāt.
When *it* is dead thoroughly *he* devours *it* whole.

Jawak.[1] *The Monitor Lizard.*

Koi jawak tungku-tungku.
The head *of the* great-Lizard *is* knobby and knotty.

Met jawak met perting.
The eyes *of the* great-Lizard *are* eyes narrow (?).

Munchong jawak munchong runching.
The snout *of the* great-Lizard *is a* snout sharp-pointed.

U'ut jawak biang-biut.
The belly *of the* great-Lizard sways *and* swaggers.

Ti'il jawak jarang-jarang.
The foot-prints *of the* great-Lizard *are* spread *and* splayed.

Sisek chĕloñ bagē parī'.
The scales *of its* back *are* like *those of the* sting-ray.

Iku jawak bagē pĕdang.
The tail *of the* great-Lizard *is* like *a* sword.

Lèmoyn jawak durī' pandan.
The teeth *of the* great-Lizard *are* thorns *of the* screw-pine.

Lidah Jawak lidah chabang.
The tongue *of the* great-Lizard *is a* tongue *that's* forked.

Nakeh mah chakap bohong.
That *is the* man *who* tells falsehoods.

Jawak nakeh Tuhah[2] bayā'.
Of-the-great-Lizard that *is* Chief *the* crocodile.

Adik bayā' tèmai-tèmai.
It is the younger brother *of the* crocodile *since* days-of-old.

Bayā' teh Bayā' bawau.
The crocodile *of the* land; *and the* crocodile *of the* sea.

Mui di-teh, mui di-bawau.
One upon land, *and* one in *the* sea.

Chĕliau bĕrlem-lem tĕtak jawak.
Look very-warily *and* chop-at *the* great-Lizard.
etc., etc.

Ular Sawa' (*Tijau Tĕlön*). *The Python* (1).

Seng, seng, seng, tijau tĕlön.
Hiss, hiss, hiss, *goes the* Python.

Tĕlön klēwēn[3] di-atas kayu.
The Python coiled in *the* top *of a* tree.

[1] Or "giang" = "gĕriyang" (?).
[2] "Tuhah" *v.l.* "horoh."
[3] = Mal. "bĕlengkar" (coiled, of a snake). "Tĕlön = Mal. "tĕlan" (?).

Tĕlön klēwēn di-atas[1] rambun.[2]
The Python coiled in *the* top *of the* brushwood.

Tĕlön klēwēn di-dalam lumbun.[3]
The Python coiled among *the* grass.

Tĕlön lep lobang batang.
The Python *that* enters *the* hole *in the* tree-trunk.

Tĕlön lochoyn[4] bilang sawā'.
The Python spotted *that is* called 'sawa'."

Iku tĕlön bagē gasing.[5]
The tail *of the* Python *is* like *a* peg-top.

Lidah tĕlön bawang putih.
The tongue *of the* Python *is* like garlic.[6]

Lĕmoyn tĕlön duri pandan.
The teeth *of the* Python *are* thorns *of the* screw-pine.[7]

Tĕlön lĕmak dalam gobuk.[8]
The Python *that is* fat in *its* cheeks.

Koi tĕlön bagē sĕndok.
The head *of the* Python *is* like *a* spoon.

Sisek[9] koi bagē amas,
The scales *of its* head *are* like-unto gold,

Jare' mui ratus ampat puloh.[10]
And its feet[11] *are* one hundred *and* forty.

Kret kadui bagē niyu.
Its body *is* big as *a* coconut-*palm*.

Tijau tĕlön tĕlan kĕtur,
The Python *that* swallows *the* wild-pig,

Tĕlan kĕtur higap pandok.[12]
Swallows wild-pig *and* captures *the* mouse-deer.

Tĕlan pandok, higap rusā'.
Swallows *the* mouse-deer *and* captures *the* sambhur-deer.

Tĕlan rusā', higap ā'ā'.
Swallows *the* deer, *and* captures *the* tiger.

---

[1] = Bes. "kulong."
[2] = "Ujong kayu."
[3] = Mal. "rumput."
[4] "Lochoyn" = Mal. "rintek."
[5] This seems to be the right meaning. It refers, of course, to the *tip* of the Python's tail. A *v.l.* is "gaweng," which was said to mean the *tip* (of a tail), but this is obviously wrong, as there is no sense in saying that its "tail" was "like its tip." I am convinced "gasing" = "peg-top" is right.
[6] White onions, *i.e.* garlic, a very apt description. Mal. "bawang" = Bes. "bantut."
[7] Bes. "Hakek hābīl"; Mal. "duri" = Bes. "jongreng."
[8] "Lĕmak" = Bes. "lentöyt"; "gobuk" = Mal. "pipi."
[9] = Bes. "kĕtöng."
[10] The ribs on which it walks, corresponding to the feet of a centipede.
[11] *I.e.* ribs. *Lit.* fingers or toes.
[12] "Tĕlan" = "geloyt" (?) or "gĕloyn" *v.s.*

Ular Sawā'. The Python (2).

Sawā' sindē, sawā' bĕrantē.[1]
The Python *of the* snake-cloth, *the* Python *with-the*-chain.

Sawā' sindē[2] jadi' krāmāt.
The Python *of the* snake-cloth become sacred.

Sawā' datang de' matā' ayi.
The Python come from *the* springs *of* water.

Kadui kret (bagē) batang niyu.
Big-*of*-body (like) *the* stem *of the* coconut-*palm*.

Nakeh gĕlar sawā' (bĕr)-chulā'.
That *is the* name *of the* Python with-*the*-horn.

Sawā' sindē chĕlui bawau,
The Python *of the* snake-cloth *that* descend*ed to the*-sea,

Klāhē sāmā' kramat bawau,
And fought with *the* sacred *Python of the* Sea,

Laut bĕsar laut kĕchil sudah.
Till the sea *that was* big sea small became.[3]

Kramat asal mulā' jadi'.
The sacred *Python that of* beginning first became.

Kramat nakeh 'dah mah karah.[4]
Sacred *Python* yonder have people defeated.

Lawan ngot Sawā' darat.
Resist cannot *the* Python *of the* land.

Salah sĕmbah Sawā' darat.
Wrong admits *the* Python *of the* land.

Alah mah chĕlui de' teh.
Defeated *was the*-one *that* descend*ed* from *the* land.

Mĕnang mah chĕlui de' bawau.
Victorious *the*-one *that* descend*ed* from *the* sea.

Nakeh dah puakā' ālŏ.
That-*one* has spirit more.[5]

Sawā' kĕbus yal ha-plangi'.
The Python dead ascend*ed* to-*the* rainbow.[6]

Jadi bagē uis plangi'.
Became like *the* fire *of the* rainbow.

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[1] Probably, according to Ridley, from the diamond pattern on its back, or perhaps from some analogous belief to that of the wild-boar's chain ("rantei babi") the animal's charm or talisman.

[2] "Sindē" = Mal. "(kain) chindai," supposed to be an extremely valuable magic cloth of silk, with python-patterns woven into it, which latter came to life when fumigated.

[3] Or in the big sea, after fighting in the little sea.

[4] "Karah" must be a mistake of mine for "kalah." I can make no sense of "karah." The sense given seems to suit.

[5] ? exact meaning = "magic-force still."

[6] "Plangi'" explained as = "sumbu buta' yal langit" (?). The one whose horn was blunted (*lit.* blinded) ascended to the heavens.

Chulā' gul sawā' bawau.
The horn *was* taken *by the* Python *of the* sea.

Chĕlui bĕrlem-lem, ödö langkah.
Look very-carefully, do-not step-over *it*.[1]

Kalau langkah timpā' dĕrhākā'.
If *you* step-over *it you will* be-crushed *for a* rebel.

Lilit kret pĕnyakit Sawā'.
To-wind-round *your* body *is the* sickness *of the* Python.

Ödö yong dalam gres.
Do-not forget in *your* heart.

Esok jĕmah.[2]
To-morrow *and* always.

Baning. The Tortoise.

Baning, Baning, Baning.
Tortoise, Tortoise, Tortoise !

Tih baning juntul-juntul,
The-fore-paws (*lit.* hands) *of-the*-Tortoise *are* bent-out-sideways,

Jong baning patul-patul.[3]
And-the-hind-paws (lit. feet) *of-the* Tortoise *are shaped like* adzes.

Koi baning kĕlang-kĕlup.
The head *of the* Tortoise shoots-in-and-out (?).

Blakang baning bagē batu.
The-back *of-the*-Tortoise *is* like *a* rock,

Hitam-leh grēs baning,
And black *is the*-heart [4] *of-the*-Tortoise,

Hijau-leh 'pĕdu' [5] baning.
And-green-too *is the*-bile *of-the*-Tortoise.

Yek, ai, Mamat Solong,
O brother, Mamat *the*-Firstborn,

Gul hau, gul ding blau.
Take *your* knife, take *your* bamboo blowpipe.

Gul tohok chok-leh (ha)-mĕri.
Take *your* spear *and* walk through *the*-forest.

Tèlong baning, nakeh ti'il.
Search-for *the*-Tortoise, those *are its* footprints.

Nakeh teh nachar baning,
Here *is the*-ground *where* feeds *the*-Tortoise,

Lembong bengkong (?) nachar baning.
On-shoots *of-the*-"chĕmeh" feeds *the*-Tortoise.

[1] The rainbow's foot.

[2] "Esok jĕmah" explained as = "nisâm jaman" or "nisâm ālö," *lit.* to-morrow ("besok") and further.

[3] The "baning" or land-tortoise was described to me as running on the joints of its paws, with its flappers turned sideways, unlike the "labi-labi." According to Ridley, the paws of the "labi-labi" (*Trionyx*) are straight, whilst those of the "baning" (*Testudo emys*) are turned sideways.

[4] Liver.

[5] Mal. "hĕmpĕdu" = bile.

Dah kayi' Mamat Solong.
You have *seen it*, Mamat *the* Firstborn.

Dah kayi' dalam trēng [d'long].[1]
You have see*n it*, among *the* buttresse*s*.

Dah bongkar Mamat Solong.
Now you have drive*n-it*-out, Mamat *the* Firstborn.

Klekleh ha-dong Mamat Solong.
Carry *it* then homewards, Mamat *the* Firstborn.

Mamat Solong bentē-leh baning.
Mamat *the* Eldest-born, cut-up *the* Tortoise.

Chinchang[2] halus biar machin.
Chop-*it*-up small *and* let *it* be-cooked.

Dah machin hidang jambar.
When it is cooke*d* serve *it on leaf*-plates.

Jön nachar muntēt mulih.
Give *to*-eat *a* little *to* each-one.

Oi Mamat Solong, oi Mamat Alang.
Ho, Mamat Firstborn; ho Mamat Third-born,

Bihi ū'ūt, rentak balē.
When gorge*d is your* belly, drum-upon *the* Hall-*floor*.

Katak.

Kok, kok, kok, bunyī' rengkong.
'Croak, croak, croak' *is the* cry *of the* Toad.

Chĕmrap-leh bunyī' rengkong tai.
Loud *was the*-croaking *of-the*-toad just-now.

Rengkong karā' di-pangkal d'long.
The-Toad *that* dwells at-*the*-foot *of*-trees.

Rengkong karā' di-hulu Langat,
The-Toad *that* dwells on-*the*-upper Langat,

Jāngkar hulu jangkar hilir.
Jumping upstream *and* jumping downstream.

U'ut ramping[3] nakeh rengkong.
With the waist *so* slender, that *is the*-Toad.

Bidang-leh dādā' rengkong.
Broad-indeed *is the* chest *of-the*-Toad.

Chĕlap[4]-leh met rengkong.
Goggling-indeed *are the*-eyes *of-the*-Toad.

Katok-leh[5] koi rengkong.
And sharply-tapering *is the*-head *of-the*-Toad.

Cherpē-leh jare' rengkong.
Crumpled-indeed *are the*-fingers *of-the*-Toad.

---

[1] "Treng" = Mal. "jangkar kayu," or "treng d'long" (also = "Triang"(?), whence "Triang" in S. Ujong).

[2] Mal. "chinchang" = Bes. "kĕtöng" or "chĕtöng."

[3] *V.l.* "u'ut hât" = Mal. "pinggang ramping," *i.e.* small or wasp-waisted, like the fish-trap, *q.v.*

[4] = Mal. "tembil," protruding.

[5] = Mal. "renchong pĕlurut."

Lidun-leh jong rengkong.
And splay*ed*-indeed *are the* feet *of-the*-Toad.

Klochot[1]-leh chĕloñ rengkong.
Rough-indeed *is the*-back *of-the*-Toad.

Kret rengkong gĕtah bul-dah.
And the body *of the* Toad exudes poison.[2]

Katak rengkong nachar lipan.
For the Toad rengkong feeds-upon centipedes.

Katak rengkong nachar kālā'.
The-Toad rengkong feeds-upon scorpions.

Katak rengkong gĕloyn batu'.
The-Toad rengkong swallows gravel.

Ödö nachar Katak rengkong.
Do-not *then* eat *the*-Toad rengkong.

Bul-leh nachar Katak rengkong.
Poisonous *to*-eat *is the*-Toad rengkong.

Gul hau-hē, kabong[3] rengkong.
Take *then your* knife, *and* chop-at *the-Toad.*

Hi[4] chok hē ödö gli.
If he walks-off you do-not *be*-frightened.

Tĕtkalā' jaman esok jĕmah,
From the time of-old, to-morrow *and* after,

Tinggal gayā' tingal jaman,
May there remain *this* function, *may there* remain *this* memorial,

Tingal pleh jadi.
May it remain *that* fruits-*be* plentiful.

Lang. The Kite.[5]

Sek sek leau[6] bunyī' lang.
'Sek sek leau,' *is the* cry *of the* kite.

Lang bĕrbīgā' atas gunong.
The kite *that* soars above *the* crags.

Lang bĕrklambau atas awan.
The kite *that* swoops above *the* clouds.

Sarang lang di-lembong jĕlotong.
The nest *of the* kite *is* in *the* branch*es of the* jĕlotong.

Sarang lang di-lembong kĕmpās.
The nest *of the* kite *is* in *the* branch*es of the* kĕmpas.

'Nak bĕranak[7] di-lembong kĕmpas.
For-generations *it has been* in *the*-branches *of-the* kempas.

Sudah sampei sakit anak,
And when has arrive*d the* sickness *of its* children,

---

[1] "Klochot" = Mal. "bĕrkrutu."
[2] Has slime that is poisonous.
[3] *V.l.* "kapong," but *v.* next line, the toad is not *killed.*
[4] Here distinctly explained to me as = Mal. "dia" (the toad).
[5] = Kite, probably a *fishing*-kite, *v.s.*
[6] *V.l.* "kesek-klēau" = *lit.* "mew-mew."
[7] = Mal. "Anak-bĕranak."

Tinggi rĕndah layak lang,
High *and* low soar*s the* kite,

Higap siakap jön kĕnon-keh,
And catche*s the* siakap-fish *to* give its-young-ones,

Higap tijau jön kĕnon-keh.
And catche*s* snakes *to* give to its young-ones.

Lalu lang ka-Batu Lalau.
Passe*s the* kite to Batu Lalau.

Lalu lang ka-Bukit Tingi.
Passe*s the* kite to Bukit Tingi.

Lalu lang ka-Batu Putih.
Passe*s the* kite to Batu Putih.

Lalu lang ka-Batu Pĕrhambang.
Passe*s the* kite to Batu Pĕrhambang.

Sampei Pĕrhambang chĕlui ha-teh
On reachi*ng* Pĕrhambang *it* descend*s* to earth

Tĕlong chinduai atas gunong.
To seek-for *the* love-plant upon *the* mountains.

Kagar bĕrubat kĕnon-keh.
It wants *to* cure *its*-young-ones-yonder.

Kom chinduai di-atas gunong,
When one gets *the* love-plant upon *the* mountains,

Rindu bayang[1] dalam badan.
Yearning *and* longing *are* within *the* body.

Chinduai lang ka'an ha-dong,
The love-plant *of the* kite bear *it* homewards,

Biar lem dalam grēs.
Let *it make one* well at heart.

Lek lem-lem [chĕliau][2] kĕnon lang-keh.
Rise-up warily, watch *the* young *of the* kite.

Grēs öyn hukah nēnē'.
This heart *of* mine *is* pleasured greatly.

Öyn srö tĕlong ubāt.
I know *how to* search-for simples.

Ödö bayang ödö lengah.
Do-not *then* yearn *and* do-not dally.

Ödö lengah di-kampong bungā',
Do-not dally in *the*-Garden *of*-Flowers,

Chokleh ka-kampong[3] buah,
But proceed to-*the*-Garden *of*-Fruits,

Tingalkan tĕtkalā'[4] jaman,
And let there remain, from-the-time of-old,

---

[1] For "bayang" in this sense, cp. "sayang" (?). Or does it = "of spirit"?

[2] Sense not quite clear, but above seems most probable; some word seems to have dropped out.

[3] Usually "pulau" = "island."

[4] Better "tā'kālā."

Utang kasih kĕnon lang-keh,
A debt *of* affection [1] to *the* young *of the* kite,

Nakeh tandā' mah bĕranak.
That *is the*-sign *of*-women child-bearing.

Hayam (*or* "*Dĕnā'*") *mĕri.* *The Jungle-fowl.*

Nang chĕnangkas bunyī' dĕnā'.
'Nang chĕnangkas' [2] *is the* cry *of the* jungle-fowl.

Dĕnā' mĕri di-sĕmatang.[3]
Fowl *of the* jungle upon *the* rising-ground.

Nakeh gĕlar dĕnā' putih,
That *is the* name *of the* jungle-fowl white,[4]

Nakeh gĕlar dĕnā' pīkāt,
That *is the* name *of the* fowl "decoy,"

Jĕbâh Malayu kabeh rachek.
Wherewith foreigners Malay set *their* snares.

Jĕbâh Malayu bawā' pīkāt.
Foreigners Malay carry *it for* decoy*ing*.

Thâɤt-leh mai dĕnā' putih.
Fly-then hither, *O* jungle-fowl white.

Lawan ngot dĕnā' hĕnom.
Resist *him* cannot jungle-fowl *so* many.

Dah tuhah dĕnā' putih.
He is *their* chief, *the* jungle-cock white.

Dĕnā' putih thâɤt [5] ha-dong-keh.
The jungle-fowl white flies homeward-yonder.

Nang chĕnangkis-leh dĕnā' tai.
'Nang chĕnangkis' *was the cry of the* jungle-fowl just-now.

Dĕngar chakap tĕmai-tĕmai.
Listen-to *the* talk *of* days-gone-by.

Esok jĕmah.
To-morrow and after, etc.

Kluang (*Hampet*).[6] *The Flying-fox.*

Pē . . . lömpe,[7] lömpe, thâɤt hampet.
Flip-flap, flip-flap, flies *the* flying-fox.

Nakeh bunyī' thâɤt hampet.
That *is the* sound *of the* flying *of the* flying-fox.

[1] *I.e.* a debt of gratitude.
[2] = Cackle, cackle.
[3] Variant for "pĕmatang."
[4] *I.e.* sacred.
[5] Or "tohɤt." I think that "thâɤt" is nearer the actual pronunciation, as given in the Flying-fox song. The "th" in this case is simply the aspirated "t." The usual sounds of "th," as in "this" and "thick," do not occur at all in Besisi.
[6] Also "hapet" and "sāpet." The fullest form would perhaps be "sampet."
[7] = Mal. "berkĕpah-kĕpah," to use the wings (or rather the noise made in doing so).

Hampet thâʏt dari sĕbrang.
The flying-fox *that* flies from over-*seas*.

Hampet thâʏt měri banglang.[1]
The flying-fox *that* flies *from the* jungle side.

Hampet thâʏt dari pulau.[2]
The flying-fox *that* flies from *the* islets.

Hampet thâʏt dari sĕlat.
The flying-fox *that* flies from *the* straits.

Hampet mai nachar bungā'.[3]
The flying-fox *that* comes *to* eat *the* fruit-buds.

Tĕlong pleh chok hi.
To seek-for fruit goes he.

Hampet thâʏt dah ka-hulu'.
The flying-fox *that* flown has to *the* upper-*waters*.

Hampet thâʏt dah ka-hilir.[4]
The flying-fox *that* flown has downstream.[5]

Sieng-mayeng[6] bangsā' hampet.
Sundry *and* divers *are the* tribes *of* flying-foxes.

Hampet nachar pleh buan.
The flying-fox *that* eats *the* fruit *of the* rambutan.

Hampet nachar pleh duku'.
The flying-fox *that* eats *the* fruit *of the* duku.

Hampet nachar pleh diyan.
The flying-fox *that* eats *the* fruit *of the* durian.

Sibang-sibut[7] sayap hampet.
Flap-flap *go the* wings *of the* flying-fox.

Kilat-kilau sayap hampet.
Flash-flash *go the* wings *of the* flying-fox.

Nakeh gĕlar bilang hampet.
That is-called[8] *the* tale *of the*-flying-fox.

Gul ding blau klau bungā'.[9]
Take *your* bamboo blowpipe, scored *with* patterns.

Gul blau nalöh hampet.
Take *your* blowpipe *and* shoot *the* flying-fox.

'Lö lĕkuis,[10] kom domok dah.
Shoot, *and it* sticks, hit *the* dart has.

Yek ai ! chĕlui[11] hampet.
Brother, oho ! descends *the*-flying-fox.

---

[1] = Mal. "děri sĕblah utan."

[2] "Pulau" = Bes. "po'hong" (? = Mal. "tokong").

[3] Bats (and flying-foxes) are very fond of eating the flower-buds of fruit-trees.—Ridley.

[4] *I.e.* to the "kuala" (Mal. "kuala" = Bes. "tembā' ").

[5] *Lit.* to the estuary.

[6] = Mal. "masing-masing."

[7] = Mal. "angkap-angkap."

[8] *Lit.* name.

[9] I take "klau" to be = Mal. "kĕlār," *i.e.* "scored" or "incised," as distinguishing the indigenous (usual) type of decorated blow-gun from "ding klampĕnai," the undecorated Kuantan or Borneo type. But *v.* the Wa'wa' song (*supra*).

[10] Or "lĕkuʏs."

[11] ? "Chĕliau" = see.

Jibang-jibuk [1] bĕdŏk dah hampet.
Plimp-plump fallen has *the*-flying-fox.

Kuak-kuak kuh dah hampet.
Retch-retch, vomited has *the* flying-fox.

Klek-leh ha-dong, layu hampet.
Carry-then *him* homewards, *and* scorch *the* flying-fox.

Dah layu bentĕ hampet 'nong,
When you have scorch*ed him*, quarter *the* flying-fox yonder,

Tĕmong mah dalam balē.
And call *the* people within *the* Hall.

Jŏn nachar adik kakak.
Give food *to our* sisters-young sisters-old.

Jŏn nachar kadui hedēt.
Give food *to both* great *and* small.

Jŏn nachar muntēt mulih.
Give food *a* little *to* each-one.

Bihi u'ut lek-leh jung,
When gorged *is your* belly, rise-up-then *on your* feet,

Mamat Solong, Solong Sidai,
Mamat *the* Firstborn, Firstborn Sidai,

Chok beh jo'oh hē o'oi ! [2]
Go-forth *and* brew drink, you *there*, hullo !

Rentak balē, balē panjang.
Drum-upon *the* Hall-*floor*, *the* Hall *that is* long.

Rentak balē, balē bĕsar.
Drum-upon *the* Hall-*floor*, *the* Hall *that is* broad.

Biar hukah dalam balē.
And make merry within *the* Hall.

Pleh jadi bagē pleh.
Fruit is-plentiful as fruit (can be ?).

Pleh jadi tihap are'.
Fruit is-plentiful every day.

Pleh jadi tihap bulan.
Fruit is-plentiful every month.

Pleh jadi tihap tahun.
Fruit is-plentiful every year.

Tahun nakeh tahun rĕja', [3]
A year *like* that *is a* year *of* plenty (?).

. . .

Pleh . . . Pleh, Pleh, Pleh.
Fruit . . . Fruit, Fruit, Fruit.

---

[1] = Mal. "chĕbak-chĕbak."

[2] The proper reading here may be "hē sē-oi (se'oi)" = "*do* you chant" or "sing," especially as chanting always accompanied the drinking.

[3] The meaning of "rĕja'" was explained to me as = "kabeh lĕbeh," to "make more." It may stand for Mal. "krĕja" = "work."

Klēdang.[1] *The Kledang Fruit.*

Gul hau Mamat Solong.
Take *your* knife, Mamat *the* Firstborn.

Tā'oyn[2] ēnā'[3] Solong.
Orders *you*, Aunt Solong.

Tā'oyn ēnā' Tĕngah.
Orders *you*, Aunt Tĕngah.

Kagar nachar pleh klēdang.
Who want to-eat *the*-fruit *of-the*-Kledang.

Yal-leh Mamat Solong.
Climb-up-then, Mamat *the*-Firstborn.

Glu-glai[4] pleh kledang.
Swaying *and* waving *are the* fruits *of the* Kledang.

But[5]-leh kĕnon, muntĕt mulih.
Pick-*them*-up-then, children, a-little each *of you.*

Dah ĕmboyn[6] pleh klēdang.
They are full-ripe, *the* fruits *of the* Kledang.

'An ha-dong pleh klēdang-hã̄.
Bear homewards *the* fruits *of the* Kledang-yon.

Kawin ha-dong pleh klēdang.
Throw-down at-home *the* fruits *of the* Kledang.

Mai-leh yek, ibah, wö, ninik.
Hither-then, grandfathers,[7] brothers-in-law, fathers, great-grandfathers.

Mai gāhū' kĕnon kakak adik.
Hither aunts,[8] children, elder-sisters *and* younger.

Hē nachar pleh klēdang.
Do you feed-upon *the* fruits *of the* Kledang.

Klēdang luchar[9] ödö punan.
When the Kledang *fruit is* soft, *go* not a-craving.

Klēdang dĕndang[10] ödö punan.
Even for the Kledang crow-black *go* not a-craving.

Yek ai ![11] Mamat Solong,
Brother, oho ! Mamat *the* Firstborn,

Tĕmong mah nyom mai ha-dong-ki.
Summon *the* people young *to* come to-hut-that.

Mah nyom jo'oh dalam balē.
Let the people young drink in *the* Hall.

Nakeh tandā' pleh hĕnom.
That *is the* sign *that* fruit *is* plentiful.

---

[1] *Artocarpus lanciæfolius*, Ridley.

[2] = Mal. "suroh."

[3] = Mal. "Mak sudara."

[4] Explained as = waving about when poked with the fruit-pole ("mĕlimpei-limpei dengan kayu di-jolok").

[5] *V.l.* "mut" = Mal. "pungut."

[6] = Mal. "Pĕnoh."

[7] Brothers (?).

[8] Paternal (?).

[9] = Mal. "Ranum," over-ripe ; cp. "luchar-luchar" in Elephant song.

[10] The crow-black Kledang is an inferior variety. Also = "Kl. babi."

[11] *V.l.* "Lek ai !" Rise up, ho !

Hĕnom diyan, hĕnom buan.
Plenteous *are the* Durians, plenteous *the* Rambutans.

Hĕnom rambai, hĕnom pĕlasan.
Plenteous *the* Rambai, plenteous *the* Pulasan.

Hĕnom tampoi, hĕnom kundang.
Plenteous *the* Tampoi, plenteous *the* Kundang.

Hĕnom-leh pleh nadöyt.
Plenteous-indeed fruits all.

Ödö mungkir sambilan tāhūn.
Let-not *them* fail *for* nine years.

Pleh Rēdan.[1] *The Redan Fruit.*

Gul hau Mamat Solong.
Take *your* knife, Mamat *the* Firstborn.

Yal long pleh, pleh rēdan.
Climb *the* tree *of* fruit, *the* fruit *of the* Redan.

Dahan tutor broyt ha-teh.
The branches lop *and* pass to-*the*-ground.

Gul-leh nadöyt pleh rēdan-ki.
Take-then every-one *of the* fruits *of* Redan-yon.

Būt-leh pleh rēdan-ki.
Pick-up-then *the* fruit *of* Redan-yon.

Dah mūt[2] 'an ha-dong-hē.
When you have picked *them* up, bear *them* to-hut-your.

Jambar kachar mah hĕnom.
Serve *them up as* food *for* people many.

Kadui hedĕt nachar pleh rēdan.
For big *and* little to-eat *the* fruits *of the* Redan.

Hadat mah nyom nachar rēdan.
It is the custom *of* people young to-eat *the* Redan.

Ödö punan dalam balē.
Do-not *go* a-craving in *the* Hall.

U'ut hē dah bihi,
When belly your is gorged,

Lek mĕnari Mamat Solong.
Rise *and* dance, Mamat *the* Firstborn.

Lek jo'oh dalam balē.
Rise *and* drink in *the* Hall.

Biar hukah mah hĕnom.
Make merry people many.

Kĕnon-kĕnon ödö gli.
Children-children, do-not be-startled.

[1] A very sour, wild, hairless rambutan.—Ridley.
[2] "Mūt," *v.l.* "ka-but."

Kabau. The Kabau Fruit.

Yam kabau lang-yam.[1]
Bends *the* Kabau, *and* bends-*about*.

Kēau-plakēau[2] batang kabau.
Waves-to-and-fro[3] *the* stem *of the* Kabau.

Putih panau antok[4] kabau.
White *and* mottled *is the* bark *of the* Kabau.

Antok kabau (jadi) hau-chandong.[5]
Bark *of the* Kabau (becomes) chopping-knife (?).

Tĕgöt rhâk jadi kumbang.[6]
Break *its* branch*es* become borer-bee (?).

Bĕdök daun jadi layang.[7]
Fall *its* leaves become swallow (?).

Bĕdök bungā' tabor mĕlukut.[8]
Fall*s its* blossom *like* scatter*ed* rice-meal.

Bĕdök bungā' gĕmar panas.[9]
Fall*s its* blossom *like* rain *during*-sunshine.[10]

Ödö nachar pleh kabau.
Do-not eat *the* fruit *of the* Kabau.

Nachar pleh kabau bul-leh.
If you eat *the* fruit *of the* Kabau *you will be* poisoned-indeed.[11]

Ödö yong kapadā' bilang.
Do-not forget *this* in-the telling.[12]

Bilang kabau esok jĕmah.
Telling *of the* Kabau to-morrow *and* for-ever.

Lalu kă-balē jo'oh balē.
Pass to *the*-Hall *and* drink[13] *in the* Hall.

Gerdah-gerdah jo'oh balē.
Creak-creak ! *we* drink *in the* Hall.

Balē panjang, balē bĕsar
The Hall *that is* long, *the* Hall *that is* broad.

---

[1] "Yam" was explained as = Mal. "mĕlentur" ("to sway") and "lang-yam" as = Mal. "mĕlempei." Probably they are the same word.

[2] "Kēau-plakēau" was also explained as = "mĕlentur," but it is obviously onomatopœic and hence should perhaps rather be rendered "creak-creak" (the noise made by the swaying).

[3] = Creaks (?).

[4] = "Lantok" (Mal. "kulit").

[5] I can make no sense of this, unless it is the handle of the chopper that is referred to, as made from the bark.

[6] I can make nothing of this. "Kumbang" is the borer-bee. If right, it may mean that where its branches are broken (or brittle?) the borer-bee develops or multiplies ("jadi"). Or can it mean when the branches are broken, it swells up ("kĕmbang") round the break, as many trees do?

[7] Possibly in allusion to some belief connecting swallows with the leaves. But "layang" may also = "mĕlayang," to flutter (Bes. "tohyt").

[8] = "Wen punai" in Besisi."

[9] *V.l.* "hayu" = Mal. "hangat," which is "bhasa halus," or "polite," for "hayong" in the "bhasa kasar" (*i.e.* the "vulgar speech").

[10] *Lit.* heat, or hot. [11] *Lit.* Vomit.

[12] Or "what is told you."

[13] Make merry.

Mah nyom krĕjā' balē.
People young work *in the* Hall.

Lĕmol kĕdol krĕjā' balē.
Men *and* women work *in the* Hall.

Nakeh hukah mah hĕnom.
That like people many.

Tahun jadi, jadi pleh.
May it be a year plenteous, *when* plenteous *are* fruits.

Nachar pleh, pleh buan.
Eat *we* fruits, *the* fruit *of the* Rambutan.

Pleh manggis, pleh diyan.
Fruit *of the* Mangostin, fruit *of the* Durian.

Nachar pleh kadui hedēt.
Eat *we* fruit great *and* small.

Nachar pleh adik kakak.
Eat *we* fruit, younger-sisters *and* elder.

Hukah-leh Mamat Solong.
Make-merry-then, Mamat *the* Firstborn.

Pleh jadi tihap tahun.
May fruit *be* plenteous every year.

Gabang. The Gabang Fruit

Hē[1] gul hau Mamat Solong.
Do you take knife Mamat *the* Firstborn.

Gul hau, katöyt pleh gabang.
Take knife, *and* lop-off *the*-fruit *of-the* gabang.

Pleh gabang proh ha-teh.
Fruit *of-the*-gabang *that* falls to-ground.

Katöyt raweh,[2] raweh bĕrjihai.
Lop-off *the* twigs, *the* twigs *that* wave-round-and-round.

Katöyt hē dahan tĕngah.
Lop-off you *the* branches midmost.

Katöyt hē broyt ha-teh.
Lop-off you *and* slip-down[3] to-ground.

Kitā' pungut pleh gabang.
We collect *the*-fruit *of-the*-gabang.

'Oñ-leh jaras ambong.
Bear-then[4] *the* basket, *and the* back-basket.

Ka'an ha-dong pleh gabang-hã̄.
Bear *them* homewards, *the* fruits *of*-gabang-this.

Tĕmong-leh mah hĕnom,
Call-then people many,

Jön nachar muntĕt mulih.
And give to-eat *a*-little *to*-everyone.

---

1 *V.l.* "hi."
2 "Raweh" (Bes.) = twigs (Mal. "ranting"). "Bĕrjihai" = "bĕrkirei."
3 *Lit.* pass.
4 ? Put them (into).

Dah nachar pleh gabang-nong,
When you have eaten *the* fruits *of the* gabang-there,

Lek-leh hē Mamat Solong,
Rise-up then, you, Mamat *the*-Firstborn,

Jo'oh-leh dalam balē.
And make-merry-with-drinking within *the*-Hall.

Nakeh hadat datoh-hē,
That *was the* custom *of* grandfathers-your,

Mah nyom kabeh balē.
For people little to-work-in *the*-Hall.

Hukah-leh mah lĕmol,
To-please *the* men-folk,[1]

Mah kĕdol dalam balē.
And the women-folk within *the*-Hall.

Mai-leh 'an tsuk jĕlŏng.
Come-hither-then bring *your* hair long.

'An hikāt lĕsoi tsuk-hē.
Take comb smoothen hair-your.

Biar lem-lem tsuk-hē.
Let *it be* good-good[2] hair your.

Biar chĕliau mah lĕmol.
Let see *it the* men-folk.

Gul piok gul pren.
Take *rice*-pot take rice.

Machin pren nachar mah hĕnom.
Cook rice *as* food *for* people many.

Gul bangā' beh jumak.
Take pan *and* make cooked-meats.

Nakeh kabeh mah kĕdol.
That *is* done *by the* women-folk.

Nachar-leh hē ha-pren.
Eat-then you of *the* rice.

Nachar hã̄ ödö lēwār.[3]
Eat *you*-there, do-not *be*-slow.

U'ut bihi jetek-kã̄'.
When your belly *is* full, sleep also.

Bèrtam tĕnung. The Solitary Bertam-palm.

Bĕrtam tĕnung di-Langkap Bĕrjuntē.[4]
The-Bertam solitary at Langkap Berjuntei.

Bĕrtam tĕnung di-hulu Langat.
The-Bertam solitary in Ulu Langat.

[1] *Lit.* like-*it*-indeed folk-men.
[2] *I.e.* beautiful.
[3] "Lēwār" = Mal. "lengah," = "loiter" or "dally." "Hã̄" = "this."
[4] L.B. = the overhanging Langkap-palm, the name of a place on the upper Langat, which was described to me by the Besisi as an old burying-place of their ancestors. "Tĕnung" was explained as = Mal. "tunggal," "solitary."

Hang mĕnungkap[1] pleh bĕrtam.
? Bend-over-outwards *the*-fruits *of-the*-Bĕrtam.

Kitā' gul ka'an ha-dong.
We take *and* bear homewards.

Blah jön nachar muntĕt mulih.
When split, give *to*-eat *a* little *to* everyone.

Pleh bĕrtam esok jĕmah.
Fruit *of-the*-Bĕrtam to-morrow *and* always.

Bĕrtam tĕnung atas gunong.
The-Bĕrtam solitary upon *the*-crags.

Nakeh tandā' pleh jadi.
That *is the* sign *that* Fruit *will be* plentiful.

Nakeh tandā' tahun rĕja'.
That *is the*-sign *of-a*-year *of* plenty.

Hukah nadöyt kĕnon hĕnom-keh.
Make-merry all children many-that.

Hukah döyt mah di-balē.
Make-merry all people in-*the*-Hall.

Nachar döyt bihi u'ut-leh.
Eat *them up* utterly *till* gorged *is your* belly-indeed.

Lek ai ![2] Mamat Alang,
Rise up, ho ! Mamat *the*-Second-born,

Mayin jo'oh dalam balē.
Make-*you*-merry-with drinking within *the*-Hall.

Balē panjang, balē bĕsar.
The-Hall *that is* long, *the*-Hall *that is* broad.

Tĕmong mah mayin tari.
Call *the* people to-make-merry *with* dancing.

Biar srö mayin jo'oh.
Let *them* know *we are* making-merry-with drinking.

Nakeh tahun hĕnom-leh pleh.
That *is a* year *of* abundant-indeed fruit.

Mĕrbau.[3] *The Merbau Tree.*

Plak-plau tĕbang mĕrbau.
Crash-crash *we* fell *the* mĕrbau.

Mĕrbau gadeng, mĕrbau humbut.
The mĕrbau ivory-white, *the* mĕrbau *of the* palm-cabbage.

Mĕrbau kunyet kitā' 'nak bahan.
The mĕrbau *of* turmeric we are-going-to split-up.

Oi tukang chĕntong[4] tĕbang mĕrbau.
Ho, Maker *of* Back-baskets, fell *the* mĕrbau.

---

[1] The exact meaning of "hang mĕnungkap" is not clear.

[2] *V.l.* "Yek ai" ? O brother.

[3] Three kinds of "merbau" are here mentioned. The first is probably *Afzelia Palembanica*, and the third *Afzelia coriacea* — a sea-shore variety. The second is unidentified at present. — Ridley. The "merbau," in Besisi, is called "āpel," or "ā-pell."

[4] "Chĕntong" may either be

Tingi jĕlĕpak tumbang mĕrbau.
Loftily rocks (?) *and* falls *the* mĕrbau.

Bawā' pahat, bawā' rimbas.
Bring chisel, bring planing-adze.

Dah bahan siap lantē.
Now you have split *it*, make-ready *the* grating.

Siap dandan siap kurong.
Make-ready *a* gallery, make-ready *a* deckhouse.

Siap dayong siap kajang.
Make-ready oars, make-ready awning.

Muat gharu muat lilin.
Load eaglewood, load wax.

Ka'oñ kĕmiyan, muat damar.
Load benzoin, load resin.

Muat gĕtah gĕtah taban.
Load gutta, gutta taban.

Tĕgak[1] tihang blayar ha-bawau.
Set up *your* mast *and* sail to-*the* sea.

Blayar mĕnuju bawau Mambang.[2]
Sail pointing-towards *the* sea *of the* Mambang.

Labo' sauh, yal ha-teh.
Drop *your* anchor, *and* climb to-land.

Tukar barang di-dong-nahã.
Barter goods at *the* houses here.

Pahu' mĕnuju nĕgri Malākā'.
Our boat points *to the* land *of* Malacca.

Laboh sauh di-nĕgri Malākā',
We let-fall *our* anchor off *the* land-*of* Malacca,

Tukar lilin tukar damar.
And barter *our* wax, barter *our* resin.

Tukar gĕtah[3] tukar kĕmiyan.
Barter *our* gutta, barter *our* benzoin.

Ka'oñ[4] bras ka'oñ garām.
And load *up with* husked-rice, load-*up-with* salt.

Pahū mĕnuju ka-nĕgri kitā'.[5]
Our boat points to-land *of* ours.

Laboh sauh di-nĕgri kitā',
Let-fall *our* anchor at-land *of* ours,

Tĕmong kawan kadui hedēt,
And call *our* comrades great *and* small,

---

the man's name, or taken with "tukang" it may = Basket-maker—probably the latter. "Chĕntong" or "sĕntong" is the back-basket used for carrying jungle-produce among these tribes.

[1] = Bes. "lek tihang."

[2] Doubtless a place-name of this region. Mal. "Mambang" = "Deity."

[3] There are many kinds of "gĕtah"-producing trees in the country. "Gĕtah taban," for instance = gutta-percha, and "gĕtah susu" or "gĕtah grip" = caoutchouc.

[4] "Ka'oñ" = Mal. "muat."

[5] "Ka-nĕgri kitā'" = Bes. "ha-dung hĕ-papĕ'."

Ka'an barang ka-rumah kitā',
And carry *our* goods to house *of* ours,

Jön barang muntēt mulih.
And give *of the* goods a-little *to* everyone.

Pulai.[1] *The Cork-tree.*

Pulai[2] alai kik-kik-kik.
The Pulai waves (?) 'creak-creak-creak' (?).

Pangkal sengit tiup[3] angin.
Its base rocks *with-the*-blowing wind.

Rendang rampak bĕrjurei[4]
Spreading *and* thick-leaved *and* dangling

Daun pulai akar pulai.
Are the leaves *of the* Pulai, *the* roots *of the* Pulai (?).

Jangkar rentang jangkar purus,[5]
Roots *that* penetrate, roots on-the-surface,

Jangkar purus naga mĕngunjam.
Its roots *on-the*-surface *that are like* Dragons contending.

Buku' pulai susu dārā'.[6]
The buds *of the* pulai *are like the* nipples *of a* virgin.

Daun pulai gĕtah susu.
The leaves *of the* pulai *have* sap *like* milk.

Batang pulai putih panau.[7]
The stem *of the* Pulai is gray *and* mottled.

Lembong[8] simpulan lembong pulai.
Like the peak *of a* head-cloth *are the* shoots *of the* Pulai.

Sanggul (di) hujong[9] lembong pulai.
Like scroll-work finial *are the* shoots *of the* Pulai.

Tingi chakih[10] poko' pulai.
High *are the* buttresses *of the* tree Pulai.

Bĕdök bunga' tabor 'lukut.
Falls *its* blossom *like* scattered rice-ends.

Bĕdök bungā' hujan rinyei.[11]
Falls *its* blossom *like* rain drizzling.

[1] *Alstonia scholaris*, Ridley.

[2] = Bes. "tingkur."

[3] = Bes. "ka'āh buā'."

[4] "Bĕrjurei," perhaps from its long pendulous fruit, or from its aerial roots or streamers. "Sengit" = Bes. "sending." "Rampak" = Bes. "jĕlakah" —*ex.* "jĕlakah rhāk tengko'-keh."

[5] Prob. = penetrate (the ground) as distinct from its streamers. Cp. Mal. "ta'rentang pĕluru di' lalang." "Purus" was explained as = Mal. "mĕmpulor," referring to the light-wood root-clumps that project above the surface of the soil under the tree "like struggling dragons," and which form the Mal. substitute for cork, being used largely for fishing-floats.

[6] "Susu darā'" = Bes. "tuh mah nyom."

[7] "Panau" = Bes. "bĕchang"; its bark is gray (Ridley.) In Besisi prose this sentence would run "bĕchang-leh lantok long tengko'-ke."

[8] = Mal. "puchok sapu-tangan," *i.e.* "shoot" or "peak."

[9] *I.e.* like a piece of terminal scroll-work such as is used in Malay carvings.

[10] = Mal. "banir."

[11] = Bes. "gĕmar banchi."

Nakeh gĕlar hadat pulai.
That *is* called *the* custom *of the* Pulai-tree.

Gul biong kagâh pulai.
Take *your* hatchet *and* fell *the* Pulai-tree.

Beh pahu' kayuh Malakā'.
Make *a* canoe *and* paddle to-Malacca.

Jual niyu dagang barang.
Sell coconuts, barter goods.

Bawā' pulang sampan pulai.
Take home *your* canoe *of*-Pulai-*wood.*

Tarek ka-darat ödö lek.
Pull-*it*-up on-to-*the*-shore, do-not *let it get*-old.

Jual ka-Chinā' mui ratus ringit.[1]
Sell *it* to-*the*-Chinese *for* one hundred dollars.

Lukah. The Fish-trap

Ting ting hãt[2] lukah ginting,
"Ting ting hãt" *is the*-fish-trap small-waisted,

Lukah ginting kabeh Mamat Alang.
Fish-trap small-waisted, made-by Mamat *the*-Second-born.

Tahan-leh döōh-gendeh-ki.
Set-*it*-then *in-the*-river-there.

Ka-lep kah, kah bĕrisi kĕtöng.[3]
Enter *it* fish, fish covered-with *scales.*

Kah hĕnom kah bagē.
Fish many, fish various.

Kah sĕbarau,[4] kah tapah.
The-fish Sĕbarau, *the*-fish Tapah.

Kah 'ruan, kah bujor.
The-fish Aruan, *the*-fish Bujor.

Kah lembat, kah puyu'.
The-fish Lembat, *the*-fish Pĕpuyuh.

Nakeh lep lukah ginting.
Those enter *the*-fish-trap small-waisted.

Ka'an ha-dong kawin ha-dong.
Bear *them* homeward *and* throw *them* down-in-*the*-hut.

Siang-leh kah hĕnom.
Slice-up-then fish many.

---

[1] "Ringgit." In Besisi the word "ting" is sometimes used for "dollar." Probably it is onomatopœic for silver coins in general. Cp. our own "chink."

N.B. The small dug-out used by the Besisi is called by them "pāhū jongkong."

[2] "Hãt" = small-waisted like a wasp, hour-glass-shaped.

[3] "Kĕtöng" = scales (of fish).

[4] Mal. "ikan aruan" = "kah bakap" (Besisi),
"ikan bujor" = "kah buntok" (*i.e.* round fish),
"ikan lembat" = "kah dăgon,"
"ikan pĕpuyuh" = "kah chĕret."

Beh jumah machin lem-lem.[1]
Make gravy *and* cook very-carefully.

Dah machin tĕmong kawan.
When you have cooked *them* call *your* comrades.

Jön nachar muntĕt mulih.
Give to-eat a-little *to*-everyone.

Bihi u'ut nachar kah-nong.[2]
When gorged *is your* belly *with* eating fish-those.

Lek-leh ai, Mamat Solong.
Rise-up-then, ho ! Mamat *the*-Firstborn.

Rentak balē, balē panjang.
Drum-upon *the*-Hall-*floor*, *the*-Hall *that is* long.

Rentak balē balē bĕsar.
Drum-on *the*-Hall-*floor*, *the*-Hall *that is* broad.

Hukah chĕliau adik kakak.
They like *to* look-on, little-sisters *and* elder-sisters.

Nakeh bangsā' lukah ginting,
That *is the*-way-of *the*-fish-trap small-waisted.

Hum. Children's Bathing Song.

Hum mah hĕdĕt, hum 'gi.
Bathe people little, bathe-go.

Biar sĕjuk,[3] ödö panas.
Let *be* cool do-not *be*-hot.

Biar chuchī' kret-hē.
Let *be* clean body-your.

Gosok[4] lem-lem kret-hē.
Rub very-carefully body-your.

Ödö dakī' kret-hē.
Do-not *leave* impurities *on* body-your.

Yūt ha-dong gul hikāt.
Return homewards *and* take *your* comb.

Gul hikāt, hikāt tsuk-hē.
Take *your* comb *and* comb hair-your.

Biar lichau, biar linyang.
Let *it-be* smooth, let *it be* glossy.

Hadāt hum mah hĕdĕt.
Such is the-custom *to*-bathe people little.

Mah nyom chok ha-balē.
People young proceed to-*the*-Hall.

Gĕrdak-gĕrdak bunyi' balē,
'Creak-creak' *is the*-noise *of the* Hall,

[1] *Lit.* well-well.
[2] Bes. "nong" = "hinong" = Mal. "tadi."
[3] Mal. "sĕjuk" = Bes. "tĕkĕt";
Mal. "panas" = Bes. "rayong" (of the body, as well as of the sun, etc.).
[4] Mal. "Gosok" = Bes. "gösöyt."

Balē panjang balē bĕsar.
The-Hall *that is* long, *the*-Hall *that is* broad.

Mah kĕdol hukah kayi'.
Women-folk like to-see.

Mah nyom dalam balē.
People little within *the*-Hall.

Jadi pleh, tahun jadi.
Plentiful *be* fruits, year *be* plentiful.

Jadi pleh pleh bagē.
Plentiful *be* fruits, fruits various.

Jadi pleh tihap are'.[1]
Plentiful *be* fruit every day.

Jadi pleh tihap bulan.
Plentiful *be* fruit every month.

Jadi pleh tihap tahun.
Plentiful *be* fruit every year.

Ödö mungkir pada janji.
Do-not go-back upon *what is* promised.

Hadāt sūrāt dalam buku',
The-customs *that are* written within *the*-book.

Pleh . . . Pleh, pleh, pleh, pleh.
Fruit . . . Fruit, fruit, fruit, fruit.

Hadāt orang bĕr-utan,
This is the-custom *of* people a-jungling,

Hadāt orang main jo'oh.
The-custom *of*-people *that* make-merry *with* drinking.

Bangkong. The Bangkong Fruit.[2]

Hong kau barah hong !
Hong kau barah hong !

Hong mĕrimpā' bangkong.
Hong—*we* pluck *the*-bangkong.

Kong kau Bapai Tunang.
Kong—reach (?)-out, Father Tunang.

Nang kau Bapai Sayang.
Nang—reach-out, Father Sayang.

Yang kau Bapai Odong.
Yang—reach-out, Father Odong.

Dong mĕrimpā' bangkong.
Dong—*we* pluck *the*-bangkong.

Kong bangkong kudes.[3]
Kong—*the*-bangkong kudes.

Kong, bangkong katel.[4]
Kong—*the* bangkong katel.

[1] Mal. "tiap" (or "tīhāp") = Bes. "ha'in"—*ex.* "ha'-in arē', ha-in būlan," etc.

[2] A wild "chĕmpĕdak." It will be seen that the last syllable of each line is usually repeated at beginning of the next.

[3] A small variety of "bangkong" or wild "chĕmpĕdak."

[4] Smaller than the "b. kudes."

Kong bangkong mengoh.[1]
Kong—*the* bangkong mengoh.

Kong bangkong palas.[2]
Kong—*the* bangkong palas.

Chok Bapai Odong,
Go, *O* Father Odong,

Chok Bapai Tunang,
Go, *O* Father Tunang,

Chok-leh Wak Solong,[3]
Go, *O* Father Solong,

Chok mĕrimpā' bangkong.
Go, *and* pluck *the* bangkong.

Kom bangkong dah.
Got *the* bangkong *you* have.

He ka'an ha-dong.
Do-you bear *them* homewards.

Tĕmong Mak Tunang,
And call *to* Mother Tunang,

Kom midas[4] bangkong,
To get quarter*ed the* bangkong,

Gul piok gompong,[5]
And to-take *the*-pot *that's* chipped,

Nakeh mo'oh bangkong.
That *is* for-boiling *the* bangkong.

Ring subang biring.
Follow-*with the*-leaf-rings,[6] *O* follow.

Iring ha-dong iring.
Follow home, *O* follow.

Iring kawan Gentoi.
Follow, friend Gentoi.

Rai subang birai.
Wave *your* leaf-rings, wave *them*.

Rai 'ku mĕngirai.
I wave, I wave *them*.

'Ku kirai mayang muntĕt.
I wave palm-blossom a-little.

Sih kaköm tulasih.
Basil, plant holy-Basil.

---

[1] "Mengoh" or "mengâh," the large variety.

[2] About same size as (3), but long-shaped.

[3] *Sic*: no doubt "Sayang" should be read here, as above.

[4] *V.l.* "tongkă," which = Mal. "tĕtak, kluarkan biji-nya."

[5] "Gompong" = Mal. "sompong" (cp. "sumbing") = chipped, of a pot.

[6] This refers to the leaf-rings or artificial nooses of palm-leaf which are made up into bunches or tassels and fastened to the girdle ("kabök ha-u'ut") and headbands, or merely inserted in them, in which case they are called (in Bes.) "mayang sikih" or "sikis" = Mal. "sisip."

Kaköm di-ruang batang.
Plant *it* in-*the*-cranny *of*-*a*-tree.

Badan tidak kasā',
If the Body *is*-not capable,

Sā' karā' mulih.[1]
Able, *it* remains alone.

Lih namā' alö,
Lone, what else,

Lö hadāt Datoh,
Else? '*Tis the* custom *of our* grandfathers,

Toh mah nyom,
Grandfathers, *for* people young,

Nyom krĕjā' balē.
Young, *to*-work *in the* Hall.

Lai kĕmol kĕdol,
Hall, *both* men *and* women,

Dol hadāt Datoh.
Women, '*tis the* custom *of our* grandfathers.

Toh mak Kalih.
Grandfathers, *and* Mother Kalis.

Mak kalih pandē.
Mother Kalis is clever.

Dē mak kalih,
Clever is Mother Kalis,

Lih pandē ngot,
Kalis, *and* clever not,

Ngot mak Gēboi,
Not (clever) is Mother Gēboi,

Boi krĕjā' balē.
Gēboi, *at*-working in-*the*-Hall.

Lē namā' alö,
Hall, what else,

Lö mah hukah,
Else? People like,

Hukah pleh jadi.
Like fruits plentiful.

Di tahun rĕja'.[2]
Plentiful, *a* year *of* abundance.

Rĕja' mah hĕnom.
Abundance, (since?) people *are* many.

Hĕnom jadi bē.
Many, plenteous-*be* rice.

Bē jadi pleh.
Rice, *be*-plenteous fruit.

[1] Or "gĕnar' (Bes.) = alone.

[2] Here again "rĕjak" was explained as a good or fruitful year = Mal. "tahun jadi"; so that this interpretation is doubtless right; and perhaps "rĕjak" in Besisi = Mal. "jadi" in all senses.

Pleh tijak-gerdak,
Fruit, *we* tread-*and*-tramp,

Dak rentak balē.
Tramp, *and*-drum-on *the* Hall-*floor*.

Lē lantē bĕrtam,
Hall, floor of bĕrtam,

Tam bĕrtam beh,
Bĕrtam, of bĕrtam. Do,

Beh namā' alö,
Do what *shall we* else?

Esok jĕmah jadi,
To-morrow *and* always be-plenteous,

Di jadi pleh.
Plenteous, be plenteous fruit.

Hē-ē-ē!
He-e-e!

Song of the Sick Boy

A Bĕsisi Song ("*Sēoi*" *or* "*hēoi*")

Chĕrabong bungā' ĕmpai,
Swells *the* blossom *of the* Baru[1]-*tree*,

Bĕtasap bungā' mĕso'.
And thick *the* blossom *of the* Tĕmbusu.

Ödö kĕnang ālö, gadeh, ai!
Do-not care further granny, oh!

Kawen-leh, kawen dah.
Throw *it* down—thrown-down *it* is.

Ödö nodor[2] ālö, gadeh, ai!
Do-not mention *it* further, granny, oh!

Karā' tempok öyn, gadeh, ai!
Remains calyx mine, granny, oh!

Karā' tīl jare' öyn, gadeh, ai!
Remain prints *of* fingers mine, granny, oh!

Karā' tīl jong öyn, gadeh, ai!
Remain prints *of* feet mine, granny, oh!

Karā' bīlāng sēoi öyn, gadeh, ai!
Remains to-tell song mine, granny, oh!

Chong kĕnang grēs öyn, gadeh, ai!
For the hills yearns heart mine, granny, oh

Miong sēoi öyn di-dong,[3] gadeh, ai!
Hear song mine in-*the*-house, granny, oh!

Lek chok, gadeh, bungkus ha-pren,
I arise *and* go, granny, wrap up-*the*-rice,

Öyn chok mĕri, 'gar nĕchit chīm.
I go *to the* forest, will snare birds.

[1] Or "Bharu" = "new." [2] "Nodor" = Mal. "mĕnutor."
[3] Or "hru-dong."

Nĕchit chīm bĕkom ngot, gadeh, ai !
Snaring birds *I* get not, granny, oh !

Ödö harāp-leh, gadeh, ai !
Do-not hope-indeed, granny, oh !

Kĕnon hun ngot yal kulong.
Your child *is* strong not *to* climb up-aloft.

Klet sentong chong kĕtök-hå, gadeh, ai !
I bear *a* back-basket, *but its* lashings *are* broken-these, granny, oh !

'An chīm tates, ayut ha-dong.
I pick-up *a* bird hornbill, *and* return towards-hut.

Kajöh neneh chīm tates, gadeh, ai !
Heavy indeed *is the* bird hornbill, granny, oh !

'Dah yut, machin-leh chīm tates, gadeh, ai !
I have return*ed*, cook-then *the* bird hornbill, granny, oh !

Kachar-leh chīm tates, gadeh, ai !
Eat-then *the* bird hornbill, granny, oh !

Jön kachar muntĕt mulih.
Give to-eat a-little *to* everybody.

Odö punan chīm tates-hå, gadeh, ai !
Do-not go-craving-for *the* bird hornbill-this, granny, oh !

Kachar-leh chīm tates, gadeh, ai !
But eat-then *the* bird hornbill, granny, oh !

Adīk, kākāk, ipar, duai.
Little-sisters, elder-sisters, brothers-in-law, *and* sisters-in-law (?)

Improvised Besisi Song of the Hunting of the Coconut Monkey.

Chok-leh mĕri hinong,
Go-then *to the* forest now.

An blau mui tĕkâh,[1]
Take blowpipe one stem,

'Lok[2] mui, dâmâk tujuh tĕkâh,
Quiver one, darts seven stem,

Ha-nālö kĕnon kâ'.
To-shoot *the* young *of the* coconut-monkey.

Kālöh dah, kom ha-grēs,
Shot is-*it*, got to-*the*-heart,

Bĕdök hă-tēh dah ;
Fall*en* to-*the*-earth is *it*,

Töyt chong, bök kĕnon kâ',
Cut *a* creeper, bind *the* young *of the* monkey,

Bök klet ha-chĕloñ, an yut ha-dong.
Bind *and* carry on-*the*-back, bear *it* return to-*the*-house.

Nimul ha-dong, kokos[3]-leh .
Reach home, remove-*its*-fur-then.

---

[1] Numeral coefficient = Mal. "batang."

[2] = Bes. "jĕlok."

[3] Explained as = Mal. "abu-i" or "buang bulu" to remove the fur, probably in part at least by singeing, and then rubbing the skin with ashes (Mal. "abu"). Kâ' = "kok" (Mal. b'ro').

Dah kokos, chok lantok[1]-kiah chiang,
Done remove-*its*-fur, poke-off skin-*its* first,

Kontok [2]-leh, kajön ha-mah muntĕt mulih..
Quarter-then *and* give to-people a-little *to* each.

Bö punan gulei-hå.
Do-not go-craving-for cooked-meat-this.

Bö tenglep [3] kăpâys kubi, būl hē,
Do-not insert fruit-*of* 'asam kĕlubi *or* poisoned you *will be*,

Tenglep plong kulim, tenglep kunyit, tenglep liā',
Insert leaves *of* kulim, insert turmeric, insert ginger,

Tenglep plong karong, tenglep lempar, tenglep kēsom,[4]
Insert leaves of the "kĕlat" tree, insert spices, insert "kēsom."

Gul chongkhē' nasi', chongkoh jumah ha- bangku.[5]
Take *a* spoon *for* boiled-rice, scoop *the* gravy into *a* palm-sheath *vessel.*

Nachar ramai muntĕt mulih.
Eat all-together, a-little each-one.

Ödö punan kret kå'-nong.
Do-not go-craving-for *the* body *of* monkey-yonder.

Bru dah nachar, lek gul mudut,
Finished have eating, rise get cigarettes,

Bru mudut, kåm-leh nong,
Finished cigarettes, repose-then now,

Bru kåm, jĕtek-leh.
Finished repose, sleep-then.

Besisi Description of a Storm.

Lūhh-hå,[6] duh lep-lep [7] döō-gendeh
The storm *is* here, run *and* enter-upon *the* river;

Mudik sen-döō, tahan ngot buah-hå,
Ascend *to the* headwaters, endure not gale-this;

Kĕdĕk [8] lūhh, are' gārŏng [9]-hå,
Rages *the* storm, *the* day thunders-here,

Lindong tĕlok-hå.
Shelter *we in* cove this.

Besisi Description of Padi (Rice) Planting [10]

Chok mĕri oi! mĕnĕbas lĕbā' hinong,
Go *to the* jungle, ho! to-clear *your* plantation now,

---

[1] Mal. "tikamkan kulit."

[2] Mal. "bantai."

[3] Mal. "masokkam" or "buboh." The injunction refers to the Bĕsisi superstitious prejudice against eating acid fruits with animals killed by poisoned darts.

[4] Prob. = Mal. "kasom," for which see Ridley's *List.*

[5] Mal. "upih" (of nibong or other palm).

[6] Also "sèluhh" = Mal. "ribut."

[7] Reduplication of "lep" = "to enter," Mal. "masok." By fleeing upstream they escape the worst of the storm, which is imagined as taking place near the river-mouth.

[8] Qu. meaning of "kĕdĕk."

[9] "Garŏng" = "thunder."

[10] See pp. 361, 362, *supra.*

Bē'[1] dī' jös, bē'[1] dī' gomo' ;
Rice work early, rice make fruitful ;

Jöjös jĕmu,[2] dah 'chin tuht kâh.
Quick-quick dry *the-felled-trees*, done cooked burn also.

Tabu[3] bē', pětöm yet, pětöm bâys,
Sow rice, plant yams, plant sugarcane,

Pětöm hĕntok, kachek dung, tĕduh mĕngubah.
Plant bananas, fix *the piles of a* hut, *for* shelter *when* planting-out.

Hĕndum bē', bē'[1] tök hinong,
When ripe *the* rice, *the* rice reap immediately,

Nisâm payah nachar, bē' lĕpât
Else to-morrow hard to-feed ; *the* rice *will* rot.

Odö biar bē'-hâ, tök bē' döyt-döyt.
Do-not neglect rice-this, reap *the* rice finished-finished.

Besisi Courtship : an Imaginary Dialogue.[4]

M. He kagar ha-öyn, ai ?
Do you long for-me, eh ?
F. Namā' 'to' ? öyn jet klö, mani ĕmboh-hö ?
What *is* that ? I follow also, how *should I be* unwilling.
M. Öyn kagar klö.
I long-*for you* too.
F. Mani ĕmboh-hö ? lĕmol kabeh, öyn jet klö ; namā' öyn kĕdol, öyn jet kâh.
How *should I be* unwilling ? *the* man acts I follow also ; because I *am a* woman, I follow too.
M. 'Dah neneh, neneh-leh ; öyn ikun gendek-ah, laheh 'dah.
Is that true ? True-be-it ; I *will be your* father *and* mother, clear *it* is.
F. Namā' 'to' ? öyn jet klö, mui hare'-ö, lek ngot dah.
What *is* that ? I *will* follow *you* too, one day indeed long(er) not *it* is.
M. Nakeh lek öyn-hã.
That long I too.
F. He garang chongkak langah bage' hong 'dah nisâm tahan ngot lek-ö ; beh dah öyn, nisâm tahan ngot.
If you *are* rude fierce *and* coarse like hornet, *when-it*-is to-morrow *I* endure not long indeed ; done *with it* have I, to-morrow *I* endure not.

[Here the betel-box (an evidence of contract with Malays ?) is pushed across, and the man makes his speech.][5]

M. Hak he, öyn kagar tĕlong tĕmpat chambai, öyn tĕlong kĕnon-kudā', 'gar kom ; öyn tĕlong pāhū, hāp tihang, öyn ganti
Thing *of* you (?), I desire to-find *a* betel-box, I seek *a* filly, *I* wish *to* have *it* ; I seek *a* boat, *if it* has-no mast, I *will* provide

[1] Note that the object bē' ("rice," Mal. "padi,") precedes the verb, an unusual construction.
[2] Or "jĕmur." [3] Or "tabur."
[4] As to this dialogue and the marriage formula which follows it, see vol. ii. p. 69 *et seq.*
[5] It would seem from the next version that what follows is addressed to the girl's parents.

tihang, hap layar öyn ganti layar, öyn
a mast, *if it* has-no sail I *will* provide *a* sail, I
tĕlong salamā' bawau-hă, kom ngot, nahă nimul ka-dol
have sought *it* the-length *of* sea this, *and* got *it* not, here *I* arrive at country
he, dah piong bungā', piong salamā' bawau-hă. Jañ 'dah,
your, having smelt *the* flower, smelt *it* the-length *of* sea this. Tired *I* am
chok-ö salamā' hă-ah, nahă dah bungā'-ah, an pleh
of going indeed so-far *as* this, this is *the* flower, *I* take *the* fruit *of the*
timun; dah tibā' bau' bungā' ha-öyn, öyn jet klö, klet-
cucumber; has reached *the* scent *of the* flower to me, I follow too, *I* pick *it*
ah; āgār hāp öyn pĕpiong pĕpiong; hāp pĕpiong āgār
up; *if* desire not I to-smell *it I should have* smelt *it*; not[1] smelling *I* desire
sabulih-kih, kagar pakom ha-öyn atas hē-ö; agar
as-much-as-possible-that, desiring to-get *it* for myself from you-indeed; desiring
kom mui bulān kom ngot, yut wă; hak kagar
to get *if in* one month *I* get *it* not, *I* return not-yet; *this* thing *I* desire
atas he.
from you.

The following is a variant of the latter part of the foregoing dialogue which is supposed to be made by a man to parents of his beloved.

[After pushing the betel-stand towards them, say]:—

Hāk[2] he', öyn handak tĕlong, tĕmpat sīrih.
Property *of* you, I desire to-seek, a-stand-for betel.

Öyn tĕlong kĕnon kudā', 'gar sabulih kom-nya.
I am-seeking *the* young *of a* horse, *I* desire very-much to-get it.

Öyn tĕlong pāhū'.
I am-seeking *a* boat,

Hāp tihang, öyn gantī tīhāng,
If it have-no mast, I *will* provide *a* mast,

Hap layār, öyn gantī layār.
If it have no sail, I *will* provide *a* sail.

Öyn tĕlong sa-lamā' laut-hă, kom ngot.
I seek *it* as-far-as sea-this, *but* got-it not.

Nahă tibā' dol-he', dah piong bungā' mui jong.[3]
Now (?) *I* reach country-your, have smelt blossom one foot.

Piong sa-lāmā' bawau-hă.
I smelt *it* as-far-as sea-this.

Jañ dah, chok salamā' hă-ah.
Weary am *I* with-roaming as-far-as this-indeed.

Nahă dah bungā'-ah.
This is blossom-indeed.

Dah tibā' bau bungā' ha-öyn, öyn turut.
Has reached scent *of* blossom to-me, I follow *it*.

Klek-ah, klek dah-leh.
Pick-*it*-up, *I*-picked-*it*-up have-then.

---

[1] *I.e.* "Though I had desired not to smell it, I should have smelt it, and not smelling it, I desire to smell it as much as possible."

[2] "Hāk" = Mal. "hak" (property), explained to me as referring to the girl ("kĕnon").

[3] "Mui jong (one foot)" is a numeral coefficient.

Agar[1] hap öyn pĕpiong, dah pĕpiong.
If wanted not-at-all I to-smell *it*, *I should* have smelt *it*.

Hāp pĕpiong agar sabulih-ki ; mintā' pa-kom[2] ha-öyn, atas he-ö.
Not smelling *I* want as-much-as-possible ; *I* ask to-possess *it* for-myself, from you-indeed.

Agar sabulih, sabulan bĕlum bulih, yut wâ.
I want *it* very-much, *in* one-month not-yet got, *I* return not-yet.

'Nak bĕr-hajab atas he.
I want to-get-my-desire from you.

Besisi Marriage Ceremony.

The following catechising of the Batin (acting on behalf of the bridegroom) was carried on by the Pĕnghulu Balei (acting on behalf of the bride).

P. Tĕrblī pingan mangko ?	Have-you-bought (*lit.* Bought ?) plates *and* cups ?
B. Tĕrblī.	I have (*lit.* Bought).
P. Tĕrblī piok bangā' ?	Have you bought pots *and* pans ?
B. Tĕrblī.	I have.
P. Tĕrblī hĕndi ?	Have you bought clothing ?
B. Tĕrblī.	I have.
P. Tĕrblī hau ?	Have you bought chopper ?
B. Tĕrblī.	I have.
P. Tĕrblī biong ?	Have you bought hatchet ?
B. Tĕrblī.	I have.
P. Kabeh dung ?	Have you built (*lit.* Built ?) house ?
B. Kabeh.	I have.
P. Kabeh tangā' ?	Have you made (*lit.* Made ?) steps ?
B. Kabeh.	I have.
P. Kabeh lĕbā' ?	Have you made clearing (*i.e.* for a plantation) ?
B. Kabeh.	I have.
P. Kabeh sĕndoh ?	Have you made spoon (of wood) ?
B. Kabeh.	I have.
P. Kabeh timbā' ?	Have you made *water*-bucket ?
B. Kabeh.	I have.
P. Pĕtöm yet ?	Have you planted (*lit.* Planted ?) yams ?
B. Pĕtöm.	I have.
P. Pĕtöm bȧ̈s ?	Have you planted sugar-cane ?
B. Pĕtöm.	I have.
P. Pĕtöm bē' ?	Have you planted rice ?
B. Pĕtöm.	I have.
P. Pĕtöm hĕntok ?	Have you planted bananas ?
B. Pĕtöm.	I have.
P. Kahun gâh ?	Can fell (trees) ?
B. Kahun.	I can.
P. Kahun yal pleh ?	Can climb-for fruit ?
B. Kahun.	I can.

[1] "Agar" appears to be here a shorter form of "kagar," which is frequently abbreviated to "gar," the "ka" being merely the verbal prefix.

[2] "Pākom" or "pā-kom" = Mal. "men-dapat." I should have expected "ka-kom," but "pakom" is what was given me. The exact meaning of these last sentences is difficult, but I believe it to be as given above.

P. Kahun nalö?
B. Kahun.
P. Kabeh mudut?
B. Kabeh.
P. Tĕlong kĕpoh yohh?[1]
B. Tĕlong.
P. Höl?
B. Nahöl.

Can shoot (with the blowpipe)?
I can.
Do you smoke? (*lit.* "Make cigarette?")
I do.
Find eggs *of*-turtle?
I find.
True?
True.

Chong Singapurā' Malakā',
A hill *in* Singapore *or* Malacca,

Pulau Pinang öyn bli.
Or in the Isle *of* Penang *would* I buy.

Chong Sĕlangor Perak öyn bli.
A hill *in* Sĕlangor *or* Perak *would* I buy.

Nahå-kåh kĕnon mah.
This-the-more *the* child *of a* man.

P. Nahöl tempā' krep?
True, fall-upon *your* body?[2]

B. Ödö kĕnon mah.
Speak not *of the* child *of a* man.

Sikah lotong alö öyn tĕlong,
Chikah *and* lotong-monkeys even I seek,

Alö öyn kakom.
Even I capture.

Nahå-kåh kĕnon mah.
This-the-more *the* child *of a* man.

P. Pūn kledek pūn.
? sweet-potatoes ?

Tela' tanaman Jakun.
Sweet-potatoes *are*-planted *by-the*-Jakun.

Höl katā' Batin, Jinang, Jukrah.
"True," says *the* Batin, Jinang *and* Jukrah.

Mah horōh mah nyom.
By men old *and* men young.

Kliling busut kliling.
Around *the* mound *and* round *again*.

Besisi Proverbs.

(1) Dah jön; hap tĕlong.
If you have, give; *if you have* not, seek.

(2) Bujam 'mpai an mĕri,
A wallet new take *to the* jungle,

Bujam li' karā' ha-dung.
A wallet old leave at-home.

[1] Or "yåhh."
[2] Or "kret"; the expression really means, "So may a tree fall upon you." This is the most binding oath known to the Besisi.

(3) Seh tĕlong, bĕdök bât,
If a thing is lost, seek *it*; *if* fallen, pick *it* up,
Chidūt kachâm, kĕtök bök,[1]
If spilt, dig *it up* (?); *if* snapped, bind *it*.

Besisi Propitiatory Address to the Enemies of the Padi (Rice), before the Padi-feast.[2]

Sāntāp jong lintar,[3]	Partake, *O* Round-Foot,
Sāntāp-leh kănē',	Partake, *O* rats,
Sāntāp-leh jīsek,[4]	Partake, *O* Blight,
Sāntāp-leh röyt,[5]	Partake, *O* Finches,
Sāntāp-leh kapinding,	Partake, *O*. Stink-bugs,
Sāntāp-leh hūlāt,	Partake, *O* Caterpillars,
Sāntāp-leh jangau,[6]	Partake, *O* Green-fly,
Sāntāp-leh rūsā',	Partake, *O* Deer,
Sāntāp-leh kĕtūr,	Partake, *O* Wild-Boars,
Sāntāp he solong[7] tahun,	Partake ye *of* eldest-born *of-the*-year.
Öyn kachar wâ,	I eat not-yet,
Nāhâ'[8] năchar ārē'.	This eat immediately.

Fragment of Besisi Invocation.[9]

Höl[10] mui 'mbar ĕmpē 'mpat,
True, one, two, three, four,

Höl limā' anam tujōh.
True, five, six, seven.

Mĕlĕlap samā' subang gading.[11]
Surround with nooses *of* ivory (*colour*).

Mĕlĕlap samā' subang tinjong.
Surround with nooses ring-shaped.

Lĕgeng beh jĕlöng chong dendan.
Stretch make long *the* creeper *of* decoration.

Lĕgang beh jĕlöng chong ki'ip.[12]
Stretch make long feet *of* centipedes.

Bilang limau lilang.
Tell-of *the* limes wax-like.

---

[1] *V. infra*, p. 685, where some of these phrases reappear in a different order.

[2] As to this charm, see p. 363, *supra*.

[3] *I.e.* the elephant.

[4] A kind of insect, explained as = Mal. "bĕnah."

[5] = Mal. "pipit."

[6] = Mal. "pianggang."

[7] *I.e.* the food-offerings.

[8] *Lit.* this. This line should mean, "I am just about to eat."

[9] This invocation is used at the "bĕrsawei" ceremony for the relief of sick persons, at which the medicine-man invokes and is possessed by spirits. See vol. ii. p. 306 *et seq.*

[10] "Höl" = "true," "approved," "sanctioned."

[11] "Subang" is explained as descriptive of the decoration of the walls with objects made from strips of "sĕrdang" or "kĕpau" palm-leaf; "tinjong" is said to refer to the ring form of decoration especially.

[12] These lines refer to the palm-leaf fringes stretched round the walls.

Bilang limau pūrūt.
Tell-of *the* limes rough-coat.

Rentak[1] bale bumbun.
Drum *in the* hall *of*-leaves.

Rentak-leh bale salong.
Drum *in the* hall *of*-palm-leaves.

Besisi Charm against Devils.[2]

Mui, 'mbar, mpē', 'pāt, limā', nām, töjoh.
One, two, three, four, five, six, seven.

'Tu[3] klā' jök[4] siyau,[5] jök bingin.[6]
May that indeed *be* cool *which was* feverish, *be* cool *and* cold.

Dalam dageng, dalam ja'ang, dalam urāt, dalam sĕnī.[7]
In flesh, in bones, in sinews, in joints.

Chabut buang Jin Shētan !
Pluck-forth *and* cast-out *both* Jins *and* Devils !

Tĕrbukā', urei Jin Shētan !
Be-opened, be-unfastened, *both* Jins *and* Devils !

Mintā' sunteng,[8] mintā' chābūt Jin Shētan !
I beg *you to* expel, *I* beg *you to* pluck-forth *both* Jins *and* Devils !

Bawā' Busu[9] tĕpong pĕngalin ;
Bring, *O* Busu, flour *for the* sucking-charm ;

Bawā' Busu tĕpong pĕnawar,[10]
Bring, *O* Busu, *the* flour *that is a* neutraliser,

Tawār săkăliān bisā' dalam dageng, dalam urāt !
To neutralise all venom in flesh *and* in sinews !

Siyau biar bingin !
That which is feverish let-be cool !

Chabut Jin Shētan dalam nyawā' dalam gres !
Pluck-forth Jins *and* Devils *from* within *the* spirit *and from* within *the* heart !

Bawā' Busū bungā' tenglang ![11]
Bring, *O* Busu, *the* blossom *of the* tenglang !

Biar bĕrbilang dalam salong, dalam bumbun.
Let-*it* be- chanted within *the palm*-leaf-cell, within *the* leaf-chamber.[12]

Bawā' Busu săkăliān Shētan !
Bring, *O* Busu, all *the* Devils !

---

[1] "Rentak" is to drum on the floor with the foot.

[2] For this and the next two charms see vol. ii. pp. 309, 310.

[3] = Mal. "itu pula."

[4] = Mal. "sĕjuk."

[5] = Fever-heat.

[6] = Mal. "dingin," explained as "pini (or 'pirei') di tulang," "pain in the bones."

[7] = Mal. "sĕndi."

[8] = Mal. "buang" (? *cf.* "suntoh").

[9] Explained as = "Baba' Bungsu" or "Busu."

[10] = Mal. "tĕpong tawar."

[11] Explained as the name of a rare flower growing upon the mountains.

[12] *I.e.* that of the medicine-man.

Sintā' pisau rewang,[1] ngilir[2] Batu Pĕrimun.[3]
Draw *your* knife *of* pearl-shell (?) *and* remove *to* Batu Pĕrimbun.

Rimun klā' Shĕtan, Rimun klā' nĕjis !
At Pĕrimbun then *be the* Devils, Pĕrimbun then *be* foul !

Another Besisi Charm against Devils.

Hong hang jadi bueh.
Hong hang become Foam.

Bueh, jadi batu.
Foam, become Rock.

Batu jadi bueh.
Rock, become Foam.

Pĕrempan[4] kiri, pĕrempan kanan.
Dash *them-to the* left-*hand*, dash *them to the* right *hand.*

Pĕrempan 'kan ku, shĕtan bage.
Dash *them down* for me, *these* devils divers.

Hong plēsē'[5] mulā' plēsē'.
Hong Pĕlĕsit, *that* from-the-first *wert* Pĕlĕsīt.

Piyok lendŏk, bangā' lendŏk.
The pot *is* boiling, *the* copper *is* boiling.

Kiri pĕrisi, kanan pĕrisi.
On the left *hand I* fill *it*, *on the* right *hand I* fill *it.*

Pisi-kan[6] aku shĕtan bagē'.
Do ye fill *it for* me, O devils divers.

Besisi Charm used for exorcising the Spectre Huntsman ("Hantu Pĕmburu").

Chongkang-changkeng[7] gul ha-paut[8] dul[9] buluh.
I go helter-skelter to-seize *my*-peeling-knife *with the* handle *of* bamboo.

Hang kupes[10] pinang bulu' ;
For peeling *the* betelnut hairy ;

Hentak[11] pĕdang atam[12] batang jĕlang,
I draw *my* sword, *and* walk-along *a* tree-trunk lengthy,

---

[1] ? = Mal. "gewang," pearl shell.

[2] ? = Mal. "gilir."

[3] Locality unidentified. (Possibly Gunong Bĕrembun, Nĕgri Sĕmbilan ?)

[4] = Mal. "hempan," "to dash down."

[5] = Mal. "Pĕlĕsit"; also called "Pempråt" by the Bĕsisi, who describe it as a kind of vampire which "sucks dry our blood" ("mĕngisap habis maham kita").

[6] = Mal. "pĕrisikan."

[7] "Chongkang - changkeng," *v.l.* "chongkah - changkeh," explained as = Mal. "lentang-pukang."

[8] "Paut" appears to be a contraction of Mal. "pĕraut" = "peeler" (the usual name in Malay being "pisau raut" or "knife for peeling").

[9] "Dul" = handle or hilt (? = Mal. "ulu."

[10] "Hang-kupes" = Mal. "akan kupas." "Ha" is the commonest form used for "to" (Mal. "akan") in Bĕsisi, but before a "k" the form used is "hang-" (not "ha-").

[11] "Hentak" = Mal. "sentak," the proper Bĕsisi word being "jok" (= Mal. "sentak" or "chabut," "to pull or draw").

[12] Bĕs. "atam" = Mal. "mĕniti."

Manchap [1] ding tujoh tĕkâh,[2]
And sharpen *of* bamboo seven stakes,

Mĕrojoh [3] gengop [4] Hantu Buru.
To transfix *the* chin *of-the*-Spectre Huntsman.

Shiah kiri, shiah kanan,
Avaunt *to-the*-left, avaunt *to-the*-right,

Shiah Hantu Buru !
Avaunt, *O* Spectre Huntsman !

BESISI CHARM FOR EXPELLING THE DEMON OF PAIN ("TAWAR BISA").[5]

Chĕrai tsuk [6] hantu nahã.
Dishevelled *is the* hair *of the* demon yonder.

Lĕmah-lĕmâht tohūk ajes ! [7]
Soft *and* weak *is your* spear, *my* father !

Tĕkam [8] lembong, chabūt tawār.[9]
If you attack *the* shoot, *I* pull-out *the* neutraliser.

Tĕkam daun, chabūt tawār.
If you attack the leaf, *I* pull-out *the* neutraliser.

Chok bĕlenchong [10] hantu, chabūt tawār.
When go-brush-past the demons, *I* pull-out the neutraliser.

Tunjok hantu, chabūt tawār.
When point-*at me* [*or the-patient*] *the* demons, *I* pull-out *the* neutraliser.

Kalep hantu, chabūt tawār.
When enter *me the* demons, *I* pull-out *the* neutraliser.

Kenen [11] hantu, chabūt tawār.
When oppress *me the* demons, *I* pull-out *the* neutraliser.

Kapet hantu, chabūt tawār.
When strike *me the* demons, *I* pull-out *the* neutraliser.

Tĕkam hantu, chabūt tawār.
When attack *me the* demons, *I* pull-out *the* neutraliser.

Hentap [12] pĕnawār, tĕkam hantu.
I draw forth *the* neutraliser, *when* attack *me the* demons.

Chĕlui bisā', yal tawār !
Descend, *O* Venom ! ascend, *O* Neutraliser !

Bukan öyn pande mĕnawār :
It is not I *that is* clever *at* neutralising :

---

[1] "Manchap" = Mal. "mĕranchap."

[2] "Tĕkâh" = Mal. "poko'" or "batang."

[3] "Mĕrojoh" = Mal. "mĕrojok" (?) or "mĕnikam," "to transfix."

[4] "Gengop" (or "dengop," *v.l.*) explained as = Mal. "dagu," "chin," and as being a word of the "Bhasa Hantu," "spirit language."

[5] For this and the next charm see vol. ii. pp. 308, 309.

[6] *V.l.* "shuk."

[7] "Ajes" or "ajeh," explained as = "bāpā'" (cf. Mal. "aji").

[8] = Mal. "tĕrkam," Bes. "kĕtŏng."

[9] Mal. "tawar, pĕnawar," Bes. "hendek" (?).

[10] *V.l.* "bĕlensong," = Mal. "mĕlintas," *cf.* Mal. "langsong."

[11] Explained as "tĕkenyit" or "tĕpenyit" = "to oppress."

[12] = Mal. "sentak."

Guru tuhah pande mĕnawār.
The Teachers aged *were* clever *at* neutralising.
Datang chinchili' bawā' pĕnawār.
Come, *O* chinchili' bird, bring *a* neutraliser.
Pĕnawār tĕkam hantu.
A neutraliser *when* attack *me the* demons.
Datang guru pande bawā' tĕpong tawār.
Come, *O* Teacher clever, bring *the* flour neutralising.
Mĕnawār dalam urat.
To-neutralise *pain* in *the* sinews.

Besisi Inwalling Charm ("Pĕndinding").

Tā' Krusau, Batu Putih, Batu Ladun tinggi,
Ta' Krusau, *on* Batu Putih, *on* Batu Ladun lofty,
Tijak ha-rumpun sĕrai,[1] tijak Alu Bĕsi.[2]
I tread upon *the* grass citronella, *I* tread-upon *the* Pestle *of*-Iron.
Pĕndinding Shĕtan bagĕ klā'[3] tĕkăm,[4]
As an inwalling *against* devils divers and foul,
Chabūt gunong tujuh, mĕndinding kla' Shĕtan.
I uproot the hill-crags seven, *to* inwall *me against the* devils.
Blah rotan sa-labu,[5] sa-blah jalan hantu',
I split rattan one-length, on-one-side proceed *ye*, O demons,
Sa-blah jalan-ku.[6]
On-the-other proceed-I.
Lengkong kawan lengkong trang.
Be your rampart, friends, *a* rampart *of* light.[7]
Lengkong 'ku lengkong g'lap.
Be this rampart *of* mine *a* rampart *of* darkness.[8]

Description of the House of a Besisi Chief.[9]

Plung[10] lantok kĕpong,
Its roof *was* bark *of the* kĕpong *tree*,
Dinding daun bĕrtam,
Its walls *of* leaves *of the* bĕrtam *palm*,
Lantei batang bĕrtam,
Its floor *the* stems *of* bĕrtam *palms*,

[1] Doubtless in allusion to the legend of the seven clumps of magic lemon-grass (citronella), which are believed by the Malays to grow on the peaks of some of the highest mountains in the Peninsula. The exact sense of "Tā' Krusau" is not clear, but it may be connected with "krusau," the cry of the mouse-deer, *v.* p. 643 *ante*.

[2] "Alu bĕsi" ("Iron Pestle") clearly refers to some special geological feature on this hill, similar to, if not identical with, the Antan Besi (also = "Iron Pestle") of Malacca tradition, cp. Hervey in *Man*, 1904, 14, where we are told how Dato Saiyīd Itam's ship was turned into stone, with his fowls, goats, pestle and mortar, and how a similar fate befell one Dato' Antan Bĕsi (Chief of the Iron Pestle), and how "the Iron Pestle and Stone Mortar are still to be seen, it is said, at Gunong Angsi," between Rembau and S. Ujong.

[3] = "Pulā'."

[4] = "Nĕjis.

[5] = Bes. "chong mui pontong" ("pontong," however, is also Malay).

[6] = Bes. "ĕnglang chok hantū', ĕnglang chok öyn."

[7] *Lit.* visible.

[8] *Lit.* dark.

[9] See p. 188 *supra*.

[10] *Lit.* leaves, thatch.

Tihang long loyā'.
Its posts *of the* trunk *of the* loyā'.

Nakeh dung Batin Suntai.
Such *was the* house *of* Batin Suntai.

Dŏŏh-gendeh sĕmilan, di sen-dŏŏh Kalih.
At the rivers nine, on *the* upper Kalis.

Bantal-nya banir diyan.
Pillow-his *was a* buttress *of the* durian *tree.*

Söi daun lembā'.
And his mat *the* leaves *of the* lembā'.

Hĕndi lantok tĕrāp.
His clothes *were of* bark *of the* tĕrap *tree.*

Nakeh unang silah-silah.
Such *are the* laws *of the* genealogy.

Tali tĕmbagā' di-atas batang.
Like a wire *of* copper *stretched* over *a* tree-trunk.

Silah di-bawah batang.
Whilst the genealogy *is* below *the* tree-trunk.

Diyan tembâ'[1]; kenen kĕtŏk[2];
If it is a durian *it will* rot; *if it is too* slender *it will* snap;

Kĕtŏk bŏk[3]; chidut kachâm[4];
If it snaps *you can* bind *it; if it* spills *you can* dig *it up.*

Sih tĕlong[5]; bĕdŏk bât.[6]
If you lose *it,* look-for *it; if it* drops, pick *it* up *again.*

BESISI SPECIMEN, BELIEVED TO BE AN IMPROVISATION.

Tĕlong pleh s'ari tanam.[7]
Look-for fruit *in* one-day planted.

Tĕlong pleh s'ari buah.
Look-for fruit *in* one-day fruiting.

Nakeh tē' To' Klanā'.
That *is the* land *of* To' Klana.

Dŏŏh-gendeh met sĕmilan;
The rivers *of the* springs nine;

Nakeh pĕchāh-pīchīt
Thence *we* broke *and* scattered

Ka-laut ka-darat.
To-*the*-sea *and* to-*the*-land.

Ulu Kalis[8] tĕmpat pémukā'.
Ulu Kalis *is the* place *which was first* cleared.[9]

---

1 Mal. "kalau durian, timbus."
2 Mal. "ginting putus."
3 Mal. "putus bĕrubong."
4 Mal. "tumpah gali."
5 Mal. "hilang chhari."
6 Mal. "chichir pungut."
7 Bes. "pĕtŏm."

8 One of the nine streams: it is mentioned in the Siamang song. "Ulu" means the headwaters or upper part of the course of a river.

9 *I.e.* for habitation. Mal. "buka," is so used of establishing new settlements, *sc.* by clearing the jungle.

Nakeh-leh pĕchāh-pīchīt
Thence *we* broke *and* scattered

Mĕnjadi rayat bawau.
To become *the* subjects *of the* sea.

Mĕnchari hāl-hīdūp tibu-tibar.
To seek *a* livelihood *in* scattered *parties*.

Jet hal chīm, nakeh bĕdŏk ha-bawau.
Those who followed matters *of* birds,[1] they fell to the sea.

Mĕnchari hal ka'-untong.
And sought matters *for* profit.

Mĕnjadikan kinchu kinchet.
And begat grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

'Lor ha-bawau susor ngot.
They moved-out to *the* sea *and* skirted *it* not.

Mĕnjadi kaidah[2] suku waris.[3]
But became *by* division tribes *and* heirs-*of-the-soil*.

Mĕnjadi kĕtŏk.[4]
And became broken-up.

Bĕsisi "Trumba."[5]

Tribal Song of Origin.

Gobang Gubin Buluh Bohal.
Gobang Gubin Buluh Bohal.

Tanah Jati, tanah Hendau.
The country *of* Jati, *the* country *of the* Endau.

Tĕrjatoh[6] ka-tanah Johor Lamā'.
We come to-*the*-land *of* Johor old.

Tengki-tengkel Jĕram Lamā'.
Tengki-tengkel Jĕram old.

Naning Naneng[7] Batin Baruis.
At Naning Naneng *was* Batin Baruis.

Batin Banggai-punyā' asal.
Batin Banggai-his origin-*was*.

Bukit Nuang, Bukit Galah.
Bukit Nuang, Bukit Galah.

---

[1] Because birds were more plentiful on the coast than inland.

[2] Or assigned to.

[3] In the Nĕgri Sembilan the Malay Waris, or "heirs of the soil," claim descent in the female line from aborigines.

[4] *I.e.* divided.

[5] As to these genealogical and traditional songs and sayings, see vol. ii. p. 164 *seqq.* and notes thereupon. There is no settled order in singing these lines except where indicated by the brackets. Each line is, however, nevertheless complete in itself; that is to say, where there are two or more place-names occur in a line, they always come together and in the order given, it being only the order of the lines that varies (except as indicated).

[6] *Lit.* fell upon.

[7] *Qu.* the Malay form of the name + the Bĕsisi form: cp. "turun chĕlui" on p. 687.

Bukit Gentel Batin Marâ.
At Bukit Gentel *was* Batin Marâ.
Punyâ' asal [kĕna] Batin Marâ.
Its origin *was* [because of] Batin Marâ.
Batin Barai [kĕna] Batin Barai.
And Batin Barai [because of] Batin Barai.
Batin Suntai [kĕna] Batin Suntai.
And Batin Suntai [because of] Batin Suntai.

Turun chĕlui Batin Galang.
Went-down *and* descended Batin Galang.
Tolak ka-laut, jadi rayat laut.
And pushed seawards, *and* became Subjects *of the* Sea.
Rayat laut jadi Bajau.
And the Subjects *of the* Sea became Pirates.

Sĕlayan Batang Niyu,
At Sĕlayan *was* [Batin] Stem *of the* Coconut-palm.
Sĕlayan Batang Pinang.
At Sĕlayan *was* [Batin] Stem *of the* Areca-palm.[1]

Cherteng Perteng Tâgun Brĕgö.[2]
With Cherteng, Perteng, Tarun, Bergul.
Tunggul-si-Jagâ' di-hulu Langat.
And the "Stump-of-the-Watcher" on-the-upper Langat.

Ching Bĕranang Pĕjam Gĕbok.[3]
With Ching, Beranang, Pĕjam, Gĕbok.
Langkap Bĕrjuntei, Bangkong Menggoh.
The Langkap-palm overhanging *and* Bangkong Menggoh.
Bangkong Gadeng, Kĕchau, Langlang.
Bangkong Gadeng, Kechau, *and* Langlang.

[1] Unexplained. But in the Kenaboi dialect "sĕnayan" or "sĕnoyon"= coconut palm, and also banana. See, however, vol. ii. p. 166, *n.* 1, and *ib.* p. 167, *n.* 9.

[2] Tarun and Bĕrgul, on the border of the Ulu Langat district of Sĕlangor and Sungei Ujong.

[3] Compare this with the following string of place-names, which according to my Malay informant, one Mamat of Jus in Malacca territory, constituted the old boundaries of the countries of Naning and Muar (round Malacca territory):—Chang, Bĕrânang, Pâjam, Gebok, Lĕbah Bĕrgoyang, Tunggu Bĕrsĕjaga, Bukit Putus, Paya Luas, Bangkong Chondong, Mĕrĕbau Saratus, Kuala Kesang, Tanjong Gading. The first three were explained as being near Ulu Klang (Sĕlangor), Gebok, and the next two as near Ulu Sungei Ujong. (It appears from the map that Bĕranang and Gebok (or Geboh as the map spells it) are places quite close to the present frontier of Sungei Ujong and Sĕlangor). "Bt. Tunggoh S. Jaga" also marked on the map in that region. Bukit Putus is close to Tĕbong, a Malacca border village; Paya Luas near Mantai; Bangkong Chondong just under Mt. Ophir. Mĕrĕbau Saratus lies between Mt. Ophir and Kuala Kĕsang (which is at present the boundary on the sea between the territories of Malacca and Muar). Tanjong Gading is in Muar territory.—C. O. B.

Batu Jamun, Batu Lalau.
The Rock *of* Jamun, *and the* Rock *of* Lalau.

Prā' Charek, Batu Bĕrgentel.
Prā' Charek, *and* Batu Bergentel.

Mĕrbau Karawang, tĕrjatoh Ayer Tawar.
Merbau Karawang, *till you* come *to* Ayer Tawar.

Lĕbah Bĕrgoyang, Bĕrtam Tĕnung.
The Bees'-nest that-sways, *and the* Bĕrtam-palm solitary.

Ginting Pauh, Lantei Nibong.
The Divide of the Wild-Mango, *the* Flooring *of the* Nibong *Palm-wood.*
Lalu ka-bukit Pĕrentian Rimpun.
And pass to *the* hills *of the* Halting-place umbrageous.
Lalu ka-bukit Pĕrentian Tingi.
And pass to *the* hills *of the* Halting-place lofty.
Lalu ka-tanjong Batu Bĕrdaun.
And pass to *the* cape *of the* Rock leafy.

Sumah mukā' Tanah Semujong?[1]
Who opened-up *the*-land *of* Sĕmujong?

Adik Nyai Tĕchap Pĕnghulu Klambu.
Little-Sister Nyai Techap *and the* chieftain Mosquito-curtain.

Samah mukā' Tanah Sĕmujong.
Together opened-up *the* land *of* Sĕmujong.

Lep baju jalā' juandā'.[2]
They who donned[3] *the* coat casting-net-*shaped became* Men-of-the-Bodyguard.

Mĕnjadi Jĕbâh[4] Rĕmbau.
Became *the* Foreigners *of* Rĕmbau.

Lep baju blah chakap sisi'.
Those who donned *the* coat divided speak Bĕsisi.

BĔLANDAS OR B'LANDAS SPECIMENS.[5]

The B'landas Trumba.

Among the B'landas of Selangor I only succeeded in unearthing a few scraps of their "trumba" or genealogical songs, in spite of the fact that the old Bĕsisi man who gave me the Bĕsisi version declared that the latter was borrowed from the B'landas. Hence the only version which has any sort of completeness about it remains that obtained from the Bĕsisi. What scraps I could collect, however, among the B'landas had the merit of agreeing pretty well with the Bĕsisi version. As a general rule, however, the B'landas appear to have embodied the facts they wanted to remember in maxims and proverbial sayings rather than songs, and these latter will be found to corroborate the "trumba."

[1] *I.e.* Sungei Ujong, a state of the Nĕgri Sĕmbilan.

[2] *I.e.* Bĕduanda or Biduanda, now a tribal name common to Malays and aborigines, but here applied to Malays.

[3] *Lit.* entered. [4] *I.e.* Malays.

[5] It will be noticed that all the specimens that follow are almost purely Malayan: even Bĕsisi is largely so, but Bĕlandas shows hardly any traces of a non-Malayan element. I may add that there is little appreciable difference in pronunciation between "Bĕlandas," "B'landas," and even "Blandas," beyond a slight dwelling on the "Bl," which disappears when the word is spoken quickly. The word, therefore, may be pronounced "Blandas," the technically correct spelling "Bĕlandas" being misleading to an Englishman.

One of the scraps obtained from the B'landas consisted of the usual string of place-names, which ran as follows :—

Jĕram Mĕrensing di-ulu Langat,
Kichau, Langlang, Gubang, Gobeng,
Mĕrbau Bĕrkrawang, Bangkong Gadeng,
Pèjam, Rĕbok, Kanching, Bèranang,
Lèbā' Bĕrgoyang, Bĕrtam Tènung.

The first of these lines is not in the Bĕsisi version. The rest are identical.

B'landas Traditional Sayings and Legal Maxims.

1. 'Adat tingal de' Batin Tangong Gagah.
The custom bequeath*ed* by Batin Tanggong Gagah.

Di-bukit bukau, gaung, guntong,
Over hill *and* foot-hill, cavern, *and* tarn

Latih-kan jalan, lorong-kan 'adat,
Force *your* path, make-*a*-channel-*for your* customs,

Sĕkoi yang bĕreleh, waris yang kèdim.
For the millet that wastes-away, *for the* Waris [Heirs] that *are* now.

2. Singah Batin Jinang
Tarries *the* Batin *and the* Jinang

Sĕngan pasang jĕnā'.
As-far-as *the* flood-tide full (?).

Batin bukit makan atas gunong.
The chief *of the* Hill-*men* feeds upon *the* crags.

Ulu Langat pĕrentah dia,
The Upper Langat *is* domain his,

Gharu dia pĕgang,
Eaglewood he holds,

Gadong los chĕrok bijeh lumbong.
As well as wild-yams, los (?), chĕrok (?), *and* tin-sand *of* mines.

Birah makan dia,
Wild-aroids eats he,

Gĕtah taban, rotan dia pĕgang.
Gutta-percha taban, *and* rattan he holds.

3. Batin Laut yang ampunya
It is the Batin *of the* sea *to*-whom-belonging

Layer nang mĕngĕlembong,
The sail that bellies,

Dayong nang kirap,
The oar that swirls,

Laboh sauh, bĕntang kajang,
To drop *the* anchor, *to* spread *the* awning,

Tèbas tĕbang, mĕnchhari ikan,
To clear *and* fell, *to* hunt-for fish,

Buat bĕlat, mĕnikam pari.
To make fishing-stakes, *to* stab *the* sting-ray.

4. Unang di-atas batang,
The laws *are* on-*the*-top-*of the* tree-trunk.
Sīlah di-bawah batang,
The genealogy underneath *the* tree-trunk,
Unang Pĕlima Raja yang pĕgang.
The laws *of the* Pĕlima *it is the* Raja who holds.

5. Lĕba' bĕrgoyang onak yang mĕruntai.
Where the bees'-*nest* sways, *and the* Wait-a-bit-creepers that *have* fallen-down.
Ayer yang mĕleleh, kasai yang bĕrtaup,
Among the streams which trickle, *and the* kasai-*trees* that grow-together,
Kang sădĕngkang bunyi katak,
And croak-croak-croak *is the* cry *of the* frog,
Ginting di-turut angin,
Where the Divide *is* followed-*through by the* wind,
Lorah di-turut ayer,
And the valleys *are* followed-*through by the* streams,
Tĕmpat rinchah-rinchahan Batin Jinang.
Is the place *of the* splash-splashing *of the* Batin *and* Jinang.

Gobang Gubin Buloh Bohal,
Gobang Gubin Buloh Bohal,
Mĕlengkong Pulau Pĕrcha,[1]
Encircling *the* Island *of* Pĕrcha,
Lilit Pulau Mĕngkabau,[2]
Surrounding *the* Island *of* Mĕnangkabau,
Jatoh[3] ka-tanah Pagar-Ruyong,[2]
We happened on-*the*-land *of* Pagar-Ruyong,
Jatoh ka-tanah Jati,
We happened on-*the*-land *of* Jati,
Jatoh ka-Tanjong Pagar,
We happened on-Tanjong Pagar,[4]
Jatoh ka-tanah Johor Lama.
We happened on-*the*-land *of* Johor Lama.
To' Bombong[5] mukā' aye Sĕmilan.
To' Bombong opened-up the Nine Streams.
Batin Chap, Batin Maruis,
With Batin Chap, *and* Batin Maruis.
Batin Lengges, Batin Bĕreh,
Batin Lengges, *and* Batin Bĕreh,
Batin Kantun, Batin Galang,
Batin Kantun *and* Batin Galang,
To' Klambu, Gendeh Bēoi,
The Chief *of the* Mosquito-net, *and* Granny Bēoi,
Batin Minah, Batin Wat.
Batin Minah *and* Batin Wat.[6]

[1] Sumatra.
[2] Districts in the upland country of Central Sumatra.
[3] *Lit.* fell.
[4] At Singapore.
[5] This was the name of To' Klana before his installation ("bĕlum di-lantik"). "Galang" = "Mĕrak Galang."
[6] Altogether there were said to be twelve of these Batins.

Kata undang :—
Says *the* Law :—

Bĕtasap batang pinang,
Where thick *grow the* stems *of the* betel-palms,

Bĕtasap batang niyu,
Where thick *grow the* stems *of the* coco-palms,

Mĕlempei daun pinang,
Where wave *the* leaves *of the* betel-palms,

Mĕlempei daun niyu,
Where wave *the* leaves *of the* coco-palms,

Mĕmuka' tanah Sĕmujong,
There was opened *the* land *of* Sungei Ujong,

Kan wakil mata Sĕmilan Suku,
For authority *over the* springs *of the* Nine Clans,

Mĕmangku nĕgri ampat
It is maintained *by the* countries four,

Nating yang ampat suku.
And sustained *by* the Four Clans.

Mĕnempoh ka-Ginting Bidai,
They struck Ginting Bidai,

Mĕnempoh ka-Ginting Naning,
They struck Ginting Naning,

Mĕnempoh ka-Batang Labu,
They struck Batang Labu,

Mĕnempoh ka-Gendeh Bēoi,
They struck Gendeh Bēoi,

Pulang ka-nĕgri To' Bombong,
And returned to *the* country *of* To' Bombong,

Lantik To' Bombong To' Klana,
Was-installed To' Bombong *as* To' Klana,

Mĕmukā' tanah Sĕmujong,
And opened-up *the* land *of* Sungei Ujong,

Batin Galang turun ka-laut,
Batin Galang descended to *the* sea,

Turun ka-laut jadi Bajau,
Descended to *the* sea *and* became *a* Pirate,

Gendeh Bēoi dĕngan Batak Gĕrodok,
And Granny Bēoi with Batak Gĕrodok,

Turun ka-Rawang naik darat,
Descended at-Rawang *and there* went ashore,

Rawang kĕchīl Rawang bĕsar,
At Rawang *the* little, *and* Rawang *the* big,

Jĕngku kĕchīl jengku bĕsar.
Ancestors little *and* ancestors big.

Proverbial Sayings, etc.

Rimau mĕngaum di-ujong tanjong,
The tiger roars at-the-end *of the* cape,

Gajah mĕraung di-atas gunong,
The elephant trumpets upon *the* crags,

Gajah bĕrentak sĕmatang panjang,
The elephant drums-upon *the* knoll *that is* long,

Gajah tĕr-dorong tigā' dĕpā',
The elephant *whose* stride *is* three fathoms,

Bĕrapā' kuat gajah [dan rimau], kuat lagi ungkā'.
No matter how fast *the* elephant [and *the* tiger], faster yet *is the* ape.

2. Chinchang-kan, bĕlandas,
If you chop-at *anything*, *you want-something* to-strike-upon,

Lompat-kan, tumpu,
If you leap, *you-must-have a* taking-off-place,

Buat sīkat 'kan pĕndapat.
If you make *a* comb *you* shall get (plenty?).

Usul asal jangan dĭ-tinggal,
Your beginnings *and* origin do-not-let be-deserted,

Jangan lupā' kapadā' bilang.
Do-not forget *this* in *the* telling.

Charm ("Kĕmat") for catching Monkeys.[1]

Gogul k'ra gogul.
Enchant (?) *the* Monkey, enchant *him*.

Gogul-ku, ai! sĕmangat lotong, k'ra', wa'wa'.
Enchant-I, oho! *the* souls *of* lotongs [kra, etc.].

Kalau ta' turun, makan bĕnturun,
If *you* do-not descend, *you shall be* eaten *by the* bear-cat,

Tā' datang, makan binatang.
If you not come, *you shall be* devoured *by* beasts.

Jangkit kayu lĕmpĕrai,
As tips-up *the* tree "lĕmpĕrai,"

Duduk samā' lĕmpĕrai.
Settles-down even-so *the* "lĕmpĕrai."

Jangkit kayu kumbang,
As tips-up *the* tree "kumbang,"

Jalan kau mĕnumpang,
Proceed you *by means of* lodging,

Bĕrjalan jugā' mui dayang tadā' gunā'.
For proceeding moreover one handmaid is-not sufficient.

Kalau gogul turun jugā', munyit, sĕmangat kau,
If enchanted descend then, *O* monkeys, soul your,

[1] = Kĕmat (*Mal.* "hik'mat") lotong. As to this charm see p. 215 *supra*.

Sĕmangat-kau munyit.
Soul your, *O* monkeys.

Bukan ayĕr ĕmbun turun,
It-is-not water *of* dew *that* descends,

Ayĕr mata siamang, k'ra, lotong, yang turun.
It is water *of the* eyes *of* siamang, kra, lotong, that descends,

Sĕmangat-mu dayang yang turun.
Soul-your, *O* handmaiden, that descends.

Jalan-ku sĕpĕrti tunggul,
Walk-my like *a* stump,

Jalan-ku sĕpĕrti batang,
Walk-my like *a* tree-trunk,

Jalan-ku sĕpĕrti mayang-mayang kilat.
Walk-my like shadows *of* lightning.

Matā'-kau mĕmandang aku gĕlap sĕpĕrti rabun,
Eyes-your looking-at me *be* darkened as-if *with* fumigation,

Aku lalu jangan kau mĕmandang aku.
As I pass, do-not you look-at me.

Honey-collector's Charm to quiet the Bees (called "Jermal Tĕbul," or the Trap (?) of the Wild Bees).[1]

Mung, mung, mung, siamang bulan,
'Mung, mung, mung,' *cry the* apes moon-*white*,

Tĕlasih, tĕlagā', batu.
The apes of Basil, Well, *and* Rock.

Mari-lah mĕnĕntang bulan,
Come-*ye*-hither *to* confront *the* moon,

Tundok sayang kă-padā' aku.
Obey *and show* fond*ness* unto me.

Tundok kasīh, tundok sayang,
Obey *and show* affection, obey *and show* fond*ness*,

Sayang, gendui, kapadā' chuchu.
Show fond*ness*, grannies, unto *your* grandchild.

Anak chuchu 'nak bĕlajar
Your grandchild desires to learn [how to make?]

Tikar purun dĕngan[2] gendui.
A mat *of* rushes with *you*, grannies.

Datang gendui dĕri sĕbrang laut,
Come-hither, grannies, from beyond *the* sea,

Datang gendui dĕri sĕblah gunong,
Come-hither, grannies, from beyond *the* hill-crags,

Datang gendui buai-bĕrbuai,
Come-hither, grannies, swaying-to-and-fro,

Anak chuchu 'nak bĕlajar
Your grandchild desires *to* learn [how to make?]

[1] As to this charm see p. 230 *et seq.*, *supra*.

[2] *I.e.* from.

Tikar sambang dĕngan[1] gendui.
A mat of-deserted-*bees'-wax* with *you*, grannies.

Tundok gendui kapadā' chuchū'.
Obey, grannies, unto *your* grandchild.

Rice Ceremonies ("Mĕnĕtau").[3]

Daun duk, daun sĕlimbar,[3]
Leaves *of the* krĕduk (?) palm, leaves *of the* sĕlimbar,

Puchok kayu jurei-bĕrjurei,
Shoots *of* trees dangling-and-dangling,

Jurei sampei ka-tanah,
Dangling *so as to* reach to-the-ground,

Aku mĕngundorkan jĕmbalang tanah.
I drive-back *the* spirits *of the* soil.

Shiah kiri, shiah kanan,
Avaunt *to the* left, avaunt *to the* right,

Aku nak mĕnumpang sini.
I desire-to lodge here.

Nak tanam padi kladi pisang.
I desire *to* plant rice, yams, bananas.

Datang de' gaung, datang de' guntong,
Ye who came from *the* hills, *ye who* came from *the* tarns,

Minta' undorkan jĕmbalang tanah.
I request *you* to-retire, *ye* spirits *of the* soil.

Charm for invoking the Rice-soul at Harvest ("Panggil sĕmangat padi").

Puan-puan[4] 'tinā', puan-puan jantan,
Rice-boats female, rice-boats male,

Kur sĕmangat 'kau,
Cluck, souls *of* you,

Anak mudā', anak jantan,
Child (*i.e. girl*) young, child male,

'Nak bawā' tĕrkendongkan ka-rumah.
We wish *to* bring *you* slung-at-our-waist homewards.

Sĕmangat Padi S'lotan, Borak, Jambi,
Souls *of* Padi (*of the kind called*) S'lotan, Borak, Jambi,

Sĕmangat Pulut, Jagong, Pisang,
Souls *of* glutinous-Rice, Maize, Bananas,

Kita bawā' naik ka-rumah.
We bear *you and* climb-up to-*the*-house.

Jangan tidor dalam tanah,
Do-not sleep within *the* soil,

---

[1] *I.e.* from.

[2] For this and the next charm see pp. 358, 359 *supra*.

[3] According to Klinkert, a big climbing parasite. Ridley has "sĕlembah" ("akar") *Uncaria sclerophylla*, Roxb. (*Rubiaceæ*), a large wild gambier.

[4] A rice receptacle used at weddings, etc.

Mari tidor dalam klambū'.
Come-hither *and* sleep within *the* mosquito-curtain.

On reaching the house say "Datang" ("We are coming"), to which the people in the house should answer "Datang-lah" ("Come hither then!").

CHARM FOR EXORCISM ("BĔRSAWAI" = *Bes.* "BĔRSALONG" OR "TISI'").[1]

Satū', duā', tigā','pāt, limā', nām, tujuh!
One, two, three, four, five, six, seven!

Lĕpas kĕpalā' tujuh!
Let-go heads seven!

Sèmangat di-bayang-bayang jangan lĕpas.
But the soul coming-*and*-going do-not let-go.

Hantu shētan biār lĕpas.
The Demons *and* Devils let go.

De' dalam urat, dalam dageng
From within *the* sinews *and* within *the* flesh

Tijuk[2] siyau, tijuk dingin.
Be cold *what was* hot, be cold and cool.

Turun segalā' bisā', naik tawar.
Descend all Venoms, ascend Neutralisers.

Aku mĕnawar sĕgalā' bisā'.
I neutralise all Venoms,

Naik tawar.
Ascend Neutralisers.

CHARM USED BY THE B'LANDAS OF KUALA LANGAT IN THE BĔRJIN CEREMONY.

O Guru sèkèlian Guru,
O spiritual-guides, all spiritual-guides,

Bĕsar kĕchi' tuhah mudā',
Big *and* little, old *and* young.

Sahyā' mintā' tolong ubat,
I ask-for assistance *in*-medicine,

Sakit dalam urat.
For sickness in *the* veins,

[Dalam tulang, sĕndi, nyawā'].
In *the* bones, joints, *or* spirit [*as the case may be*].

CHARM FOR THE CRAMP (CALLED "SĔMUT BUTA'").[3]

Gĕrĕmbak gĕrĕmbai,
Gĕrĕmbak gĕrĕmbai,

---

[1] For this and the next charm see vol. ii. p. 296. [2] = Mal. "sĕjuk."

[3] For this charm see vol. ii. p. 297. There seems to be some play on, or confusion between the expression "sĕmut butā'" = "blind ants," and "sèmut-an Buta" = giant's or ogre's cramp, *i.e.* cramp caused by an ogre or giant which is believed to feed upon the victim. The charm opens as if referring to ants, but "lahang Butā'" can only refer to the giant ("Bota").

Juntei kayu arā',
Hangs-down *the* tree "ficus."

Panjang janggut, merah matā'.
Long *too is your* beard,[1] scarlet *your* eyes.

Labuh[2] untā'-untā'.
Hanging-downwards in tatters.

Buat-apā' budak bawā', pātah manau,[3]
Wherefore *do you* children bring? *as I* snap *this* rattan,

Mèrosoh mèlasah lahang[4] Hantu,
(*Even so*) broken *and* damaged *be your* jaw-bone, *O* Demon.

Lahang butā' kĕtutā' kĕtuti',
Your jaw-bone, *O* Giant — —,

Bĕsi kètok, bĕsi kling,
Like iron *that is* hammered (?), *like* iron *of the* Klings,

Mèrosoh mèlasah lahang Hantu, lahang Butā'.
Broken *and* damaged *be your* jaws, *O* Demon, your jaws, *O* Giant.

Tawar aku mènawar lahang Butā'.
Neutraliser my neutralises *your* jaw, *O* Giant.

Bukan aku-punyā' pènawar,
It is not my-own Neutraliser,

Malim Putih-punyā' pĕnawar,
It is Malim Putih's-own Neutraliser,

Lahang Butā'.
For the jaws *of* Giants.

Charm against the "Hantu Uri" (Caul Demon).[5]

Puchok salak, puchok ranggam,
Shoots *of the* salak, shoots *of the* ranggam,

Uri jalā', uri lagam,
Caul *like a* casting-net, caul *like a horse's* bit (?),

Uri bĕrikat, tèrbukā' uri.
Caul *that art* bound, *be* unloosened, *O* caul.

Uri tèrtambat, tĕrbukā' uri.
Caul *that art* tied-up, *be* unloosened, *O* caul.

Uri bèr-simpei, tèrbukā' uri.
Caul *that art* noosed, *be* unloosened, *O* caul.

Uri bĕr-sauh, tèrbukā' uri.
Caul *that art* anchored, *be* unloosened, *O* caul.

Oi Jin mĕnumpang, tĕrbukā' uri.
Ho Jin *that* lodgest *here*, *be* unloosed *this* caul.

Oi Jin Shĕtan, tĕrbukā' uri.
Ho Jin *and* Devils, *be* unloosed *this* caul.

Oi Jin Rimbā', tèrbukā' uri.
Ho Jin *from the* Deep-forest, *be* unloosened *this* caul.

[1] *I.e.* feelers (if applied to ants).

[2] The expression (l. u.) was explained as = like cobwebs ("sarang laba-laba"). Probably the right reading is "Scarlet your eyes, long too your beard, hanging downwards in tatters (*i.e.* 'elf-knots')."

[3] = Mal. "rotan manau."

[4] = Mal. "rahang."

[5] For this charm see vol. ii. p. 15.

Oi Jin Batu Pĕr'pat, tĕrbukā' uri.
Ho Jin *from the* Rock *of* Pĕr'pat-trees, *be* unloosened *this* caul.

Oi Jin Bukit Arā', tĕrbukā' uri.
Ho Jin *from the* Hill *of* ficus-trees, *be* unloosened *this* caul.

Oi Jin Kĕmpas, tĕrbukā' uri.
Ho Jin *from the* Kempas-tree, *be* unloosened *this* caul.

Uri[1] Hantu Laut,
Caul-*spirit*, Demon *of the* Sea,

Uri pĕtir kilat, ujan banchi, ujan rinye.
Caul-*spirit that comest from* thunder, lightning, rain *that* drizzles, rain *that* mizzles.

Uri pulang ka-Malim Putih, Malim Sidi.
O Caul-*spirit*, return to-Malim Putih, Malim Sidi.

Bukan aku mĕmbukā' uri,
It is not I *who* unloosen *this* caul,

Malim Putih Malim Sidi yang bukā' uri.
It is Malim Putih *and* Malim Sidi who unloosen *this* caul.

Blandas Charm against the Bajang.[2]

Hum Bajang[3] langhwi,[4]
OM, *O* Bajang Langsuir,

Mati-anak asal jadi.
A Stillborn-Child *is the* origin *you* sprang-from.

Bajang langhwi,
O Bajang Langsuir,

Sĕpah pinang Baginā' Ali.[5]
Quid *of* betel-nut *of* Baginda Ali.

Blandas Charm against the Langsuir ("Sĕrapah Langsuir").[6]

Langhwi,[7] Langhwā.
Langhwi, Langhwā.

Paroh sapĕngētop.[8]
Your beak *is* stumpy.

Bulu kain chindai.
Your feathers *are* cloth *of* silk.

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[1] Explained as = "Hantu Uri, yang makan darah ibu di-jilat." The caul has different names according to its shape.

[2] For this charm see vol. ii. p. 14.

[3] "Bajang" = Mal. "bajang" (a demon, as to which see Skeat's *Malay Magic*, p. 321 *seq.*).

[4] "Langhwi" is the Blandas and Besisi form of Mal. "Langsuir" (*ibid.* p. 325 *seq.*). The initial "s" of a syllable is often turned into "h" among these tribes. Cp. Bes. "sāpet" = "hāpet," the flying-fox; Bes. "soroh" = "horoh," old or aged; and many other examples.

[5] This last line is obviously due to Mohammedan influence, doubtless derived at second hand through the Malay.

[6] For this charm see vol. ii. p. 13.

[7] Mal. "Langsuir."

[8] Explained as = "pandak' (stumpy).

Matā' matā' sagā'.
Your eyes *are* eyes *of the* crab's-eye-bean.

Tungkul pinang mudā'.
Your heart *is an* areca-nut young.

Darah bĕnang chayar.
Your blood *is* thread watery.

Urat bĕnang bulang.
Your veins *are* thread for-tying-on-*cocks'-spurs*.

Tulang ranting aur.
Your bones *are* twigs *of the* giant-bamboo.

Ekor kipas Chīnā'.
Your tail *is a* fan *of* China.

Turun bīsā',[1] naik tawar.
Descend venom, ascend Neutraliser.

Tawar dalam tulang, tawar dalam urat.
Neutralise *venom* in *the* bones, neutralise *it* in *the* veins.

Tawar dalam sĕndi.
Neutralise *it* in *the* joints.

Tawar dalam rumah, tawar dalam utan.
Neutralise *it* within *the* house, neutralise *it* in *the* jungle.

Turun bīsā', naik tawar.
Descend venom, ascend Neutraliser.

Kunchi Langhwi.
Lock-up-*the* Lang-suir.

Turun bīsā', naik tawar.
Descend venom, ascend Neutraliser.

Charm for expelling the Pontianak (a Demon).[2]

Pontianak mati bĕranak.
Pontianak *that didst* die in-birth.

Mati di-timpā' tambun tambak.
Die *and* be-crushed *beneath the* embankment *of the* roadway.

Kalau damak panjang pandak.
Whether *the* dart *be* long *or* short.

Akan mĕlĕmang-kan Pontianak, Jin Langsuir.
Let it serve for cooking *the* Pontianak, *and the* Demon Langsuir.

Diam Pontianak di-puchok kayu.
Dwell, *O* Pontianak, in-*the* shoots *of* trees.

Diam Jin di-sakat.
Dwell, *O* Jin, in *the* epiphytes.

Jangan mĕnumpang Langsuir
Do-not lodge *here*, *O* Langsuir.

Jangan mĕnumpang Jin.
Do-not lodge *here*, *O* Jin.

[1] *I.e.* pain.

[2] For this charm see vol. ii. pp. 14, 15. As to the Pontianak in Malay superstition, see Skeat's *Malay Magic*, p. 327.

Jangan mĕnumpang Pontianak.
Do-not lodge *here*, *O* Pontianak.

Jangan mĕnumpang Hantu Rimbā'.
Do-not lodge *here*, *O* Demon *of the* Deep-Forest.

Jangan mĕnumpang Hantu Utan.
Do-not lodge *here*, *O* Demon *of the* Jungle.

Hantu utan pulang ka-utan.
Demons *of the* Jungle, return to *the* Jungle.

Hantu Rimbā' pulang ka-rimbā'.
Demons *of the* Deep-Forest, return to *the* Deep-Forest.

Blood-throwing Charm.[1]

Oi Hantu Pĕmburu,
Ho, Demon Hunter,

Ambil darah sa-chupā',
Accept *of* blood one chupā',

Gulei dĕngan chĕndawan.
And cook *it* with *your* mushrooms.

Jangan-kau buru sini.
Do-not you hunt here.

Buru-kau panchu wali.[2]
Hunt you *in the* marsh *of* Ali (?).

Buru-kau panchu mahang.[3]
Hunt you *in the* marsh *of the* mahang *trees*.

Anjing-kau Tampoi.
Dog-your *is* Tampoi.

Anjing-kau Koing.
Dog-your *is* Koing.

Anjing-kau Sukum.
Dog-your *is* Sukum.

Anjing-kau Langsat.
Dog-your *is* Langsat.

Sentak pisau katok,
I draw-forth *my* knife for-chopping,

Nak mĕng'rat akar tawar.
In-order-to sever *the* Creeper Neutralising.

Nak mĕng'rat akar kadam.
In-order-to sever *the* Creeper Big.

Nak mĕmadam Hantu Buru.
In-order-to extinguish *the* Demon Hunter.

Jangan bĕrburu sini,
Do-not hunt here,

[1] For this charm see vol. ii. p. 297.

[2] *Sic*, ? "panchur Ali."

[3] In a charm against the Spectre Huntsman used by Malays in Perak he is told to go and hunt in the forest of Ranchak Mahang; see *J. R. A. S.*, *S. B.*, No. 7, p. 17 (reprinted in Skeat's *Malay Magic*, p. 117).

Pĕrgi balik ka-tĕmpāt asal-kau,
But go back to-*the* place *of* origin-your,

Di panchu Ali.
In *the* swamps *of* Ali.

B'landas Charm for Exorcising the Polong.[1]

Patah pahat, patah pĕrdah.
Broken *is the* chisel, broken *the* adze-helve.

Patah mĕmahat batang tĕlentang.
Broken *in* chiselling *a* tree-trunk supine.

Patah ra'ang,[2] patah lidah.
Broken *be your* jaw-bones, broken *your* tongues.

Aku mulang orang[3] datang.
As I go-back, *so do* you come-forward.

Datang de' laut, pulang ka-laut.
Ye who come from *the*-sea, return to-*the*-sea.

Datang de' gunong, pulang ka-gunong.
Ye who come from *the* crags, return to-*the*-crags.

Datang de' tanah, pulang ka-tanah.
Ye who come from *the*-earth, return to-*the*-earth.

Asal mĕnjadi hantu polong.
Such your-origin, *O* demon "polong."

Charm for exorcising the Pawul (a Kind of Grave-Demon).[4]

Puchok ulan daun ulan.
Shoots *of* convolvulus, leaves *of* convolvulus.

Gintas[5] sa-panjang lantei
Brush-past at-length-*of the*-floor.

Sa-bulan dua bulan
One month *and* two months

Shiah[6] kiri, shiah kanan.
Avaunt *to the*-left-*hand*, avaunt *to-the*-right-*hand.*

Sial aku, Pawul bangkei.
Fatal *be* I, Pawul *be* carrion.

B'landas Charm for Protection against Tigers.

Trong wet, trong wau.[7]
Trong wet, trong wau.

Sangkut tunggul mulang-mulang.
Be stuck *among-the*-stumps going-to-and-fro.

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[1] For this charm see vol. ii. p. 14.

[2] "Ra'ang" = Mal. "rahang."

[3] *Lit.* people.

[4] As to this charm see vol. ii. p. 105.

[5] "Gintas" = Mal. "mĕlintas."

[6] "Shiah" = Mal. "Siah."

[7] "Trong wet, trong wau." I could get no proper explanation of this, but the words appear to be onomatopoetic, probably intended to represent a tiger's growling. The rest of the charm is clear enough. See vol. ii. p. 294.

'Mĕrat[1] aku sudah d'hulu.
Weight-giver of-me has-been-*said* first.

Rimau punan kĕpalā' orang.
O tiger, go-craving-for *the* head *of Somebody*.

Bĕrat-lah kaki gantong bumi.
Heavy-*be your* hind-feet hung-about-with *the*-earth.

Bĕrat tangan, gantong batu.
Heavy-*be your*-forepaws hung-about-with rock.

Tujoh lapis di-hadap aku.
Seven folds *be* in-front of-me.

'Mĕrat aku sudah d'hulu.
Weight-giver of-me has-been-*said* first.

A Second B'landas Tiger-charm (apparently consisting of a Couple of Stanzas of the Malay "Pantun" Type).[2]

I.

Tambakau goyang-goyang.
The tobacco-plant waves *and* waves.

Aku tanam di-ruang batu.
I planted *it* in-*a* hole *of the* rocks.

Tĕpok, tarek tali.
Clap, *and* pull *the* string.

Bage bulan dinding de' mata-hari.[3]
As-when *the* moon *is* fenced-off from *the* sun.

II.

[Aku] minta ayer sa-gayong.
[I] ask-for water a-ladleful.

Sa-gayong tĕpi p'rigi.
A-ladleful *from the* side *of the* well.

Aku bĕdiri sapĕrti payong.[4]
May I stand-here as-if *protected by an*-umbrella.

Bagei anak bidadari.
Or like a-child of-the-Fairies.

---

[1] "Mĕrat," contracted from Malay "Pĕmbĕrat," as was explained to me at the time. It means literally "weight-giver"; and hence, technically, a "weight-giving charm," which it is the object of the threatened person to repeat before the tiger can get at him.

[2] As to this charm see vol. ii. p. 295.

[3] The allusion is, of course, to the belief that the sun is desirous of devouring the moon, which, on the occasion of an eclipse, he is believed to be actually attempting to do.

[4] "Sapĕrti payong," I take to be elliptical for "sapĕrti orang di-payong-kan." The object of this part of the charms appears to be to secure the invisibility of the speaker.

Si Nibong.

A B'landas Story.[1]

Tihang nibong, atap nibong,
Its posts *were of* nibong, *its* thatch *of* nibong,

Lantei nibong, tinggal kampong.
Its floor *of* nibong, deserted *is the* village.

Tinggal kawas Busu Babā',
Deserted *the* holding *of* Busu Babā'

Bujang Sĕmangan tinggal kachip
And Bujong Sĕmangan, deserted *the* betelnut-scissors

Tujoh biji, tinggal pinang
Seven in-number, deserted *the* betelnut-trees

Tujoh batang, tinggal sirih
Seven in-number, deserted *the* betel-vines

Tujoh junjong, dalam kachip
Seven in-number, in *the matter of* betelnut-scissors

Tujoh kachip, dalam pinang
Seven betelnut-scissors, in *the matter of* betelnuts

Tujoh biji, pinang sĕluang,
Seven seeds, *of* betelnut (*of the kind called*) *sĕluang*,

Dalam sirih tujoh lei ;
In *the matter of the* betel-leaves, seven leaves ;

Buat kachip taring pĕlandok.
Made *were the* betelnut-scissors *of the* eye-teeth *of a* mouse-deer.

Katā' adik Bujang Sĕmangan.
Spake *the* younger-brother Bujang Sĕmangan.

Bukā' kĕtikā' limā'[2] abang.
Open *the* Times Five elder-brother.

Kita jalan ka-kampong orang.
We *will* go to-*the*-village *of certain* people.

Baju di-masok kain bĕlum.
Coat *he had* put-on, skirt not-yet.

Sapu-tangan bĕlum saluar bĕlum.
Headcloth not-yet, trousers not-yet.

Katā' Bujang Sĕmangan simpolan
Said Bujang Sĕmangan *a* headcloth

Sutrā' muri sa-ratus sambilan puloh
Of silk *the* finest one-hundred *and* ninety

Limā' ringgit hĕrga-nya.[3]
And five dollars *the* price of it.

---

[1] This fragmentary tale was collected from an old Bĕsisi man called Bĕdöh at Sepang Kĕchil. He said that it was in reality a Blandas story, and that no doubt accounts for its being almost purely Malayan in language. For a summary of it see vol. ii. p. 312 *et seq.*

[2] *I.e.* the Malayan diagram of divination (or magic squares), to ascertain the auspicious hour for starting on the journey. See Skeat, *Mal. Magic*, pp. 555 *seq.*

[3] *V. l.* adds "rĕgā-nya" (the Blandas form) following the Malay "hĕrga-nya."

Abang bĕlangak ka-nĕgri orang.
Do you brother go to-*the*-country *of certain* people.

Bawā' pĕdang sapu-laman.
Take *your* sword *the* "sweeper *of the* courtyard."

Bawā' k'ris sapu-rantau.
Take *your* kris *the* "sweeper *of* river-reaches."

Biar baik, jangan bĕri loroyt.[1]
Let *all be* well, do-not give trouble.

Antarkan kami, tukang Jinang,
Guide us, *O* craftsman Jinang,

Jalan ka-rumah Jukrah tuhah.
To go to-*the*-house *of the* Jukrah aged.

Tĕngah jalan Pĕtri Adah.
Half way (*they met*) Princess Adah.

Pĕtri Tĕpong kakak-nya adik-nya,
And Princess Tĕpong elder sister *and* younger sister,

Mĕntri adā' antar Pĕtri
A Minister there-was escorting *the* Princesses

Jalan ka-rumah Jukrah tuhah.
To go to-*the*-house *of the* Jukrah aged.

Simpang limā' ka-kampong bungā',
By the cross-roads five to-*the*-village *of* flowers,

Simpang lima ka-pulau buah.
By the cross-roads five to-*the*-isle *of* fruit.

Mĕnĕpat rumah Jukrah tuhah
Opposite *the* house *of the* Jukrah aged

Limau abong limau pagar.
Grew the limes *called* abong, *the* limes *called* pagar.

Sampei ka-rumah Jukrah tuhah,
When they reached to-*the*-house *of the* Jukrah aged,

Di-habu hangat anjing bangkang.[2]
By-*the*-ashes hot *was a* dog savage.

Mintā' ubat padi mĕntri.
They asked-for medicine from *the* minister.

Adā' ubat ambun batu,[3]
He had medicine *the* dew *of the* rock,

Nak mĕnyampak habu hangat.
In-order-to cast-on *the* ashes hot.

Nak mĕnempoh anjing bangkang.
In-order-to strike *the* dog savage.

Sampei ka-rumah Jukrah tuhah,
So they reached to-*the*-house *of the* Jukrah aged,

---

[1] Explained as = Mal. "lorat" (from Arab. "tharurat"?) used in the sense given above, *sed quære*.

[2] Perhaps = Mal. "bengkeng." But according to the Bĕsisi it also means "lying down" or "crouching" (Mal. "baring").

[3] Or "dew-like stone" (*i.e.* hail?).

Tidor di-rumah Jukrah tuhah.
And slept at-*the*-house *of the* Jukrah aged.

Tĕngah malam Pĕtri Tĕpong
Half *through the* night *the* Princess Tĕpong

Tidor samā' abang Nibong.
Slept with brother Nibong.

Besok pagi abang Nibong
Next-morning early brother Nibong

Adā' tingal Pĕtri Tĕpong.
Has deserted *the* Princess Tĕpong.

Tahi matā' sa-kĕdang tungku,
The droppings *of her* eyes *were* as-big-as fire-stones,

Tahi gigi sa-kĕdang dapor.
The scourings *of her* teeth as-big-as *the* hearth.

Bĕlayar laut pulau Bĕrapi,
They[1] sailed *to the* sea *of the* Island Fiery,

Kanchang jong di-sakat pulau Kĕdong,
And swift *was their* vessel *till it* grounded *on the* Island *of* Kedong,

Itu-lah sa-bĕlah laut Pahang.
That-is beside *the* sea *of* Pahang.

B'landas Charms according to Vaughan-Stevens.[2]

First Birth-Charm.

Oong ooree moolah ooree-atas bukit rumput labas dee-chabut bloong-tuk bloong-penowar menowar beeser ooree nike towar toorun beeser ooree.

Ung uri mula uri atas bukit rumput lĕpas (?) di-chabut
Om! placenta original placenta upon *the* hill grass loose is-pulled out

bilang tĕrbilang[3] pĕnawar mĕnawar bisa uri naik
saying *and* saying *the* neutraliser neutralises *the* venom *of* the placenta rise

tawar turun bisa uri.
neutraliser descend venom *of* placenta.

Second Birth-Charm.

Galoogal pasal lintang patar loong-soo laloo kattak treejun larbie munkar teejak manow leechin booloot poolang kar lumpoo penang poolang kar-ragung seeree poolang kar-ragung chaboot beeloontok beeloon towar menowar beeser ploosoo.

Gĕlugor pasal[4] lintang patah bungsu lalu
Gĕlugor *and* pasal *be* crossed *and* broken *when* youngest-born (?) passes

[1] *I.e.* Si Nibong and his brother.

[2] These are given on pp. 143-152 of the first part of the "Materialen zur Kenntniss der Wilden Stämme auf der Halbinsel Malâka" (*Veröffentl. Königl. Mus. f. Völkerk.*, Band ii. Heft 3-4 = "Vaughan-Stevens, ii."). I give first Vaughan-Stevens' spelling, and then mine, with suggested emendations.

[3] This very doubtful phrase recurs elsewhere, *v. infra*, pp. 714, 715.

[4] "Gĕlugor" is a kind of sour wild mango. "Pasal," *Ardisia odontophylla*, Wall. (*Myrsineæ*).

katak tĕrjun labi mungkir tijak manau lichin bĕlut pulang ka-
frog jump-down tortoise refuse *to* step-on rattan slippery eel back to
lumpor pinang pulang ka-ragong chabut bilang tĕrbilang tawar
mud areca-nut back to calyx(?) extract *it* saying *and* saying neutraliser
mĕnawar bisa pĕlusoh.
neutralises venom *of* loosener.

Farewell to the Dying.

O matee matee-lar jangghan ingart lagee bapi moiee soodara nenek moyang nn'ang matee assing pergee nn'ung heedup mencharee makun.

O mati mati-lah jangan ingat lagi bapai
O dying-one, die indeed! Do not remember more *your* father
moi sudara nenek moyang nang mati asing
mother brothers grandfathers great-grandfathers *let them* who *are* dead apart
pĕrgi nang hidup mĕnchari makan.
go who *are* living seek food.

Charm of the Necklace.[1]

Oong matee matee-anak, matee timpah tannah tamoon tamok apa asal kow minyaydy hantoo darrar orang matee brannok eetoo asal kow minyaydy matee-anak dee tebing, poolang kar tebing matee-anak batoo ampah, poolang kar batoo ampah. Chaboot boolong took-towar nenowar hantoo matee-anak toorun beeser matee-anak nike penowar akoo.

Ung mati mati-anak.
Om! Die *O* Matianak!

Mati timpah tanah tamun tamak.
Die, crushed *by the* earth heaped *on the* roadway.

Apa asal kau mĕnjadi?
What *is the* origin *of* thy being?

Hantu darah orang mati bĕranak,
Demon *of the* blood *of a* person dead in-childbirth,

Itu asal kau mĕnjadi!
That *is the* origin *of* thy being.

Mati-anak di-tĕbing, pulang ka-tĕbing.
Matianak of *the* river-bank, return to *the* river-bank.

Mati-anak batu-ampa', pulang ka-batu-ampa'.
Matianak *of the* rock-bed, return to the rock-bed.

Chabut bilang tĕr [bilang?] tawar mĕnawar hantu mati-anak.
Pluck-out saying *and* saying neutralise *and* neutralise *the* demon Matianak.

Turun bisa mati-anak!
Descend venom *of the* Matianak!

Naik pĕnawar aku!
Rise neutraliser mine!

[1] This is evidently an invocation against the Pontianak demon, against whom the necklace is presumably intended to protect the wearer. The invocation is supposed to give the necklace the power of an amulet: see p. 153 *supra*, and Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 145.

Charm used when clearing Jungle for Planting

O hantoo teeap goontong teeap poolang chaharoo hantoo sebooroo akoo nn'ok-natow nin tannah. O eetoe powang naing brimpat akoo mintar padar powang naing brimpat akoo nn'ok-natow nin tannar; bree seejok dallam badan jangghan rosak, jangghan benassar dallam badan bree seejok dingin dee dallam badan akoo inee.

O hantu tiap guntong tiap,
O demon every *of* tarn every.

Pulang chahari (?) hantu sĕburu.
Return seek *the* demon huntsman.

Aku 'nâk natau nin tanah.
I want *to* clear this land.

O itu pawang neng bĕrĕmpat.
O those magicians *the* four.

Aku minta' pada pawang neng bĕrĕmpat.
I ask *of* magicians *the* four.

Aku 'nâk natau nin tanah.
I want *to* clear this land.

Bĕri sijok dalam badan.
Give coolness within body.

Jangan rosak jangan binasa dalam badan.
Do-not ruin do-not destroy within body.

Bĕri sijok dingin didalam badan aku ini.
Give coolness cold within body mine this.

Charm used before burning the Felled Clearing.

Ah keelat dee langit dee boohoomey akoo nn'ok lepas brangsong apee nn'ok bakkar oomar akoo mow mangil powang naing brimpat akoo mow mangil angin toojoe penyuroe toojoe sepangkat mangil angin pooting bleeong.

Ah kilat di-langit di-buhumi,
O lightning in *the* sky on *the* earth,

Aku 'nâk lĕpas bĕrangsang api,
I want completely to-kindle fire,

'Nâk bakar huma.
Wishing *to* burn *the* clearing.

Aku mau mangil pawang neng bĕrĕmpat.
I wish *to* call magicians the four.

Aku mau mangil angin tujoh pĕnyuru tujoh sapangkat.
I wish *to* call wind seven corners seven in-a-row.

Mangil angin puting bĕliong.
Call *the* whirlwind.

Charm used at the Rice-sowing.

O partree dong heetam bertapar dee lowt annam boolan inee sayar mow mangil tannam padee sar-gringam sar-jumpoot nike-lar be-ratus be-rebus be-koyan.

O Patri Dang Hitam bĕrtapa di-laut !
O Princess Dang Hitam *that* dwellest-as-a-recluse in *the* sea !

Anam bulan ini saya mau mangil.
Six months these I wish *to* call *thee.*

Tanam padi sa-gĕrĕnggam sa-jĕmput.
I am planting rice a-handful a-pinch.

Naik-lah bĕratus bĕribu bĕkoyan.
Let-it-arise *a* hundredfold *a* thousandfold by-*the*-ton.

Charm used before reaping the Rice.

Yang minyooling meelakkong yang bootar mee-addap akoo lak-nowi, padee toojoe tanki meeambee smunghut padee bawar poolang kar roomah. . . . Akoo nn'ok mesar hantoo tar keesar.

Yang mĕnyuling milakâng yang buta mi-adap.
Thou that squintest turn-thy-back *to me, thou* that *art* blind turn-thy-face *towards me.*

Aku nak (?) nuai padi tujoh tangkai.
I wish *to* reap rice seven stems.

Mi-ambil sèmangat padi bawa pulang ka-rumah. . . .
To take *the* soul *of* rice *and* bring *it* home to-*the*-house. . . .

Aku 'nâk misar[1] hantu takisar.
I want *to* turn-off demons haunting.

LOGAN'S MANTRA OR MENTERA[2] CHARMS.

Pendinding.[3]

[The Pĕndinding or In-walling charm is to protect us from various dangers.]

Hong[4] kāchula katumbo bisī[5] kanduri iāng limu kahutān katungālan[6] āku

[1] Probably = Mal. "mĕngisar."

[2] In the original, "Mintira." These magic formulæ, the translation of which will be found in vol. ii. of this work, on pp. 329-333, are here given in Logan's original spelling, with the slight modification noticed below. The key to it, as given on p. 39 of vol. i. of the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, is as follows: *ā* (as in far); *a* (as *u* in tub); *ē* (as *ey* in they, or *a* in dare); *ī* (as *ee* in see); *i* (as in pin); *ei* (as *i* in pine); *ō* (as in no); *ū* (as *oo* in room); *u* (as *u* in user or *eu* in eulogy).

Logan's (′) accents have for convenience been turned into (¯) in the present reprint. So that his scheme, theoretically, is much the same as the one used elsewhere in this work. As a matter of fact, however, Logan, besides confusing *ā* and *ē*, printing both *ē*, habitually puts *i* for *ĕ*, while his *ei* is really *ai*, and he does not use his own scheme quite consistently, mixing up the long and short vowels pretty frequently. He also constantly puts *ī* for *y* (as in īang), and *n* for *ng* (as in ankau).

In view, however, of the fact that these charms are not in standard Malay, but in the *patois* or dialect spoken by the Mĕntĕra (with the phonology of which we have but an imperfect acquaintance), it has been thought best to adhere to the original spelling, merely pointing out dialectic peculiarities and giving an approximate Malay version, and equivalents where it seemed desirable. Some passages are unfortunately corrupt or unintelligible.

[3] *J. I. A.* i. 309.

[4] Logan's note on this word will be found on p. 329 of vol. ii.

[5] The meaning of the next five words is very doubtful, and the text may be corrupt.

[6] From "tungal" (= Mal. "tunggal"),

tā'dindīng[1] bātu āku bārīng dedindīng bumī tĕrāp bĕrtārāp tutop āngīn sālagorī kan lāwānku santā sābut didālam gantong klām kābut mātā orāng mīningo āku dātāng klām kābut plīmun āku mālīmun sīklīan muso sītruku lāwānku guru sidīk turun berdoā āku mīngīnākan doā plīmun siklīan mātā muso sītrukan lāwānku.

Suggested Malay Version.

Hong, kachula katumbo' bĕsi kanduri (?) yang 'elmu ka-hutan ka-tunggalan, aku tĕr-dinding batu, aku baring di-dinding bhumi, tiarap-bĕr-tiarap, tutop angin sĕlaguri 'kan lawan-ku, sentak sabut didalam gantong klam kabut mata orang mĕnĕngo' aku datang klam kabut pĕlimun aku mĕlimun sĕkĕlian musoh sĕtru lawan-ku guru sidik turun bĕrdua aku mĕngĕnakan doā pĕlimun sĕkĕlian mata musoh sĕtru 'kan lawan-ku.

PENDINDING.

Heh pisamīn namānīā bisī āku diām dālām kāndāng māleikat sablās dikīriku āku diām dālām kandong kandāng māleikat sablās dikānān ko āku diām dālām kandāng māleikat sablās diblākāng āku, āku diām didālām kāndāng māleikat sablās diadapan ko terniāīā Māhamad mangkāl[2] āku terniāīā bulān bintang matāhārī jīkalau tidā tirniāīā āku pun tidā terniāīā dan terniāīā bomi dan lāngīt mengkāl[2] aku pun terniāīā jikālu tidā terniāīā bomi dan lāngīt āku pun tidā terniāīā ternīāīā māyat didālām kubor mengkāl[2] āku pun terniāīā bīrkat dekabul kan doā guruku kāpādā āku kābulkan Mahamad kabulkan bagīnda rasul Allah mākā kabul āku memākeī doa sārību niāwā tidālā āku terniāīā sāādā[3] īāng bernīāwā diātās dunīa īnī.[4]

Malay Version.

Hei, Pisamin nama-nya bĕsi, aku diam dalam kandang malaikat sablas di-kiri-ku, aku diam dalam kandong kandang malaikat sablas di-kanan-ku, aku diam dalam kandang malaikat sablas di-blakang-ku, aku diam didalam kandang malaikat sablas di-hadapan-ku; tĕr-anyaya Muhamad maka aku tĕr-anyaya, bulan bintang matahari jikalau tidak tĕr-anyaya, aku-pun tidak tĕr-anyaya, dan tĕr-anyaya bhumi dan langit, maka aku-pun tĕr-anyaya, jikalau tidak tĕr-anyaya bhumi dan langit, aku-pun tidak tĕr-anyaya, bĕrkat di-qabul-kan doā guru-ku kapada aku; qabul-kan Muhamad, qabul-kan Baginda rasul Allah, maka qabul aku mĕmakai doā sa-ribu nyawa, tidak-lah aku tĕr-anyaya sa'-ada yang bĕr-nyawa di-atas dunia ini.

PENGASEH.

[The Pĕngasih is a charm to make others love us.]

Minīa āku sidāyong-dāyong, āku tuāng depānchur, āku tigā āku sepīrtī pāyong, āku berjālān lēbēh derī ānā segālā mānusīā, berkāt āku memākeī pengāseh, hābis kāsēh segālā mānusīā īāng kākī duā berjārī limā, usākān antārā mānusīā selāngkan rumput rāntīng kāyu kāyan bomī dan lāngīt tundo kāseh sa'-ādā tundo sāyāng tundo gimār pādā āku jugā.[5]

"solitary." These dialects often have a nasal for the nasal + sonant of the Malay equivalent. See charm called "Chucha," *infra*, *s.v.* "engang."

[1] Logan translates wrongly, "I am not walled": it should be, "I am walled in": "ta'-" = Mal. "tĕr-" here (as in Mĕnangkabau Malay, which, it must be recollected, is spoken in the villages of the inland district of Malacca, of which the Mĕntĕra frequent the jungles).

[2] Mal. "maka."

[3] Apparently = "sĕ + ada" = "all there are"; cf. the next charm.

[4] *J. I. A.* i. 309, 310.

[5] *Ibid.* 310, 311.

Malay Version.

Minyak aku si-dayong-dayong, aku tuang, di-panchur, aku tĕgak, aku sĕpĕrti payong, aku bĕr-jalan lĕbeh dĕri anak sĕgala manusia, bĕrkat aku mĕmakai pĕngasih, habis kasih sĕgala manusia yang kaki dua bĕr-jari lima, usah-kan antara manusia sĕlang-kan rumput ranting kayu-kayu-an bhumi dan langit tundok kasih sa-ada tundok sayang tundok gĕmar pada aku juga.

PIMANIS (PĔMANIS).

The Pĕmānīs (from mānīs, sweet) renders the person using it universally agreeable.

Pucho pimānīs dāun pimānīs, āku titas sāmbīl berlārī, dudu pun aku terlālu mānīs, berdīrī pun aku terlālu mānīs, mānīs dipāndāng segālā mānusiā berkākī duā berjārī limā sepirtī būlan dangan mātahārī, terlalu mānīs memandang chāyiā mukā aku, birkat aku mākeī doā pīmanīs nāī chāyīa manīs dī mukā āku.[1]

Malay Version.

Puchok pĕmanis, daun pĕmanis, aku tĕtas sambil bĕr-lari, dudok-pun aku tĕr-lalu manis, bĕr-diri-pun aku tĕr-lalu manis, manis di-pandang sĕgala manusia, bĕr-kaki dua, bĕr-jari lima, sĕpĕrti bulan dĕngan matahari, tĕr-lalu manis mĕmandang chahia muka aku, bĕrkat aku mĕmakai do'a pĕmanis, naik chahia manis dimuka aku.

PANUNDO (PĔNUNDOK).

The Pĕnundo' secures submission from others.

Pāku[2] rondo, pāku rindā, āku littā dīdālam sibī,[3] āku dudu dālām orāng īāng bānīā, aku jugā mintārā[4] īāng libbēh rāsul Allah, melākukan āku simbilēh mināmā[5] māmu, āku dudu segālā mānusiā īāng bernīāwā ābes[6] tundo, tundokan Allāh, tundokan Mohamad, dītundokan bāgīndā rusul Allāh, birkāt āku memākeī doā pinundo āku nundo[7] segālā mānusīā, berkākī duā bērjārī līmā, kābulkan Allah, kābulkan Mahamad, kābulkan bāgīndā rasul Allāh, kabulkan āku memākeī doā pinundo āku memādāp tūntong[8] berjiwā segālā manusīā berkākī duā berjārī līmā.[9]

Malay Version.

Paku rondo', paku rĕndah, aku lĕtak di-dalam sibai, aku dudok dalam orang yang banyak, aku juga mĕntara yang lĕbih rasul Allah mĕlaku-kan aku sĕmb'leh mĕnama (?) mamu (?) aku dudok, sĕgala manusia yang bĕr-nyawa habis tundok, [di-]tundok-kan Allah, [di-]tundok-kan Muhamad, di-tundok-kan Baginda rasul Allah, bĕrkat aku mĕmakai do'a pĕnundo', aku nundok[-kan] sĕgala manusia bĕr-kaki dua, bĕr-jari lima, [di-]qabul-kan Allah, [di-]qabul-kan Muhamad, [di-]qabul-kan Baginda rasul Allah, qabul-kan aku mĕmakai do'a pĕnundo' aku mĕngadap tĕntang [yang] bĕr-jiwa sĕgala manusia, [yang] bĕr-kaki dua, bĕr-jari lima.

[1] *J. I. A.* i. 311.

[2] "Paku" = "nail" (as Logan interprets it), or perhaps more probably "fern."

[3] Mal. "sibai."

[4] Mal. "sĕmĕntara"; cf. next charm.

[5] Interpreted by Logan as = Mal. "yang bĕrnama," *sed quære.*

[6] Mal. "habis."

[7] From tundo (Mal. "tundok"), apparently by nasalisation of the initial; the form, being seemingly passive, can hardly be for "mĕnundo" (Mal. "mĕnundok").

[8] Mal. "tĕntang."

[9] *J. I. A.* i. 311, 312.

Chucha.

The Chucha causes enemies to lose their strength and be humiliated.

Siluso pādāng silāsā
Silīgī bātāng sulāsēh [1]
Mīntā tutop hāti īāng gusār
Mintā bukā hāti īāng kāsih
Ajē ējē ēchē ēchā [2]
Anā lālāng tumbo delimbā,[3]
Aku jēhēt [4] āku depuji
Aku sālāh āku disumbāh [5]
Usākan samantārā manusīā
Berkākī duā berjāri limā
Sidangkan gājā putīh
Gājā blāng sābrāng lāut
Songsāng bulu songsāng gāding
Songsāng buleī [6] songsāng kāki
Songsāng tāngan songsāng urat
Songsāng dāging songsāng dārā
Tundo minīumbā kilīngking kāki kirīku,
Minīā āku terkīlāng turun dipanjuru lāwāng [7]
Anā ngang [8] diujong bulo
Aku jolo dangan timīāng
Mātāhari terkilēk dikīning āku
Simut perīring dibībir āku
Chuchā Allāh chuchā Māhamad
Chuchā bagindā rasul Allah.[9]

Malay Version.

Sĕlusoh padang sĕlasa, Sĕligi batang sĕlasih, Minta' tutop hati yang gusar, Minta' buka hati yang kasih. Aje eje eche echa! Anak lalang tumboh dilĕmbah, Aku jahat, aku di-puji, Aku salah, aku di-sĕmbah. Usah-kan samantara manusia, Bĕrkaki dua bĕrjari lima, Sĕdang-kan gajah putih, Gajah blang sĕbrang laut, Songsang bulu, songsang gading, Songsang bĕlalei, songsang kaki, Songsang tangan, songsang urat, Songsang daging, songsang darah, Tundok mĕnyĕmbah[-kan] kĕlingking kaki kiri-ku, Minya' aku tĕr-kilang (?), turun dipĕnjuru lawang, Anak ĕnggang di-ujong buluh, Aku [mĕn-]jolo' dĕngan tĕmiang, Matahari tĕr-kilek di-kĕning aku, Sĕmut bĕr-iring di-bibir aku. Chucha Allah! chucha Muhamad! Chucha Baginda rasul Allah.

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[1] Mal. "sĕlusoh," means a specific for alleviating the pains of labour. Mal. "sĕlasih" is the plant called "Holy Basil."

[2] This line is unintelligible and probably not intended to convey any meaning: perhaps the words are mere variations on the word "chucha."

[3] Mal. "di lĕmbah."

[4] Mal. "jahat": the vowels are characteristic of Mĕntĕra and the other Jakun dialects. I believe the *e* has the "open" sound, *i.e.* *ä* (in such cases where Malay has *a*), at any rate in the first syllable of the word.

[5] Probably misprint for "disimbah" = Mal. "di-sĕmbah"; so too *infra*, "minīumbā."

[6] Mal. "bulalai," or "bĕlalei."

[7] The word "lāwāng" ("door") is given in Malay dictionaries as being from the Javanese; it is not commonly used in the Peninsula, I believe.

[8] For "ĕngang," Mal. "ĕnggang." These dialects pretty frequently have a nasal only, where Malay, etc., have nasal + sonant: *e.g.* "hĕnāk" = Mal. "hĕndak"; and in the first charm, *supra*, "Katungālan."

[9] *J. I. A.* i. 312, 313.

Pemata Lida (Pĕmatah Lidah).

The Pemata Lida is a prayer for rendering enemies speechless.

Pināng kring pināng kotei
Dibilā[1] dikākī gājā
Darā jāntong āku konchi tulāngnīā āku pātā-pātā
Hēh Allāh Hēh Māhamad Hēh Bāgindā rasul Allāh
Mintā kābulkan doā pemātā lidā
Aku mātākan[2] lidā muso sitru lāwānku
Limāh[3] ānkāu krāsla aku
La illāha ilallāh berkat aku memākeī doā pemātā lidā.[4]

Malay Version.

Pinang kring, pinang kotei, Di-blah di-kaki gajah, Darah jantong aku kunchi[-kan], tulang-nya aku patah-patah[-kan]. Hei Allah! Hei Muhamad! Hei Baginda rasul Allah! Minta' qabulkan do'a pĕmatah lidah, Aku mĕmatah-kan lidah musoh sĕtru lawan-ku. Lĕmah angkau, kras-lah aku. La illaha ilallah, bĕrkat aku mĕmakai do'a pĕmatah lidah.

Pebinchi

The Pebinchi (from *binchī*, hatred) is used to excite hatred in the object of affection towards a rival.

Pucho pebinchī dāun pebanchi[5] āku rintas tujo tānkeh tujo lē[6] āku gūnting tujo kāli āku megunting[7] hāti ānā sidāng siāno ītu, ānkau[8] memandāng siāno ītu bagimānā āngkau memandāng hābu,[9] bagimānā ānkau memāndāng pāyā, dudu ānkau binchī, tidor ānkau binchī, berjālān ānkau binchī, mākān ānkau binchī, māndi āngkau binchī, mīnum ānkau binchī, kormeimei[10] bāyāng sidāng siāno ītu, sampei tīgā hārī putus binchī ānkau melīhat pādā siāno ītu, memandāng āku sa'orang terlāmpau mānis bāgi āngkau memandāng iāng berchāiā muka aku duā blas hāri turun mātāhāri sāma turun smāngat ānkau nāī mātāhāri sāma nāi smāngat siāno ītu.[11]

Malay Version.

Puchok pĕmbĕnchi, daun pĕmbĕnchi, aku rintas tujoh tangkai, tujoh 'lai, aku gunting[-kan] tujoh kali, aku mĕnggunting hati anak sidang *sianu* itu, angkau mĕmandang *sianu* itu bageimana angkau mĕmandang abu, bageimana angkau mĕmandang paya; dudok, angkau bĕnchi; tidor, angkau bĕnchi; bĕr-jalan, angkau bĕnchi; makan, angkau bĕnchi: mandi, angkau bĕnchi; minum, angkau bĕnchi. Kur, mari-mari, bayang sidang *sianu* itu, sampai tiga hari putus bĕnchi,

[1] Mal. "di-bĕlah."

[2] Mal. "patahkan": Mĕntĕra, like some other Malayan languages, apparently sometimes forms verbs by nasalising an initial tenuis; but this form may be an abbreviation of "mĕmatah-kan."

[3] Mal. "lĕmah," weak or feeble.

[4] *J. I. A.* i. 314.

[5] Misprint for "pebinchī," *i.e.* "pĕ-bĕnchi," Mal. "pĕmbĕnchi."

[6] Mal. "hĕlai, lai"; or "lei."

[7] Mal. "mĕnggunting."

[8] Wrong spelling for "angkau," Mal. "ĕngkau."

[9] It is characteristic of these dialects to pronounce an initial *h-* in words where Malay no longer pronounces it even though preserving it in writing.

[10] = Mal. "kur," the word used in calling poultry and in addressing the soul (as a bird) in charms, and Mal. "mari," the Mĕntĕra equivalent for which is "mai" (in our spelling; = "mei" in Logan's).

[11] *J. I. A.* i. 315

angkau mĕlihat pada *sianu* itu; mĕmandang aku sa'-orang tĕr-lampau manis bagei angkau mĕmandang yang bĕr-chahia muka aku duablas hari; turun matahari, sama turun sĕmangat angkau; naik matahari, sama naik sĕmangat *sianu* itu.

Pebinchi.

Pucho beruwāng ruwāng disilāng dāun pebinchī īman pujo bāwā pulāng hāti didālām terlālu binchī ānkāu berdirī binchīkan siāno ītu, ānkau berjālān binchīkan siāno ītu, ānkau tīdor binchīkān siāno ītu, usākan samantārā mānusiā sidāngkan rumput rānting kāyu kāyān lāgi hābis binchīkan mandāng siāno ītu, turun chāhiā pādā mukā āku jikālāu berchāhiā mālam berchāhiā mukā siāno ītu jekālau tiādā berchāhiā mālam tiāda berchāhiā muka siāno ītu āku turunkan minīā pemānis āku nāikan doā pebinchī binchīkan segala umāt segala manusiā turunlā pemānis siāno ītu nāi doā pebinchī dimukā siāno itu hābēs binchī sikiliān īāng berniāwā memandāng mukā siāno ītu meningār swārā siāno itu.[1]

Malay Version.

Puchock bĕruang-ruang di-sĕlang daun pĕmbĕnchi iman pujo' bawa' pulang hati didalam tĕrlalu bĕnchi angkau bĕrdiri bĕnchi-kan si-anu itu, angkau bĕr-jalan bĕnchi-kan, si-anu itu, angkau tidor bĕnchi-kan si-anu itu, usah-kan sĕmĕntara manusia, sĕdang-kan rumput ranting kayu-kayu-an lagi habis bĕnchi-kan mĕmandang si-anu itu, turun chahia pada muka aku, jikalau bĕrchahia malam bĕrchahia muka si-anu itu, jikalau tiada bĕrchahia malam, tiada bĕrchahia muka *si-anu* itu, aku turun-kan minya' pĕmanis, aku naik-kan do'a pĕmbĕnchi, bĕnchi-kan sĕgala ummat sĕgala manusia, turun-lah pĕmanis *sianu* itu, naik do'a pĕmbĕnchi di-muka *sianu* itu, habis bĕnchi sĕkĕlian yang bĕr-nyawa, mĕmandang muka *sianu* itu, mĕnĕngar suara *sianu* itu.

Tankal[2] Tikam Gaja.

(A spell used when about to attack an elephant.)

Hong! gampāh bādi, gampāh dāh chimārong,[3] dāh chimukar,[3] sibā kiri, sibā kānān, āku membuāng bādi gāmpāh gājā mengugnot[4] gājā mengubāng, mengubāng disābrāng dānāu, prīo mendide blāngā mendide sabrāng tānjong, sibā kiri, sibā kānān, sibā kumbāng[5] bādi nēnē, āku melepāskān jāri tāngān.[6]

Malay Version.

Hong, gĕmpar badi, gĕmpar 'dah chimarong, 'dah chimukar; sibar [ka-]kiri, sibar [ka-]kanan, aku mĕmbuang badi, gĕmpar gajah, mĕngangut gajah mĕngubang, mĕngubang di-sĕbrang danau; prio' mĕndideh, blanga mĕndideh sĕbrang tanjong; sibar [ka-]kiri, sibar [ka-]kanan, sibar [ka-]kubang (?) badi nene'; aku mĕlĕpaskan jari tangan.

Tankal Tikam Gaja.[2]

Iāng nēnē kapādā āku, iāng aku kapādā nēnē, bāu āku bāu āyer, bāu āku bāu dāun, bāu āku bāu tānā, bāu āku bāu nēnē, bāu āku bāu kubāng, santap simpolan

[1] *J. I. A.* i. 315, 316.

[2] Wrong spelling for "Tangkal Tikam Gajah."

[3] These words are obscure.

[4] Misprint for "mengungot" = Mal. "mĕngangut" (?).

[5] Logan translates "go to the water-vessel," *sed quære.* Perhaps it is for Mal. "kubang," the "wallowing hole" of big beasts such as elephants and buffaloes.

[6] *J. I. A.* i. 316.

pinăng ku, măntong hidong nēnē, kāki tā'ānkēt[1] kāki brāt, tăngan ditāting tăngan brāt. bāgi digāntong bātu bālā, bāgi digāntong tampāyun,[2] bergrā bātu, sāmā bergrā tăngān nēnē, bergrā sāmā bergrā tāli prut niāmbut jāri tăngān chuchu nēnē.[3]

Malay Version.

Yang nenek kăpada aku, yang aku kăpada nenek ! Bau aku, bau ayer ; bau aku, bau daun ; bau aku, bau tanah ; bau aku, bau nenek, bau aku, bau kubang. Sĕntak simpolan pinang ku, mantong hidong nenek ; kaki tĕr-angkit, kaki brat ; tangan di-tating, tangan brat, bagei di-gantong batu b'lah, bagei di-gantong tĕmpayan : bĕrgrak batu, sama bĕrgrak tangan nenek ; bĕrgrak, sama bergrak tali prut, [mĕ]-nyambut jari tangan chuchu nenek.

Tankal Ribut.

The following is a *tānkāl* or charm to allay storms :—

Rambong per-rango'on bātong gājā menāut gājā mangobāng mengobāng sabrāng lāut siā kiri siā kānān, aku kāmbāng ribut.[4]

Malay Version.

Rambong pĕranggo'an batang, gajah mĕnaut (*sic*, ? melaut *or* mĕngangut), gajah mĕngubang, mĕngubang sĕbrang laut, siah [ka-]kiri, siah [ka-]kanan, aku kĕmbang (?) ribut.

On entering the forest the following *tānkāl* is repeated :—

Sibā kiri, sibā kānān, segālā muso sitru lāwānku mintā buāng pandāngan padā aku, aku berjālān sa'orang juā.[5]

Malay Version.

Sibar [ka-]kiri, sibar [ka-]kanan sĕgala musoh sĕtru lawan-ku, minta' buang pandangan pada aku, aku bĕr-jalan sa'orang jua.

Charm against the Hantu Saburu.

Apā nāmā ānkāu ānjing Sokom nāmā ānkāu ānjing itām nāma tuhanko[6] āyer nāma tuānko riddāng nāma tuānko utān pōs pigi ānkāu pulāng bawēi[7] ānjingku[8] pulāng, āpā diburu sini tādā bābi tādā rusā ditutup lobāng idong kābāu idong suda ku doā bāu ku bāwa angin lālu.[9]

Malay Version.

Apa nama angkau ? Anjing Sokom nama angkau, anjing Itam nama [ang-]kau, Ayer nama tuan-kau ! Rĕdang nama tuan-kau, utan pos (?) pĕrgi angkau

[1] Logan here again wrongly translates "ta'" (which = Mal. "tĕr-") as a negative, and (what is worse) as a prohibitive : cf. the first charm.

The vowel in the final syllable is characteristic : cf. "jehet," *supra.*

[2] Probably a misprint for "tĕmpayan."

[3] *J. I. A.* 316, 317.

[4] *Ibid.* 317.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Mal. "tuan-kau."

[7] Mal. "bawa." The form is characteristic : cf. "bapai" for Mal. "bapa." But (conceivably) "bawēi" (*i.e.* "bawai") is for "bawa-i," with the transitive affix, *sed quære.*

[8] Mal. "anjing-kau." The dog's name, Sokom, is that of one of the Wild Huntsman's dogs, as known to the Malays—*v. Malay Magic*, p. 593.

[9] *J. I. A.* i. 318.

pulang bawa anjing-kau pulang. Apa di-buru sini? Tadá babi, tada rusa, di-tutop lobang hidong-kau, bau hidong sudah-ku do'a, bau-ku bawa angin lalu.

Tankal Kapielu.

Hong piēlu[1] mula piēlu terbāng jābut biluntok bilum[2] tāwār, āku membuāng tāwār piēlu dikapālā āku membuāng diātās kāpālā ilāng piēlu[3] mintā buāng diātās kāpālā.[4]

Malay Version.

Hong [ka-]pialu, mula pialu, tĕrbang chabut bĕluntok bilang (*or* ? bilang tĕrbilang) tawar; aku mĕmbuang tawar [ka-]pialu di-kapala aku, mĕmbuang di-atas kapala, hilang [ka-]pialu, minta buang di-atas kapala.

Tankal Kambong.[5]

Hong[6] jiwā mulā jiwā jiwā sheitan suda āku tāwār jiwā tompāng sudā āku tāwār jiwā tākinā[7] sudā āku tāwār āku membuāng jiwā kras smāngat ānkaulā smāngat jiwā bāngket bunkar segalā jiwā dālām prut dālām badan terbit lanchāng āku memālāng segalā jiwā.[8]

Malay Version.

Hong dewa, mula dewa-dewa, setan sudah aku tawar, dewa tumpang sudah aku tawar, dewa tĕr-kĕna sudah aku tawar, aku mĕmbuang dewa k'ras sĕmangat angkau-lah sĕmangat dewa bangkit-bongkar sĕgala dewa dalam p'rut, dalam badan tĕrbit lanchang (?), aku mĕmbalang sĕgala dewa.

Charms used by Mentera in Rice-cultivation.

(1.)[9]

Umā pemukā mulut pemukā āku bukā-lā bliā di-ilir dibilā olē bliā āku membuāng sēitān jāto bliinto bulum ko tāwār āku membuāng bīsā sēitān mintā buāngkan mintā jāukan segālā sēitān.[10]

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[1] [*Sic*].

[2] These two mysterious words occur in Vaughan-Stevens' charms, p. 704 *n.*, *supra*; and also in a slightly different form in the first of the Mĕntĕra charms used in connection with rice-cultivation, *infra*. Logan here translates "b. b. tawar" "uncharmed biluntok," whatever that may be, and the version in vol. ii. p. 333, assumes "biluntok" to be the name of a shrub, and "bilum" to represent Mal. "bilang"; *sed quære*.

[3] [*Sic*.] [4] *J. I. A.* i. 318.

[5] Mal. "kĕmbong."

[6] See note on p. 329 of vol. ii.

[7] Mal. "tĕrkĕna."

[8] *J. I. A.* i. 318. Logan's translation, on which the version given in vol. ii. p. 333, is founded, assumes that "jiwā" = Mal. "jiwa," "life." But this is at least questionable, as is also the translation of "memalang" (= replace), which is probably Mal. "mĕmbalang," "to throw away," and "jiwa" may be for "(d)ewa," in the sense of "spirits," in this case maleficent ones. If so, the meaning would be: "Om! ye spirits primeval, spirits and devils! I have counteracted the spirits that lodge, the spirits that are incurred; I cast out the spirits that are hard of heart. Ye souls of the spirits, arise and come forth! all ye spirits within the belly, within the body, come out forthwith! I cast out all spirits!"

[9] Used to charm the uncleared spot selected for clearing with a view to planting rice there. A translation is given on p. 366 of this volume, differing somewhat from Logan's. Both are doubtful.

[10] *J. I. A.* i. 320. For "bliinto" *v.* n. 2 *ante*.

Malay Version.

Huma (?) pĕmbuka mulut, pĕmbuka aku, buka-lah blia (*sic*), di-hīlir, di-blá ulih blia (*sic*). Aku mĕmbuang setan jatoh (*sic*, ? chabut) bĕluntok bilang (? bilang tĕrbilang) ku tawar, aku mĕmbuang bisa setan, minta' buang-kan, minta' jauh-kan segala setan.

(II.)[1]

Smillāhī mujor bri sīju bri dingin ko melittākan budē.[2]

Malay Version.

Bismillahi mujor b'ri sĕjok, b'ri dingin, ku mĕlĕtak-kan budak.

(III.)[3]

Smillahi[4] aku mengāmbil smāngat pāddi jāngan dibri sijo bri dingin āku mengambil budē budē[5] pulāng ka rumā āku.[6]

Malay Version.

Bismillahi! aku mĕngambil sĕmangat padi, jangan di-b'ri sĕjok, b'ri dingin, aku mĕngambil budak-budak ka-rumah aku.

MENTERA PRAYER SAID WHEN THE JUICE OF THE DAUN PAMANTO AND DAUN PAMADAM IS GIVEN TO THE CHILD [AT BIRTH].[7]

Kurmēimēi[8] tapāndāng[9] sēitān binto[10] rānggam[11] ankau samā pādām[12] pādām kau suda trāng nan sudā ditingo pandāngan ku ada mengikut tuhan pamanto[13] mintā padamkan āku sekāli sudā tābāli[14] minta pādāmkan sekāli nan sudā.[15]

Malay Version.

Kur! mari-mari, tĕrpandang setan bintoh ranggam (?) angkau; sama padam, padam-kau; sudah tĕrang yang sudah di-tengo' pandangan-ku ada mĕngikut tuan pĕmanto (?); minta' padam-kan aku sĕkali sudah tĕr-balik, minta' padam-kan sekali yang sudah.

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[1] Used before sowing the rice seed. Translated on p. 367 of this volume.

[2] *J. I. A.* i. 321. The vowel (of "budē") is characteristic: Mal. "budaḳ."

[3] Used before beginning the reaping of the rice. The translation will be found on pp. 367, 368 of this volume.

[4] Ar. "bismi'llahi," "in the name of God."

[5] "The infants" are the first reapings of the rice, conceived as embodying the soul or souls of the rice, in accordance with the animistic theory which pervades Malayan folklore. See *Malay Magic*, p. 243.

[6] *J. I. A.* i. 322.

[7] Logan offers no translation of this charm, and its meaning is doubtful, though most of the words are intelligible by themselves.

[8] Mal. "kur." and Mal. "mari"; *v. supra.*

[9] Mal. "tĕrpandang," "looked upon."

[10] Apparently = "sick."

[11] Perhaps cf. Mal. "rĕnggang" "far apart"; or (as Mr. Skeat suggests) in spirit-language = "body." Trans. "*If ye* look, O demons, sick *shall be* your body."

[12] Mal. "padam," "dim (of light)," "to extinguish."

[13] There is a word Mal. "mantoḳ," "to return home," but it is doubtful whether this is connected with "pamanto."

[14] Mal. "tĕrbalik."

[15] *J. I. A.* i. 323.

Jakun Charm for Protection against the Tiger.[1]

Kālau chūtek, kālau chatei
Sangkut dāhan pauh
Matahāri jéntei harīmau tūha
Jauh jangan dēkat
Aku tahu asal ēngkau ˣ
Mūla mēnjadi,ˣ Fatimah nāma
Mak, nabī Musa nāma bāpa.
Ségrīching ségrīchang pātah
Ranting digonggong angsa
Tāroh kunchi tērkanching ˣ
Maka kunchi nabi tidak tērāwā ˣ
Tīdak tērnafsu tērkanching ˣ
Brat buangkan hāwa nafsu
Aku tahui tūron tēmūron ˣ ēngkau
Mūla mēnjadi.

[This charm being already in Malay form, no Malay version is given.]

Hervey's Translation of the above Charm.

Even though they be withered, though they snap, may you be entangled in the boughs of the *pauh*[2] tree till the sun falls, old tiger, keep far away and approach not; I know the origin of your first being, Fatimah was your mother's name, and the prophet Moses[3] your father's. Snap, snap go the twigs in the bill of the goose. Put on the lock and you are fastened up, once the lock of the prophet has been placed on you, no longer can you indulge your desires, you are fastened up; heavy is the restraint placed on your desires. I know your original descent.

[1] Communicated to D. F. A. Hervey by the Dato' of the Jakuns of the neighbourhood of Mt. Bĕlumut (Johor), and printed in *Straits Asiatic Journal*, No. 3, p. 111. The spelling of the original has been preserved, but the long accent (—) substituted for the circumflex (∧). In the words marked ˣ the accent on the *e* should, however, be (⌣), not (—). The language of this charm does not differ apparently from that of Malay charms, and the references to Fatimah and Moses are of course indications of Malay influence. It may well be that the whole charm is borrowed from a Malay source.

A legend communicated at the same time, and printed (in Malay) on p. 110 of the same number, differs from the charm in ascribing the origin of the tiger (and also the crocodile) to the frog and "Baginda Ali"; another indication of Mohammedan influence, so far as the name is concerned, though the core of the legend is probably native, and perhaps really a Jakun idea.

[2] "Pauh" is a wild mango tree.

[3] Hervey observes that as Fatimah lived long after Moses, probably Ali's name should be substituted for that of Moses. But historical correctness is not to be expected in a composition of this sort, and the names themselves are really non-essential. The root idea in charms of this type is to "bluff" the objects aimed at by a declaration on the part of the exorcist that he knows the origin or descent of the individuals or species in question: this idea runs through numbers of Malay charms, and as the versions often differ *inter se*, it apparently does not much matter whether the exorcist's knowledge of his adversary's origin is real or merely assumed.

PLACE AND PERSONAL NAMES.[1]

PLACE NAMES.

Sémang of Kédah.

Bĕching *or* Bĕrching, a hill.
Chassā', a place (? near Baling, in Kĕdah).
Danjok, a place near Bĕlum.
Gadung, a stream (? near Baling).
Gāpeh, a place near Ulu Siong, Kĕdah.
Gend'râ, a place near Tomo'.
Hinas (*pr.* Hinass), *Mal.* Gunong Inas, a mountain in Perak.
Kĕmpör (*pr.* Kĕmpörr), an islet near Bĕlum.
Kendrong (? = Pendrok, *infra*), a stream.
Kuwi, a hill.
Lĕkob, a stream (? near Bĕlum).
Lūmū', a hill.
Malau, a hill.
Mantan, a hill.
Pālök, a stream (? near Bĕlum).
Pendrok, a stream (? near Baling. [Kendrong, *supra*].
Sĕlamar (*pr.* Sĕlamarr = *Mal.* Sĕlama), the Sĕlama river in Perak.
Siong, a river and hills in the Ulu Kédah.
Sitong, a place near Bĕlum.
Sungke, a place in the Ulu Kédah (? near Baling).
Tĕliang, the name of a tribe of Pangans.
Témengor, the name of a tribe of Pangans.

Sémang of Kuala Kénéring.

Bukit Sapi (Wild-Ox Hill)
Jepó (Dschepó)
Ongbāl
} Names of three of their settlements visited by the collector.

PERSONAL NAMES.

Sémang and Pangan (Skeat).

N.B.—The sign =, when preceded or followed by the serial numbers, stands for "married," *cœl.* means "unmarried," and *ob. cœl.* means "died unmarried." The meaning of some of the names has been given where certain; in other cases it may be compared with words in the Vocabulary.

Male.

1. Bayök, *i.e.* "Crocodile" (*Mal.* Buaya) [*cœl.*]
2. Bungā' [Blossom].
3. Chabang [*cœl.*], *i.e.* "Fork" (*Mal.* Chabang).
4. Chakup.

[1] This list is intended to be representative but not exhaustive.

5. Chentok [son of 34] = 99.
6. Cherwök [*cœl.*]

7. Dĕbok = 77 [d. 109].
8. Dĕrum (*or* Jarum) [*cœl.*]; see 44.

9. Echak.

10. Gĕlugor, *i.e.* "G.-*fruit*" [see 37].
11. Graluyd [another name for 15] = 101.
12. Gureng *or* Guring: (1) see 26; (2) see 47.

13. Hē'; see 38.
14. Hibor [? brother of 63] = 86; ch. 106, 49, 67, 29, and 83.

15. Ipong [another name for 11] = 101.

16. Jadam [Bitter Aloe]: (1) son of 39; (2) son of 36, = 110 [divorced, no children].
17. Jarum [*cœl.*], [another name for 8]; see 44.
18. Jĕlok = 85 [son, 47].

19. Kâng = 78 [child, 113].
20. Kapas [Cotton] *or* Siren, son of 41.
21. Kasok = 107 [children, 32, 115].
22. Kĕnanting = 72 [no children].
23. Kok [*cœl.*]; see 43.
24. Kroh [*cœl.*]
25. Kui [*cœl.*]

26. Lembek [Soft, Pliant]: (1) [= 64, ch. 12 (2), and 26 (2)]; (2) see 47.
27. Liwadd = 103.
28. Lundor [*cœl.*]; see 44.

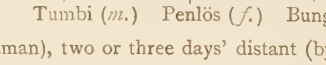
29. Marem [*cœl.*]
30. Merlel [*cœl.*]
31. Mirah [Red].
32. Munteng [see 21].

33. Nangöm.

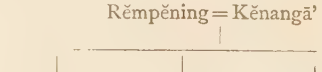
34. Pâ' Bĕtong [brother of 40] = 90.
35. Pâ' Deau, brother of 36; see 114.
36. Pâ' Gamēr = 93 [father of 39, 46, 16 (1), and 117].
37. Pâ' Gĕlugor [called Dutu (?) before birth of eldest son Gĕlugor]: came from S. Buluh, on borders of Ligeh and Kelantan; = 91; children 10 and 45.
38. Pâ' Halus [called Hē' before birth of Halus]: = 92.
39. Pâ' Mani = eldest son of 36: was "poisoned by Mekong Jamal"; = (1) 77; ch. Mani (116); = (2) 61; ch. Jadam (16).
40. Pâ' Rating [brother of 34] = 94; ch. 14; see 118.
41. Padang [Flat-land or Plain] = 106; ch. 20.
42. Pandan *or* Penden [killed Halus, at the instigation of a Malay named Kadir, who himself slew the slayer in turn].
43. Pawâh = 76; ch. 95 and 23.
44. Pĕdendeng *or* Pindeng = 79; ch. 28, 111, and 17.
45. Pendrâ' *or* Pendrā'; see 37.
46. Penleg.
47. Pisang, *i.e.* "Banana" [of S. Jarum] = 70; ch. 12 (1), 26 (1).

48. Rembe [Pangan from Tomo', Ligeh] = 89; ch. 66.
49. Rĕmeng = 105; ch. 87.
50. Rĕpĕneh *or* Rĕmpĕning (Pangan of Kelantan) = 84 or 96.[1]
51. Rengi' [dead, son of 5].

[1] At Siong (Kedah) Skeat was given the table as follows :—



and at Jarum (Raman), two or three days' distant (by elephant), the same family was given as follows:—



52. Sangi' = 71 ; ch. 56, 73, 108.
53. Sĕnurā' [*cœl.*]
54. Seren [another name for 20] ; *q.v.*
55. Sireng.
56. Suni' : son of 52, *q.v.*
57. Tadoyn [*cœl.*]
58. Tĕku = 69.
59. Tukang (of Ulu Plus) : betrothed to 67.
60. Tumbi : son of 50, *q.v.*

Female.

61. Bĕngang = 39 [second wife].
62. Bĕrāpet [another name for Mā' Gelugor, *q.v.*].
63. Bermang [? younger sister of 14].
64. Bĕwa' [Wind] = 26 (1).
65. Chābol [had two or three husbands, but was barren ; eaten by tiger while still young].
66. Chĕköl [small child ; d. of 48].
67. Chĕlagī' ; betrothed to 59.
68. Chenbah [eaten by tiger when quite small].
69. Chuyeng = 58.
70. Dulang [Tray] = 47.
71. Dumke = 52.
72. Gadung [*Wild*-Yam] = 22 [no children].
73. Gagak [Crow] : d. of 52.
74. Gundang [*Big*-Snail] [died young of dysentery ("sakit prut")].
75. Halus [Fine, Thin] : killed by a Semang named Penden (? Pandan) at instigation of a Malay named Kadir, who then killed Penden also.
76. Hanggor [*Wild*-Vine] = 43, *q.v.*
77. Jinjong *or* Jong = 39 [first wife]. This same Jinjong, or another woman of the same name, also = 7.
78. Junu = 19 [child, 113].
79. Kanchong *or* Kĕchong [Water-Vessel] = 44.
80. Kĕlarah = 9 [no children].
81. Kĕlawĕr [*cœl.*]
82. Kĕlĕweng [dead].
83. Kembis [died of "sakit pĕrut" (? dysentery)].
84. Kĕnangā', also called Pĕnangā', = 50, *q.v.*
85. Kenbök = 18.
86. Kĕneh = 14.
87. Kensau [small child, d. of 49].
88. Kĕsing [dead, eaten by tiger].
89. Lansat [L.-*fruit*] = 48.
90. Mā' Bĕtong = 34.
91. Mā' Gĕlugor [called Bĕrapet, before birth of eldest son Gĕlugor] = 37, *q.v.*
92. Mā' Halus [also called "Pön" or "Pönn"] = 38.
93. Mā' Kĕmĕ' = 36.
94. Mā' Rating = 40.
95. Panjang, *i.e.* "Long" [*cœl.*] ; see 43.
96. Pĕnangā' = 50, *q.v.*
97. Penlös : d. of 50.
98. Pertad [*cœl.*]
99. Pisang [Banana] = 5.
100. Pön *or* Pönn ; see 92.
101. Rĕbong [Bamboo-Sprout] = 11 or 15 [Rĕbong was eaten by tiger].
102. Sarok [*cœl.*]
103. Sensonn [d.] = 27.
104. Sermoi [d.]
105. Silom = 49.
106. Sungsang [Feet-foremost] = 41.
107. Tā'ong = 21 [children 32, 115].
108. Tape.
109. Tĕkah : daughter of 7, *q.v.*
110. Tĕlasih [Basil-*plant*] = 16 (2) [parents, Semang of Kedah ; was "seized by a Malay named Drahman, and divorced by Jadam"].
111. Tĕlembā' *or* Tĕlembok [*cœl.*] ; see 44.

Sex unrecorded.

112. Bĕtong [probably eldest son of 34 ; *ob. cœl.*]
113. Chengkim [see 19, 78].
114. Deau [probably eldest son of 35, *q.v.*
115. Lānas [dead] ; see 21, 107.

116. Mani [sex not recorded, but undoubtedly eldest son of 39 (Pâ' Mani), *q.v.*
117. Nged [*æt.*, youngest child of 36, *q.v.*]
118. Rating, *i.e.* "Branch" or "Twig" [probably eldest son of 40].

Sĕmang of Kuala Kĕnĕring (Grubauer).

Sex not stated.

1. Betóng.
2. Buchó (Butjó).
3. Bungā [Blossom].
4. Dahabó.
5. Daun [Leaf].
6. Dumhei (*sic*, ? Dumkei).
7. Pagí [Morning].

Sĕmang (Martin).[1]

Male.

1. Jămu.
2. Katim.
3. Labang.
4. Pah.

Female.

5. Gūri.
6. Mandong.
7. Tōt.

Sakai of Perak (J. Low).[2]

Male.

1. Ba-himpun (Ba-himpoon).
2. Bassuwait (Ba-suwait).
3. Panggil [Call].
4. Si Bunga [Blossom].
5. Si Busut [Anthill].
6. Si Jaman (Sijamman).
7. Si Kumbal.
8. Si Lanchap (?).
9. Si Limun (Silimoon).
10. Si Miyan.
11. Si Rangis.
12. Si Timor [East].
13. Si Tong (Sittong).
14. Si Tupai [Squirrel].
15. Si Yadap.
16. Si Yassen (?).
17. Si Yute (?).
18. Yuman.

Female.

19. Bage.
20. Itam Kandul (Etam Kundool).
21. Moirse (?).
22. Nus (Noose).
23. Si Bāte ? (Si Barte).
24. Si Kĕchi (Si-Kiche) [Little-*one*].
25. Si Putih (Si-Pootih) [White].
26. Singap.
27. Sirtus.
28. Sungoh.
29. Tangam.

Sakai (Sĕnoi) Martin.

Male.

1. Bakā.
2. Barsep.
3. Bejam.
4. Bĕlahām.
5. Bĕprop.
6. Bĕsingloi.
7. Bĕtrugāt.
8. Bulan [Moon].
9. Changkōal.

[1] In these and the subsequent names, extracted by permission from Martin's *Inlandstämme*, the spelling of the original has been modified.

[2] *J. A. I.* vol. iv. pp. 431, 432. The spelling of the original has been slightly modified where shown.

10. Chĕloh.
11. Chimpang.
12. Cháwa.
13. Dilbul.
14. Dōla.
15. Gundot.
16. Ikan [Fish].
17. Kaput.
18. Kĕláb.
19. Kelubhát.
20. Koin.
21. Kulob.
22. Lamai.
23. Lutkuya.
24. Măngot.
25. Mĕgát.
26. Menion [? Incense].
27. Mentori.
28. Ple.
29. Randam.
30. Ranga.
31. Rihui.
32. Ringit [Dollar].
33. Salim.
34. Seleběn.
35. Sudin.
36. Tona.
37. Turong.

Female.

38. Belhoi.
39. Bendon.
40. Bia.
41. Dima.
42. Elong.
43. Iká.
44. Kamin.
45. Kălŏ.
46. Ladud.
47. Loŏg.
48. Mapun.
49. Mona.
50. Seló.
51. Singun.
52. Tenoko.

BĔSISI (MARTIN).

Male.

1. Agip.
2. Aman.
3. Bentang [Spread].
4. Genong.
5. Kaledang [K.-*fruit*].
6. Kepok [*Rice*-Bin].
7. Mahat.
8. Saipong.
9. Samasa.
10. Sauko [? Sangko].
11. Selemba.
12. Setó.
13. Sinam.
14. Yep.

Female.

15. Damei.
16. Seridiot.
17. Tiram [Oyster].

BĔSISI.[1]

Male.

1. Bobol.
2. Bungsu [Youngest].
3. Gadong [*Wild*-Yam].
4. Glawa.
5. Jarui.
6. Joui.
7. Katung.
8. Kiche [Little].
9. Kol.
10. Kulit Jawa [? name of a tree].
11. Kulou.
12. Kunong.
13. Linak.
14. Mot.
15. Mundo.
16. Nodo [? "Nodoh" or "Nodor," *i.e.* Talker].
17. Pangoh.
18. Raje.
19. Rien.
20. Rumpet.
21. Saleh.
22. Sambilai.
23. Sijah.
24. Slat [Straits-*of-the-Sea*].
25. Soui [? Sawi, *i.e.* "Lettuce"].
26. Sulong [Eldest].
27. Tannah [? Tanah, *i.e.* "Earth"].
28. To Kussai.
29. Ulan [Convolvulus].
30. Wah.

Female.

31. Allun [? Alun, *i.e.* "Swell-*of-the-Sea*"].
32. Bodo [Stupid].
33. Bonglong.
34. Chak.
35. Chianti.
36. Gohom.
37. Iloi.
38. Jampan.
39. Jukut.
40. Kewe.
41. Kintot.
42. Klosoi.
43. Kolot.
44. Limong.
45. Nabongkok.
46. Nonia [? Nonya].
47. Nokalou.
48. Nuka.
49. Panchong [Peg or Stake].
50. Pram.
51. Takoh.

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 325*.

Skeat adds :—

Pā' Nanti (*m.*) [Father of "Wait"], Mā' Nanti (*f.*), Lempar (*m.*), Bĕdöh (*m.*), and Sauma (*f.*).

Bĕlandas (Martin).

Male.

1. Amat.
2. Bertam [B.-*Palm*].
3. Damang.
4. Deia.
5. Jĕwang.
6. Kobal.
7. Lepang.
8. Mengong.
9. Pikat [Horsefly].
10. Prisak.
11. Sampul [Wrap].

Female.

12. Dapat [Get or Find].
13. Kampik.
14. Kaseb.
15. Laigu.
16. Lemeh [? Soft].
17. Pipeh [Flat].
18. Posoi.
19. Rabot [Torn].
20. Treng.
21. Wang.

Skeat adds :—

Pā' Pikat (*m.*), Mā' Pikat (*f.*), Pā' Bijan (*m.*), Mā' Bijan (*f.*), and Kaseb (*f.*).

Mĕntra (Martin).

Male.

1. Baja.
2. Budang.
3. Itam [Black].
4. Kolob.
5. Mannon.
6. Manu [? Bird].
7. Sulong [Eldest].

Female.

8. Mani.
9. Mori.
10. Muna.
11. Panan.
12. Semilan [Nine].

Mĕntra.[1]

Male.

1. Bosojulot.
2. Bunga [Blossom].
3. Chagak.
4. Chichar.
5. Chimah.
6. Chiriau.
7. Dayong [Oar].
8. Galla [? *Boat*-Pole].
9. Gigai.
10. Gimgam [? Fistful].
11. Ginya.
12. Hanas.
13. Ikan [Fish].
14. Ilang [Disappear or Lose].
15. Inat.
16. Jangkang.
17. Minai.
18. Padan.
19. Pa Daun [Father of Leaf].
20. Pa Lokot.
21. Palsai [? Pā' Lĕsai].
22. Pa Singan.
23. Peero.
24. Pines.
25. Piniunga.
26. Powoh.
27. Pring.
28. Ru [Casuarina-*Tree*].
29. Rumpong.
30. Sagat [Scrape-Sago].
31. Sawaneng.
32. Sia.
33. Sika.
34. Singaja [Intentional, On-Purpose].
35. Sinya.
36. Smaroi.
37. Sungei [River].

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 324*.

Female.

38. Assan.
39. Bakat.
40. Bungkas.
41. Cha'ap.
42. Che'en.
43. Chimas.
44. Dapoi.
45. Dau.
46. Goam.
47. Hulat [Grub].
48. Ingas.
49. Jungeh.
50. Kacho.
51. Kochen.
52. Lijoh.
53. Lontang.
54. Mabangkeng [Mā' Bangkeng].
55. Mabayo [Mā' Bayo].
56. Magoyang [Mā' Goyang, *i.e.* "Mother-of-Rocker"].
57. Maklang [Mā' Klang].
58. Marumput [Mā' Rumput, *i.e.* "Mother-of-Grass"].
59. Melem.
60. Mino.
61. Napon.
62. Platap.
63. Ranyak.
64. Ringit [Dollar].
65. Ruguan.
66. Sa [One].
67. Siba.
68. Simonye.
69. Simun.
70. Sinaron.
71. Singom.
72. Tanah [Earth].
73. Tannang.
74. Tingal [Remaining, Left-*behind*].
75. Umal.

Orang Hutan of Johor (Miklucho-Maclay).[1]

Male. 1. Losso.

Female. 2. Lingin-la.

Orang Muka Kuning.[2]

Male.

1. Antas.
2. Awa.
3. Ibol [I.-*Palm*].
4. Iras.
5. Jalan [Path].
6. Jawak [Monitor-Lizard].
7. Kelut.
8. Leka.
9. Majah.
10. Nibor.
11. Oko.
12. Sare.
13. Te [? Teh, *i.e.* "White"].

Female.

14. Bina.
15. Dras [Quick].
16. Jodo [Pair, Affinity].
17. Kassah.
18. Kate.
19. Lima [Five].
20. Limpat.
21. Mina.
22. Pangel [? Call or Summon].
23. Rabo [Tinder].
24. Rina.
25. Sijo.
26. Tama.
27. Ulu [Head-Waters].

Orang Sletar (Thomson).[3]

Male.

1. Awin.
2. Desan.
3. Dosan.
4. Kadang.
5. Kassap [Rough].
6. Kissah.
7. Kosan.
8. Masei.
9. Nassap.
10. Nosan.
11. Penis.
12. Sadang.
13. Singal.
14. Soning.

Female.

15. Bunteh (Boon teh).
16. Impang.
17. Neckang.
18. Nongei.
19. Sangkang.
20. Sookang.

[1] *Journal of Eastern Asia*, vol. i. No. 1, pp. 99-100.

[2] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 339*.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 346*.

SABIMBA (THOMSON).[1]

Male.

1. Angin [Wind].
2. Ayin.
3. Bangas.
4. Bintang [Star].
5. Butun (Bootoon).
6. Deman.
7. Jali (Jalee).
8. Kassar [Coarse].
9. Kassaw.
10. Lodang.
11. Luyut (Looioot).
12. Mulut (Mooloot) [Mouth].
13. Nipis [Thin, Flat].
14. Pang.
15. Rama [Butterfly].
16. Rinnah [Low, Short].
17. Serong [Athwart, Askew].
18. Solai.
19. Talei.
20. Umbu (Oomboo).

Female.

21. Asia [Age].
22. Bukit (Bookit) [Hill].
23. Dayang (Dyang) [Hand-maid].
24. Minah (Meenah).
25. Mangi ? (Mungee).
26. Narimah (Nareemah).
27. Rini (Reenee).
28. Tawei.
29. Tengah [Half].
30. Timah (Teemah) [Tin].

[1] *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 349*.

END OF VOL. I.

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